

A GENERAL
HISTORY of the WORLD,
FROM THE
CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVO-
LUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;
JOHN GRAY, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

*cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

VOLUME XI.

L O N D O N:

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M DCC LXVI.

A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
WORLD.

THE HISTORY OF
FRANCE.
BOOK II.

Lewis VIII. or the Lion.

NO sooner was this prince crowned, with his queen *Blanche*, than an embassy arrived from *England*, *Lewis* demanding of him restitution of the dominions *VIII.* which the late king *John* held in *France*. *Lewis* pretended that they had been legally re-annexed to the *French* crown by his father, and that he himself was discharged of all obligations from the treaty he had entered into, by the same not having been observed on the part of the *English* government, who had obliged the *French* prisoners to pay their ransoms, and had refused to reinstate the barons in their privileges. This answer was backed by a strong army, and *ibid.* preceded by an alliance between *Lewis*, and *Frederic*, the *German* emperor; the latter promising never to assist *England* against *France*; and another with the count *de Marche*, husband to the queen dowager of *England*. In a short time, *Lewis* reduced *Noirt*, *St. Joan d'Angeli*, and *Rochelle*, though defended by *Savari de Mauleon*, one of the most accomplished captains of the age; but he was so ill supported by the *English* ministry, that he entered into the *French* service. *Henry*, who had taken the government into his own hands, was now master of no part of *France* but *Bourdeaux*, and the estates beyond the *Garrone*. But he knew that the

people of *Normandy*, *Poitou*, and the other old possessions of his family in *France*, hated the *French* government, and were ready to embrace the first opportunity for shaking off their yoke. He created his brother *Richard*, who was earl of *Cornwal* in *England*, count of *Poitou* in *France*; and gave him the command of a considerable armament both by sea and land, of which he made so good a use, that he fixed in their duty the inhabitants of those places which still remained faithful to the *Norman* family, and protected others who had returned to the same allegiance, so that *Lewis* was obliged to agree to a triennial truce. His conduct on this occasion has been impeached by the *French* historians, and he seems to have been jealous of the credit of *Aumery de Montfort*, who had succeeded his father in the command of the crusade. He promised *Aumery* the high post of constable of *France*, the most important of any that could grace a *French* subject; and *Aumery* ceded to him the greatest part of the conquests which had been achieved by his father.

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p. 87.

ibid. p 89.

Mysteri-
ous history
of the
count of
Flanders.

Ferdinand, count of *Flanders*, had been a prisoner ever since the battle of *Boxvines*, and it was generally believed that the old count, who had been emperor of *Constantinople*, had been killed by the *Bulgarians*; but it is certain, that *Ferdinand's* wife, during her husband's imprisonment, governed that country. While *Lewis* was preparing to push the war against the *Albingenses*, a person all of a sudden appeared in *Flanders*, who pretended to have been the emperor *Baldwin* of *Constantinople*, and consequently lord of that country. His story was plausible. He related a wonderful series of adventures by which he effected his escape into *Flanders*; the identity of his person was recognized by the old men who remembered him before he went to *Syria*, and he was acknowledged by the people in general as their lawful sovereign, and received their oaths of fidelity. The regent countess accused him of being an impostor, and he was summoned to appear before the king at *Peronne*, which he did with great boldness. Some of the interrogatories put to him of incidents that happened before his leaving *Flanders*, seemed to perplex and confound him; but the reality of his person was so strongly averred, that *Lewis* dismissed him from his presence with a safe conduct. His deficiency in answering the questions put to him, began to raise, among the *Flemings*, a suspicion of his being an impostor, and, by degrees, his attendants diminished, so that the countess regent ordered him to be put to death, after having undergone the torture. This severity was looked upon with horror, because the identity of the old count's person was at least doubtful; and the inconstant *Flemings* reproached her with parricide.

The pope having prevailed in obliging *Lewis*, almost against his will, to put himself at the head of the crusade against

against the *Albigenſes*, who were now headed by the young count of *Tholouſe*, he marched with his army into *Languedoc*, where he demanded entrance into *Avignon*. This city had belonged to the kings of *Naples* and *Sicily*, as kings of *Arles* and *Provence*, and having protected many of the *Albigenſes*, it had been again and again devoted to deſtruction by the papal excommunications. The people offered to admit *Lewis* into their city, if he would give them any aſſurance of quarter, which he durſt not venture to do without the pope's leave. This rendered their defence very deſperate for eight months, and then *Lewis*, ſeeing his army reduced to a handful, by the ſword, diſtempers, and famine, granted them a capitulation.

Lewis was then preparing to return to *Paris*, but falling ſick on the road, he died at *Montpenſier*, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. *Matthew Paris*, the *Engliſh* hiſtorian, who lived at this time, tells us, that during the ſiege of *Avignon*, famine and peſtilence affected the *French* camp, and killed all kinds of cattle and beaſts of burden; that the *French* being obliged to forage at a great diſtance from their camp, were cut off by the friends of the beſieged, and parties from the town; that the vaſt numbers of dead bodies begat ſuch a number of gnats, flies, and vermin of every kind, as to render it impoſſible for the ſurvivors either to ſleep or eat with comfort, or ſafety. The king of *France*, upon this, ordered all the dead bodies to be thrown into the *Rhone*, and retired to *Montpenſier*, that he might avoid the infection. While he remained there, expecting every day to hear that the town was ſurrendered, *Henry* count of *Champagne* applied to him for leave to return home, the forty days being expired, for which he had engaged his ſervice. The king rejected his ſuit, and ſwore, that if he perſiſted in it, he would lay waſte the count's dominions with fire and ſword.

Death of
Lewis
VIII.

The ſame hiſtorian informs us, of a report then prevailing of the count's being deeply in love with the queen, which together with the affront he had received, induced him to give the king poiſon, and that it carried him off. The legates and prelates about his perſon gave out, upon the death of *Lewis*, that he was only indiſpoſed, but that he would recover in a ſhort time; and that his orders to the general officers of his army, were to push the ſiege with all imaginable vigour. The citizens, however, continuing to make a reſolute defence, the legates thought proper to mention an accommodation, and to invite twelve of the chief citizens to a conference; to which they repaired accordingly. The legate then propoſed that he and the other prelates, with only their trains, might be permitted to enter their city, to diſcourſe with the inhabitants concerning the ſtate of their ſouls, and that they might have an opportunity of clearing

Different
accounts
of his
death.

them to his holiness from the imputation of heresy. The deputies declared that their countrymen were resolved to endure all extremities rather than submit to *French* tyranny ; but the prelates taking a solemn oath that they meant no more than they pretended, the deputies were, with great difficulty, prevailed upon to carry them with them into the town. The gates being opened, a party of the *French*, as had been preconcerted, rushed in, and mastering the centinels, put the inhabitants to the sword, and became masters of the city, which they plundered.

Reflec-
tions on
his cha-
racter.

We have thought proper to be the more explicit in our relation from so unexceptionable an author as *Matthew Paris* was, of this king's death, that the reader may have a fresh opportunity of detesting the villainous arts and impostures of the *Romish* clergy at this time, especially as we can scarcely fix upon any period in which their power was at a greater height. With regard to the character of *Lewis VIII.* its complexion partakes of that of the clergy. The people of *England* certainly believed that he intended to have extirminated all their great men for having been rebels to their own native prince.

Lewis, when in *England*, could maintain his footing no longer than the pope pleased, and his legate dictated the terms in which he was to leave it. *Lewis* refused to comply with those terms, for which he was excommunicated, obliged to perform penance in his own person, and to forfeit to the apostolic chamber a tenth of his revenue for two years. His officers were taxed at a twentieth, and his chaplains were obliged to repair to *Rome* for absolution ; which they purchased by appearing at the door of the cathedral church at *Paris*, barefooted, and in their shirts, they carrying, at the four great feasts in the year, in their hands, whips, or disciplines, which were to be applied to their backs by the canons.

The submission of *Lewis* and his father to those infamous mortifications, have with churchmen covered the shameful transactions of their reigns, and obliterated the infamy of their having been, in the hands of popes, the scourges of a brave and virtuous people ; we mean the *Albingeres*. Officious churchmen have for the same reason decorated them with fictitious, and indeed with ridiculous, virtues ; for they have made *Lewis* willing to submit to death rather than violate his marriage vows, by admitting a young maid to his embraces, though it is certain, that his own queen *Blanche*, was one of the handsomest women of her age.

Lewis IX. commonly called St. Lewis.

IT is said that *Lewis VIII.* in his life time, exacted from The state his nobles and clergy an oath, that they would place the of *France*, crown, upon his decease, on the head of this young prince, who was twelve years of age at the time of his accession. The court of *France* was, at this time, in a most disordered situation, through the variety of characters which composed it. *Philip Augustus*, though we are ignorant of the precise æra of its commencement, had instituted a court, which is now known by the name of the *Twelve Peers of France*, and they pretended to extraordinary jurisdictions, especially in the coronations, if not election of their kings, as the extinction of the hereditary right in the *Carlovingian* line was yet recent. They had seen the great diminution of their importance of late years, and they thought that a minority was the only favourable time for their recovering it; but, whatever claims of election they might have, the *French* nation had never yet disputed the right of a prince who had been regularly crowned.

The queen, with all her appearances of state and piety, during had a heart not unfusceptible of love, and the count of the mino- *Champagne*, whom some call *Henry*, and some *Theobald*, rity of though the latter seems to have been his true name, was *Lewis IX.* her perfect admirer, and celebrated her charms in poetry. He inherited the crown of *Navarre*, in right of his mother, *Blanche de Navarre*, sister of *Sancho the Strong*; and the passion and nature which breathed in his lines discovered him to have been sincere in his addresses. His rival (and a favoured one too, as is suspected) was *Bonaventure*, the cardinal legate; and the preference which *Theobald* imagined was given to this ecclesiastic, drove him into opposition to the queen, who was served with able ministers. The chief was the bishop of *Senlis*, through whom the glorious battle of *Bouvines* had been gained, and who was now chancellor of *France*, and, consequently, at the head of the administration.

Philip Augustus, in settling his court of peers, had, in conformity with the feudal laws then in use, and which, before that time, was common in *England*, annexed the dignity of peerage to certain offices of great trust and honour, such as those of chancellor, constable, butler, and chamberlain; and the queen having those upon her side, was the less sollicitous about the attendance of the other great peers, who pretended their presence to be necessary for authenticating the ceremony. *Bonaventure*, and the chancellor, were of opinion, that she ought to risk every thing rather than admit of this claim; and orders were given for arresting the

count of *Champagne*, who threatened to disturb the ceremony, if he should come to *Rheims*; for which reason he absented himself. Notwithstanding that, his wife, the countess, laid claim to the office of carrying the sword of state on the day of coronation; but it was disputed by the countess of *Flanders*, whose husband was still in prison.

Disputes
about his
corona-
tion.

The dispute was decided in favour of *Philip*, count of *Boulogne*, uncle to the king, but with a salvo to both their claims. The truth is, the queen, by the advice of her council, had very wisely resolved that the coronation should be performed, which it accordingly was, without any claims of the great land feudatories being admitted; by which their order received a mortal blow in *France*, where no regard has been since had to any voice they have in electing a king. The heads of the opposition to the court, on this occasion were, *Robert*, count of *Dreux*, and duke of *Bretagne*, by his wife the countess of *Flanders*, who hated the queen regent; with the powerful counts of *Champagne*, *Thelouse*, and *Provence*. The count of *Boulogne*, uncle to the king, was likewise discontented, without his appearing to be so; but the politic *Blanche* soon found means to dissipate the whole of this threatening conspiracy, and to establish the regal authority more firmly than ever in *Lewis*.

Divisions
in the
state.

She knew the ascendancy she had over the mind of the count of *Champagne*, and, partly by her authority, partly by blandishments, she brought him to humble himself at her feet. Perceiving that the active countess of *Flanders* had in her eye a second husband (her former being still a prisoner) in the person of the count of *Bretagne*, she set the first husband at liberty, and thereby prevented that dangerous alliance. She bribed the earl of *Kent*, first minister to *Henry III.* of *England*, in whom the confederates trusted as the main spring of their alliance, and the *English* armaments were so retarded, that the operations of the allies could not proceed; and thus the *French* government, for some time, enjoyed repose; but it was soon destroyed.

Philip, count of *Boulogne*, being apprehensive from the example of the count of *Flanders*, that the queen would set at liberty his father-in-law the old count of *Boulogne*, who likewise had remained a prisoner ever since the battle of *Bouvines*, joined the confederates, and a scheme was formed for seizing the person of the king. The plot was privately discovered by the count de *Champagne*, to the queen, and the *Parisians* escorted his majesty to his capital.

Soon after, the count of *Bretagne*, who had been disappointed in marrying the countess of *Flanders*, broke into open rebellion, and having a secret intelligence with the
heads

heads of the malecontents, they appeared so thinly in defence of the king, that he was upon the point of falling into the count's hands, when he was rescued by the count of *Champagne*, who had been privy to the confederacy, but now appeared on the king's side, with a force that obliged the count of *Bretagne* to receive law from the queen regent. The earl of *Tholouse* had, by this time, recovered great part of his patrimonial dominions from the talons of the church, and was the most considerable of the confederates who remained unreduced. The queen regent made so good use of the credit she had with the legate, that she revived the army of the crusaders of the church.

The inhuman war against the *Albigeneses* was renewed under *Imbert de Beaujou*, governor of *Languedoc*, who put to death all the *Albigeneses* to death, either by fire or sword, particularly all that were found within the castle of *Bontequ*, near *Tholouse*. This barbarity was committed by the advice of the bishop of *Carcassone*, and *Amelin*, the pope's legate in those parts; but it was so far from depressing the *Albigeneses*, that they grew more powerful than ever; and, after taking *Sarazin*, and other places of great importance, from *Imbert*, the latter was obliged to remove to *France*, when he returned in the year 1228, with a fresh supply of crusaders, under the archbishops of *Bourges*, *Auch*, and *Bordeaux*. *Raymond*, earl of *Tholouse*, could not withstand the storm, and being, besides, a prince of a soft, timid disposition, he shut himself up in *Tholouse*, where hardships and famine soon compelled him to listen to proposals sent him by the pope's legate, through the abbot of *Grandselve*. A truce and a meeting being agreed upon, he was persuaded to have an interview with the queen regent at *Meaux*, where, against all law and good faith, he found himself a prisoner. It is observable, that the more devoted the people of those days were to the *Roman* pontiff, they were the more disregarding of every virtue that ought to characterize the human species.

The earl, instead of being admitted to make terms, was obliged to receive them, and those too of the hardest digestion, and in the most infamous manner. He was forced to appear before the altar in his shirt and drawers, with a torch in his hand, and to beg pardon for all he had done against the church, and to promise to defend the faith, and banish and expel all the heretics out of his territories. He was to pay immense sums for the propagation of the *Roman* catholic religion; to take upon himself the crusade for five years, and not to return to *Tholouse* without a certificate of his good behaviour under the hand of the great master of *Rhodes*. He was to demolish the fortifications of *Tholouse*, and of five and thirty cities and castles in his dominions, and never to rebuild them without the pope's leave. He

Dismal
state of
the earl of
Tholouse.

was to deliver into the hands of the legate all those castles and cities with *Penne d'Agènes*, for eight years; and he was obliged to make war with such of his subjects as should refuse to comply with the terms of the treaty; nay, if he was unable to reduce them himself, he was to employ the *Knights Templars*, who were to conquer the possessions of the rebels, and hold them for themselves. But the most important part of the treaty was, that, for the full accomplishment of all this, he should resign himself a prisoner into the hands of the king at the *Louvre* in *Paris*, from whence he should not depart till he had first caused his daughter to be brought to *Carcaffone*, and committed to the custody of the king, into the hands of those persons whom he should appoint and depute for that purpose.

The shameful treaty he is obliged to make. Besides those and many other shameful articles, the count bound himself to make war upon his friend the earl of *Foix*, and never to make peace with him, but by the legate's permission. The performance of this treaty came next under consideration. Certain statutes were drawn up, to which the count was obliged to agree.

First, to facilitate the payment of the respective sums, which he had bound and obliged himself to pay towards the convents, by way of penalty; they caused him to command and enjoin, that all his subjects who made profession of the faith of the *Albingses*, should furnish him with a mark of silver a head. And this was to persuade him, that he ought not to look upon that condemnation as strange and severe, since the payment of the said sums would wholly lie upon the *Albingses*. Moreover, by this means, they put all his subjects to the test; for so many as should refuse to pay the said mark of silver, were thereby known and taken notice of, so that it was a kind of inquisition, to single out, and discover all such as should be afterwards persecuted. And that such as should continue and persevere in their religion, should be punished and sentenced to death, their goods confiscated, their wills rendered invalid and of none effect; so that neither their children, nor any of their relations, could recover or enjoy their inheritance.

Secondly, That their houses should be utterly levelled and demolished.

Thirdly, He did likewise command and ordain, that all those who should refuse the inquisitors their houses, farms and woods, or should protect and defend the heretics, rescue and deliver them when they were taken, should deny the inquisitors their aid and assistance, or refuse to vindicate and defend them when they required it, or should not do their best endeavours to keep and secure such as the said inquisitors should apprehend, should suffer corporal punishment, and have their goods confiscated.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Item, That those who were suspected of heresy, shall take their oaths to live in obedience to the catholic faith, and renounce and abjure their heresy; and if they shall refuse so to do, they shall suffer the same punishment as the heretics. But, if after the oath taken, it doth appear, that they have received, favoured, or advised any heretics, they shall suffer whatsoever punishment the council shall think fit to inflict upon them.

Lastly, We moreover ordain, if it shall appear, that any one who hath been an offender shall die an heretic, and that sufficiently proved and made out before the bishop; that his goods shall be confiscated, and the houses wherein he shall have dwelt since the treaty of peace made at *Paris*, or wherein he shall dwell hereafter, shall be utterly razed and demolished.

We have been the more solicitous to preserve the memory of this negotiation, which was one of the most important ever concluded on the part of the *French* crown, because its cruel and tyrannical conditions have been stifled by most, if not all, the popish historians, and are but ill understood by the protestants.

A council was called in 1229, at which the archbishops of *Narbonne*, *Bordeaux*, and *Auch*, with several other prelates, assisted; and, by its seventh canon, a severe prohibition was laid against the laity reading or translating the holy scriptures; and *Gregory IX.* published an ordinance, that all laymen, of what rank or quality soever, should be prohibited from preaching.

All this while, the earl of *Tholouse* was detained close prisoner; and remained so till the sums, in which he was fined, were paid; the walls of *Tholouse* demolished; and his only daughter and child, *Joan*, who was no more than nine years of age, was put into the hands of the queen-mother, to be by her educated till she was married to her second son, *Alonso Colmieu*, one of the legates, imposed his commands on the count of *Tholouse*, to write to the count of *Foix*, which he did, in friendly but pressing terms, to submit to the see of *Rome*; but the count stood out with a noble disdain. The legate then applied his batteries to the count's subjects, who earnestly pressed him to comply, and, at last, he had an interview with cardinal *Ange*, another legate, and some of the chief *French* clergy, at *St. Jean de Berges*. There the legate spared no pains to prevail with him to submit to the pope; and the count, finding that, at last, he must be forced, and that his dominions would be exposed to the most cruel devastations, he agreed to put five of his castles into the legate's hands. His example was followed by the count of *Comminge* and the prince of *Bearne*, who were unable, of themselves, to resist such a torrent of oppression. It was owing to the above negotiation that the noble

noble county of *Toulouse*, soon after, was united to the crown of *France*.

Privileges of the great lords reduced. It was, perhaps, owing to the pope, that the queen-regent and her son did not, at this time, entirely abolish the privileges of the great lords; but she depended on the clergy for money, and they made their own terms, which were not over favourable for the crown; and this lead her to mild measures; which succeeded so well, that she brought many of the great tenants of the crown to their duty. A party, however, still held out; who endeavoured to bring the count of *Champagne* to head them, by offering to him in marriage the daughter of the count of *Bretagne*. The count, whatever passion he might still entertain for the queen, was ready to have celebrated the marriage, when a stop was put to the match by the king; whom the count so far obeyed, that he withdrew from his engagements with the malecontents. The queen of *Cyprus* had strong pretensions to the count's dominions, and they invited her to head them. They accordingly invaded his country; but he was so powerfully protected by the king, that they were forced to retire. The king and the queen-mother laid hold of the queen's claim to reduce the power of the count, whose inconstancy had given them so much trouble; for, under pretence of satisfying her claim, they obliged the count to sell part of his dominions.

Opposition of the count of Boulogne. The count of *Boulogne*, brother to the late king, was at the head of this party in the opposition; and the queen had the art to balance his interest by that of the count of *Flanders*. They had flattered the count of *Boulogne* with hopes of the *French* crown, founded on the pretended rights of election, which they revived on this occasion; but the queen, at last, succeeded in convincing the count, that the real intention of the malecontents was to give the crown to *Enguerand de Couci*, whose claim was from *Charles the Great*, and was favoured by the emperor. The count, convinced by her reasons, entirely abandoned the cause of the malecontents, accepted of a pension, and was reconciled to his nephew.

Wise government of the queen-mother, The count of *Bretagne* remained still to be gained over to the royal party. He was powerful, obstinate, and supported by the king of *England*. The queen-mother had made so good use of her money, that she had either brought over all the inferior malecontents, or had rendered them so distrustful of each other, that they never could make a decisive push. The count of *Bretagne* continued in arms; but the queen-mother having gained over the heads of the *English* ministry, *Henry III.* was betrayed in all the attempts he made to assist him; so that, after stripping the count of his chief fortresses, she obliged him to make his submissions, and *Henry* to accept of a triennial truce.

The

The court and kingdom of *France* having thus gained some repose, the queen-mother had many reasons that determined her to marry her son. He was then nineteen years of age, of a majestic appearance, full of courage and spirit, and his judgment was excellent. In short, nature had furnished him with every qualification that could constitute a great prince. Queen *Blanche*, whose ruling passion was power, and who was resolved to retain it in her own hands as long as she could, observed the growing qualities of her son, and was determined to render them as useless as possible, both to himself and his people. For this purpose, she put him into the hands of gloomy clergymen; who gave him an education so religious, that it turned his excellent natural endowments into poison to the quiet and welfare of his people. Though humane, beneficent, and just, those amiable virtues lost their names, when the wills of popes or priests opposed them; and none were suffered to approach his person, who could instruct him in the real duties that a great prince owed to himself and his subjects. *Margaret*, daughter to the count of *Provence*, was the lady whom the queen pitched upon to be her son's consort; and, after the marriage was celebrated, she found her authority more strengthened than ever, by the king reposing upon her entirely the cares of government. None, however, were found hardy enough to blame her administration, which was in every respect faultless; and she exerted in herself that spirit, and those civil virtues, which she sought to suppress in her son.

But her conduct, though not attacked, was not un- who go-
repined at in secret, especially by the great nobility; who verns
found themselves, by her means, excluded from all posts of *France* af-
power and profit under the crown. The count of *Bretagne* ter her son
renewed his attachments with the *English* monarch, a weak, is of age.
unsteady prince, and possessed of little real power, because
he was perpetually at variance with his parliament. He en-
couraged the count in his discontent; but the queen-mother
effectually humbled him, by sending her son against him at
the head of an army. The count applied to the *English*
monarch to make good his promises of assistance; but
Henry being unable, the count was obliged to throw himself
at the king's feet with a halter about his neck, and obtained
his pardon.

In the year 1234, *Lewis* was twenty-one years of age; but his mother continued to be, as absolutely as ever, mistress of the government, though she dropped the title of regent. The count of *Champagne* was now become, in his mother's right, king of *Navarre*; and being immensely rich, he sought to repurchase the estates which he had, some years before, parted with; but the regal power interposed, and put a bar to the re-annexation.

The rage of crusading was, at that time, revived in *France*, and served many purposes of ambition and vanity. The
new

A crusade new king of *Navarre* found he must make but a poor figure under the if confined to his *French* dominions, where the queen-mother's authority was so well established; and, being under king of no apprehensions from the *Spaniards*, he resolved to take *Navarre*. upon himself the cross; and his royal dignity procured him many followers; particularly *Hugh*, duke of *Burgundy*; *Peter de Dreux*, surnamed *Illclerk*, duke of *Bretagne*; *John*, his brother, count *de Brain* and *Mascon*; *Henry*, count *de Bar*; *Guy*, count *de Nevers*; the constable *Amauri*, count *de Montfort*; the counts *de Joigni* and *Sancerre*; and many other barons of *France*, *Navarre*, and *Bretagne*; as, the counts *Guionar*, *de Leon*, *Henry de Goetlo*, *Andrew de Vitrey*, *Raoul de Fougères*, *Geoffrey de Avesnes*, and *Fouques Paynel*.

See
Vol. VII.

P. 245,
et seq.

See the
life of
Jenghiz
Khan,

Vol. VII.

p. 272, et
seq.

We have, in the place referred to, given a detail of this crusade, and shall not repeat it here. It must, however, be observed, that the affairs both of *Europe* and *Asia* underwent, about this time, a total alteration by the progress of *Jenghiz Khan's* arms. This, perhaps, was the reason why, about the year 1238, several of the *Asiatic* princes courted the friendship of *Lewis*; whose reputation was so great, that it is said to have disarmed two of the old man of the mountain's subjects, whom he had sent to assassinate *Lewis*.

Upon the return of the *French* crusaders, the court of *Lewis* was magnificent and splendid, and the kingdom tranquil. He had made noble provisions for his brothers; but this serenity was soon overcast. The count *de la Marche*, husband to the queen dowager of *England*, formed a confederacy against the court of *Lewis*. The young count of *Bretagne* entered into it, as did the count of *Tholouse*, from resentment of his family wrongs; but all of them expected to be supported by *English* money. The count of *Marche* was pressed by his wife, a haughty princess, who disdained that queen *Blanche* should be her superior; and he offered, if *Henry* would furnish him with money only, to retake all that his family had lost in *France*. *Henry*, flattered by those promises, called a parliament at *London*; but he found the members backward in falling in with his views. They charged the count of *Marche* with having imposed upon their king, and with having treated themselves contemptuously, by demanding the assistance of their money and not of their arms. The king endeavoured, but in vain, to soothe them into a compliance with his will; but they resented his entering into any engagements with the count of *Marche* or the *French* nobility, without their consent and advice.

Henry persisted obstinately in his purpose, raised money at an exorbitant interest, and fitted out both a fleet and an army. *Lewis* did the same. The rendezvous of his ships was at *Rochelle*, and his subjects united in his defence. *Henry*, in *May*, 1242, embarked his army in about three hundred vessels, and landed at *Rouen*, attended by his queen, his brother

brother *Richard*, king of the *Romans*, and seven of his great officers of state. His conduct was as wavering and pusillanimous, as that of *Lewis* was firm and resolute. The latter *Lewis* offered *Henry* peace upon reasonable conditions, but it was beats the rejected, and *Lewis* twice beat the confederates; who, being disappointed of money, soon made an end of all their performances and engagements with *Henry*. The count *de la Marche* submitted to *Lewis*, and *Henry* retired to *Bordeaux*. Any other prince but he, might, at this time, have shaken the throne of *France*; but the malecontents durst not trust him; and they were, one after another, reduced to a sense of their duty; leaving *Lewis* in the glorious and tranquil possession of his throne.

He had, with secret indignation, observed that one of the greatest miseries to which his empire was subjected, lay in capital the intermarriages of foreigners with the daughters of his great lords; by which some of the best estates in *France* descended to strangers. This mode of succession was productive of the worst consequences, by often embroiling the crown of *France* with the princes whose natural born subjects those strangers were. The *French*, in general, as well as *Lewis*, were sensible of the evil; and, in a parliament, or general meeting of the states, it was enacted, that *French* subjects should not, without the king's permission, give their daughters in marriage to foreigners. Another capital disadvantage, which the *French* monarchy laboured under at the same time, was the double homages paid by its subjects to *Lewis* and the king of *England*. This was an inconvenience which had its root in the nature of the feudal constitutions, and was to be conquered only by *Lewis* obliging every *French* subject to make his election to which prince he was to pay his homage. If to *Lewis*, then *Henry*, or whoever held the crown of *England*, seized all the lands such vassals held of him. If to the *English* crown, the *French* fiefs were forfeited by *Lewis*. To remedy, as far as possible, the glaring injustice which this option introduced, *Lewis* gave orders for such of his subjects, whose lands were seized by the *English*, to be indemnified out of the forfeitures of the *English* to his crown.

Though *Lewis* had been educated in the most slavish conformity to the *Romish* church and discipline, yet he knew how to make the proper distinctions between the temporal and spiritual concerns of his holiness. He declined taking any immediate interest in the quarrel between the emperor and pope *Innocent IV.* when the latter was driven from *Rome* to *Lyons*, which did not then belong to the *French* crown. He gave way, however, to *Innocent's* celebrating a magnificent council in that city; and he had the glory of being proposed by the emperor of *Germany* as the arbiter of the differences between himself and the pope. *Lewis* wisely declined taking

any

Page 99.

He is re-

spected

abroad as

well as at

home.

any decisive part in their differences, because he condemned the excesses of both ; but he did all he could to reconcile them, though without effect. He did not, however, suffer the frantic haughtiness of the pontiff to break into the police of his kingdom. He refused to suffer excommunications to operate, as the pope contended they should; in civil matters, by the parties who fell under them, forfeiting their rights to all their civil property, whether the sentence was just or unjust ; and, by a prudent œconomy, he regulated his finances so as to become, by the twenty-fourth year of his age, the richest and most formidable prince in *Europe*. The two battles which he had gained over *Henry III. of England*; particularly that of *Taillebourg*, had raised his military character ; and, by seasonable re-annexations and prudent purchases, he had enlarged the demesnes of the crown, which were his sole dependence; far beyond what they had been since the extinction of the *Carlovingian* race.

He falls ill
and takes
the cross.

Thus far *Lewis IX.* may be said to have been born for the happiness of his people and the glory of the human species. But his lustre was too intense to last ; and the fatal twist towards religion which he had received in his youth, soon produced fatal effects. About the year 1244, *Lewis* was attacked by a dangerous malady, which seems to have affected his brain ; for, during its paroxysms, he was delirious, and raved about taking the cross. For twenty-four hours, he seemed to be without sensation ; but when he recovered his usual health, the impression of the obligation he was under to take the cross still remained upon his mind. He imagined that, while he was ill, a voice from heaven had commanded him to march against the infidels ; and, that his recovery was owing to a resolution of obeying the holy warning. In vain did his wife and mother, with the wisest and ablest of his nobles and counsellors, endeavour to divert him from the prosecution of this frantic purpose ; and even the bishop of *Paris* added his earnest exhortations to dissuade him.

His great
prepara-
tions for a
crusade.

All that *Lewis* could be brought to consent to, was, to delay his expedition till he could put matters upon such a footing, that his embarking in it could be of no disservice to the internal quiet of his kingdom. He disarmed the count of *Tholouse*, whom he had pardoned for his last revolt, and put him out of any condition to renew the war, be the opportunity ever so inviting. He, with great difficulty, procured the consent of the states of his kingdom to his expedition. He renewed his endeavours, but without success, to reconcile the pope to the emperor, *Frederic*; and had, for that purpose, an interview with his holiness. The count of *Provence*, father-in-law both to *Lewis* and *Henry III. of England*, had only daughters to succeed him in his vast possessions, which, after his death, he had bequeathed to his youngest daughter, *Beatrice*; so that the proper disposition
of

of that princess in marriage, was a capital point for the quiet of *France*. *Lewis* discovered great address and abilities in managing that matter so that *Beatrix*, notwithstanding all the opposition raised by the *English* court and the great lords of *France*, became the wife of his brother *Charles*. He obtained permission from his holiness to levy the tenth of his clergy's revenues for the support of his expedition; but when the pope attempted to impose, by his own authority, a like tax, which was to be employed in the private quarrel between him and the emperor, *Lewis* interposed, and, to the infinite joy of the clergy, stopped the payment.

So conscientious was *Lewis* in every thing relating to his expedition, that he gave public notice for all who conceived themselves to have been aggrieved or injured by him, to exhibit their cases, that they might receive satisfaction. *Henry III.* of *England* laid hold of this invitation; and sent over to his brother, *Richard*, earl of *Cornwall*; who, in *Henry's* name, demanded restitution of his duchy of *Normandy*, of which, he said, he had been wrongfully deprived. *Lewis* referred the demand to the bishops of *Normandy*, who adjudged it to be frivolous; and all that *Lewis* could be brought to agree to was a renewal of the truce under the guaranty of his holiness. All the other dispositions made by *Lewis*, upon this frantic occasion, discovered the most profound policy and soundness of judgment.

The equanimity with which he had conducted himself in the dispute between the pope and the emperor, had won the hearts of both; and the latter not only gave him, by his celebrated chancellor, *Peter de Vignes*, the most express assurances of his intending to take no advantage against *France* during his absence, but issued out orders to all his governors and officers for furnishing the crusaders under *Lewis* with all kinds of provisions and necessaries; by which his magazines were regularly and plentifully supplied. It was in this wise providence for the subsistence of his troops, that the expedition of *Lewis* to the *Holy Land* differed essentially from those that preceded it, where warmth and enthusiasm supplied all care and foresight.

Lewis was equally provident for the tranquillity of his kingdom as for the success of his arms. He had few or no resources but in his own demesne, or what may be called his family estate. Feudal service was all he could demand from his great lords; but these were confined to a certain number of days, generally forty; and all the time over, if the king detained his vassals troops, was to be paid by himself. The great land-holders, or feudatories, in *France*, were then so free, that the king could impose upon them no extra-feudal tax; nor were they so fond of calling together the assembly of their states as the kings of *England* were. The two kingdoms, though their feudal constitutions resembled each other, differed in that respect; as the power of the king of *England*

England was more compact, and less subject to foreign influence, than that of the king of *France*; but chiefly, as the great tenants in capite, belonging to the king of *England*, were obliged to attend their sovereign to foreign parts; which many of them willingly did, as the greatest part of their estates often lay in *France*. Such of them as had no possessions but in *England*, being suffered to pay an exscuage, or fine, for excusing their attendance, those exscuages became soon a capital part of the royal revenue of *England*.

History *Lewis* was so well beloved, and his authority so firmly
and death established, that he was less cautious than his predecessors
of Rai- had been, in convoking those assemblies; but some favoura-
mond, the ble incidents, which happened during his preparations, co-
last earl of incided with his zeal. *Raimond*, the younger, had cleared
Tholouse. off all the pecuniary penalties that had been imposed upon
 him; and, being of a more pliable disposition than his father, had admitted the popish inquisitors into his country; where they were guilty of such oppressions, that many of them were killed by the inhabitants. This might have had terrible consequences, in stirring up a fresh crusade, had not the main expedition under the king been in agitation; and had not *Raimond*, by the most solemn attestations, purged himself of all concern in the riot. Before the grand expedition took place, he went to *Rome*, to solicit the favour of leave to bury his father's bones in consecrated ground; but it was denied him, because that prince had died excommunicated. *Raimond*, in returning to his own dominions, died at *Milan*; upon which, *Alonso*, brother to *Lewis*, entered into possession of his estates, in right of his wife, *Joan*, who was *Raimond's* daughter and heiress. The county of *Tholouse* was so important an acquisition to the royal family of *France*, that it delayed the crusade for some months, till *Alonso* could be firmly settled in the succession.

Disposi- Never did so brave, so well appointed, and regular an ar-
tions for my leave *Europe*, as that under *Lewis*; and never did any
the cru- prince proceed so soberly, wisely, and firmly, in an under-
sade. taking which, we may say, was worse than madness. He was attended by his three brothers; *Alonso*, count of *Poitiers*; *Robert*, count of *Artois*; and *Charles*, count of *Anjou*. Their three wives, as well as the queen-consort, took the cross, and shared in the fatigues of the expedition. The zeal of *Lewis* was such as converted him into a preacher for the crusade; and he prevailed on all his subjects, whom he suspected of raising commotions in his absence, to follow his example. These were *Hugh*, duke of *Burgundy*; *Peter*, duke of *Bretagne*; *William*, earl of *Flanders*; *Hugh de Chastillon*, count of *St. Paul*; and *Gautier de Chastillon*, his nephew; *Hugh de Lusignan*, earl of *Marche*, and his son, *Hugh de Brown*, followed them; together with the counts *de Dreux*, *de Bar*, *de Soissons*, *de Blois*, *de Retel*, *de Montfort*,
 and

and *de Vendosme*. The lords, *John de Beaujeu*; *Philip de Courtenay*; *Guion de Flandres*; *Archambald de Bourbon*, the younger; *Raoul de Couci*; *John de Barres*; *Gaubert* and *John de Apremont*; *Giles de Mailli*; *Robert de Bethune*, of *Arras*; *Olivier de Termes*; *Simon*, count *de Sabruc*; and lord *de Commerci*. Besides those, the famous *Joinville*, the statesman and historian of the times, served in this expedition; as did a number of prelates. We are not, however, to suppose that all those illustrious personages sailed at the same time; some of them being left behind to bring up recruits, and for other purposes. Before *Lewis* sailed, he annexed the county of *Mascon* to the crown, by purchasing it of the countess, who retired to a convent. He then appointed the queen-mother regent of his kingdom during his absence; and, in the year 1248, the expedition set sail, in two divisions; one, carrying the king and queen, from *Aigues Mortes*, and the other from *Marseilles*.

We have, in a former part of this work, been diffuse up- See on the history of this unhappy crusade, and of the state of Vol. VII. *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Persia*, when it was undertaken. We gave p. 254, &c. our readers more ample information on that head than can *seq.* be found in any other work; and we corrected the mistakes of all other historians, by drawing our authorities from *Moslem* as well as *Christian* writers; and therefore we shall repeat no part that we have already related.

According to the best accounts, *Lewis* had not in his ar- Strength my above sixty thousand fighting men; but they were and ex- *Frenchmen*, devoted to his person and cause, under excellent pence of discipline; and a greater number would only have embar- the *French* rassed him. The number of his ships which carried this army. armament, are said to have been eighteen hundred; all of them built in *French* ports. Three thousand of his officers were knights-bannerets, one hundred and seventy-two of whom he maintained at his own table; and he paid such of his great lords, who were unable to maintain their followers, so much a head, out of his own pocket.

The injustice and folly of this expedition never once suggested themselves to *Lewis* or his followers, because their heads were filled with the fumes of superstition and devotion. His first capital error consisted in the long stay he made in the kingdom of *Cyprus*, where he appointed his rendezvous, and where, through the unwholesomeness of the air and water, he lost some of his best troops and officers, particularly the last of the *Archibaulds* of *Bourbon*, from whom the present kings of *France* and *Spain* are descended, by one of their ancestors marrying a daughter of that house. Perhaps the vast delay which *Lewis* made, between the time of his taking the cross and sailing upon the expedition, might have contributed not a little, as well as the too long stay he made at *Cyprus*, to its unfortunate event. The infidels in

Egypt and *Syria* had, at that time, great connections with the *Christians*; and, consequently, they lost no time in their preparations to resist them.

ibid.

The successes of *Lewis*, as we have already seen, were, at first, amazing and rapid; and if, instead of engaging *Nimoddin* in *Syria*, he had marched towards *Cairo*, that city, and all *Egypt*, must have fallen into his hands; but even his conquests ruined his army, notwithstanding the numerous reinforcements it received. The luxuries of the climate introduced dissolution of manners, and all discipline was lost among the soldiers. *Lewis*, after beating the infidels at *Almansurah*, where he lost his brother, the count of *Artois*, with two thousand of his bravest troops, when it was too late, pushed on towards *Egypt*; but lost the command of the navigation of the *Nile*, and consequently of all conveyance of provisions to his army; which, by diseases multiplying, were reduced to a handful, on a spot between *Almansurah* and *Damiata*.

Lewis and his officers made prisoners.

Lewis, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, disdained to be any thing less than a king, and rejected the servile conditions prescribed to him by *Moadhdhem*, the infidel sultan; but, at last, he and his remaining chief officers, were constrained to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion to the barbarians. His behaviour, under his misfortunes, was firm and magnanimous; and he struck the infidels themselves with admiration of his virtues. They butchered the common men; nor had they any rule for saving the others but the richness of their armour, which gave them hopes of a large ransom.

It is certain that the state of *Moadhdhem's* affairs contributed to the deliverance of *Lewis*, who must otherwise have fallen a sacrifice to the barbarity, avarice, and superstition, of the infidel emirs and general officers of the *Egyptian Mamlucks*; who, instigated by *Moadhdhem's* sister, *Sajr al Dor*, murdered *Moadhdhem* in the presence of *Lewis*.

ibid. ibid.

He regains his liberty.

We have, in the passages referred to, given the sequel of this tragedy, so far as it related to *Lewis*, who might have received the crown of *Egypt*, in a present from the emirs, if he would have conformed to their superstitions. After *Lewis* had given orders for the surrender of *Damiata*, which, during his expedition into *Egypt*, had been held by his queen, the duke of *Burgundy*, and many other *French* nobility, with a strong garrison, and a fleet consisting of *Pisan* and *Genoese* ships, he followed his queen to *Acon*. *Lewis* had left his brother, the count of *Poitiers*, a hostage, in the hands of the infidels, for the payment of the first moiety of his ransom; thirty thousand crowns of which being deficient, he obliged the *Knights Templars*, much against their inclination, to advance it; upon which the count immediately regained his liberty.

The

The joy of the *French*, in hearing the first successes of *Lewis*, was soon damped by the news of his captivity. Upon his arrival at *Acon*, he was still master of a very respectable force, both by sea and land; and his best friends were for his immediately returning to *France*, to prevent the *English* taking advantage of the expiration of the truce, which was at hand; and to resettle the affairs of government, which were daily suffering by his absence. *Lewis*, who was always romantically religious, made a scruple of leaving *Syria* before he had delivered the *Christians* of that country from their melancholy condition.

In the mean while, a *Cistercian* monk, whom some writers report to have been an agent for the *Syrian* and *Egyptian* infidels, came from *Germany* to *France*; where, pretending to a divine commission, and to frequent revelations, he preached up a crusade for the deliverance of *Lewis*. His success was such as almost desolated the country of *France*. The lower people left their manual employments to follow him. Agriculture and manufactures were thrown aside; and the rising, from the quality of those who attended it; and from their having a lamb painted in their colours, was called, "The Crusade of the Shepherds." In fact, the insurgents were the most abandoned of all wretches; and having long been, through the absence of the king and the great lords, under no controul, they had indulged themselves in robberies and wickedness of every kind.

Miseries
of *France*
during his
captivity.

The monk exercised over them a despotic power; he gave them leaders, temporal as well as spiritual, with a new system of religion; by which they were bound, in conscience, to hold the dictates of their leader, be they ever so impious, as sacred; and to exterminate the orders of priests and monks wherever they fell in their way, on pretext that their dissolute lives had drawn down the judgments of Heaven upon the king. Those wretches, after domineering in the *Orleannois*, were proceeding in their excesses, when the gentlemen of *Berry*, and the adjacent provinces, were obliged to associate themselves in their own defence, and, by a reasonable firmness, a stop was put to the insurrection; but not before its leader, and great numbers of the insurgents, were cut in pieces between *Mortamer* and *Villeneuve upon the Char*.

A danger-
ous insur-
rection
quelled.

Those distractions, and the grief for her son's captivity, *Lewis* greatly affected the queen-mother, who had, for some time, solved to too much neglected the government, and retired to a monastery of her own foundation. *Lewis* was then at *Acon*, in *Palestine*, where he had released all the infidel prisoners that were in his custody, and sent ships, in terms of the late treaty, for bringing off the *Christian* captives, who, to the amount of twelve thousand, were still in the hands of the *Egyptians*. The inconstancy, rapaciousness, and treachery of the latter,

at this time, was almost incredible. No sooner was *Lewis* out of their power, than they repented of the treaty they had made; and, instead of setting the prisoners at liberty, they detained all but four hundred of them in chains at *Cairo*; and barbarously put out the eyes of three hundred of the bravest among them, and, in that condition, sent them to *Lewis*; who was so much affected at the sight, that he is said to have founded an hospital, which remains to this day, where three hundred blind people are maintained. As to the remainder of the captives, the infidels are said to have put many of them to death, or to have forced them to renounce *Christianity*.

Lewis, upon so many dismal events, called together an assembly of princes and lords belonging to *Palestine* and *Syria*, as well as to *France*, to deliberate upon the course he was to hold; and he gave them eight days to consider, whether they thought it expedient that they should return to *France* or remain in *Palestine*. The time being expired, the members were divided. The majority of the *French* noblemen were for his immediate return to *France*, as his army had been so much reduced; but even this advice, sound and rational as it was, they were obliged to sweeten to the king's palate, by promising to attend him again to *Egypt*, after the affairs of his own kingdom were settled, to revenge the death of their companions. On the other hand, the *Knights Templars* and *Hospitallers* urged the honour of the king, which did not admit of his leaving a country where so many *Christians* were languishing in captivity; and which, the moment he abandoned it, must revert to the power of the infidels. They observed, that the circumstances of *Lewis*, even in *Palestine*, were far from being so desperate as to oblige him to so dishonourable a step; that he was still master of great treasures, by which he might recruit his armies: and, that the dissensions which prevailed among the infidels, presented him with an almost certain prospect of his becoming master of *Egypt* and *Syria*. Both sides having delivered their opinion, *Lewis*, after deliberating eight days longer, sided with the latter, on the presumption, that the wisdom and experience of the queen-mother (who was then alive) would prevent *France* from receiving any internal detriment; but, at the same time, he gave leave for as many of his followers, as pleased, to return home.

He ob-

tains great
credit

Lewis delivered this opinion in a most solemn, pathetic manner, and before a full assembly. The *French* who attended him, though they bewailed his resolution, were too brave, and too generous to abandon him, and *Lewis* sent back to *France* his two brothers, with an excellent letter of advice, which is still extant. Upon their departure, *Lewis* received compliments of condolence from the *Christian* powers, and particularly pope *Innocent*, who then resided at *Lyons*. The differences among the infidels procured him

him likewise an embassy from *Naser*, prince of *Aleppo* and *Damascus*, who offered to join his forces with his against the *Mamluks* of *Egypt*, with a promise to surrender him the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. *Lewis* inclined to accept of this proposal, when the *Mamluks* immediately offered him the same terms, and sent him all the surviving *Christian* prisoners, who were in their hands, not excepting even those whom the fear of death had compelled to renounce the *Christian* religion, with the skulls and bones of all who had died under their hands. We are told that even the *Old Man of the Mountain*, courted the friendship of *Lewis* on this occasion, and sent him presents, which were answered by others from *Lewis*, who at the same time ridiculously attempted to convert that prince. Those offers from *Saracens* and infidels, however, were less surprizing to the *French* nobility, than a message dispatched to *Lewis* from the *German* emperor, *Frederic II.* who though he affected to have no religion at all, and was a sworn enemy to popes, had interposed zealously with the *Manluks* for the deliverance of *Lewis*. This message did not indeed come till after *Lewis* had recovered his liberty; but it does great honour to the memory of *Frederic*. The war which still continued between the *Mamluks* and the sultan of *Damascus*, was of vast service to *Lewis*, who in the year 1251 was again at the head of no inconsiderable army. Early in the spring he removed from *Acon*, and rebuilt the walls of *Cæsarea*, and at last determined himself in favour of the *Mamluks*, against the sultan of *Damascus*.

That prince seized on the passes between *Egypt* and *Palestine*, while, *Lewis*, greatly against the inclination of the divisions of his new allies the *Mamluks*, repaired the castle of *Jaffa*. The sultan of *Damascus* took that opportunity of making an irruption into *Egypt*, where he was deserted by the *Mamluks*, and obliged to fly to *Gadres*, the ancient *Gadara*, in *Palestine*. A treaty was here set on foot between the sultan and the *Mamluks*, who were now unwilling to fulfil their terms which they had stipulated with *Lewis*, by putting him in possession of *Palestine*. An accommodation soon followed, by which *Lewis* was deserted by both, and left to the poor consolation of visiting religious walls and sanctified places; and here it is generally allowed that he was outwitted by the barbarians, who had chosen *Azzoddin* for their head. *Naser*, sultan of *Damascus*, in revenge for his having been abandoned by *Lewis*, attacked *Acon*, from which he was beaten with loss; and understanding that *Lewis* intended to rebuild *Sidon* and *Belinas*, the antient *Cæsarea-Philippi*, he attacked both places, but he was repulsed from both, though he had forced *Lewis* to shut himself in the castle of *Sidon*, and cut in pieces about two thousand servants and peasants belonging to the *Christian* camp.

camp. The deliverance of *Lewis* on this occasion, though his troops had failed in an attempt they made upon the castle of *Belines*, was in a great measure owing to the courage and conduct of *Oliver de Termes*, a brave French officer under him.

His religious indolence and extravagance.

Every day now gave fresh proofs of the ravages which superstition and enthusiasm produce in the noblest nature. *Lewis*, instead of acting any thing at this time answerable to the great character he had acquired in arms, employed himself in making processions, attended by priests and monks, to the holy mountain at *Tabor*, and the sacred chamber at *Nazareth*; but he was sensibly mortified that his regal majesty did not permit his entering the city of *Jerusalem*, but as a conqueror. He arrived at last to such a pitch of religious infatuation, that he lent his royal shoulders as a common corps-bearer to the interment of the putrid bodies and bones of those who had died in their *Egyptian* captivity. To crown his madness, he laid out prodigious sums which he had been able to amass from the generosity of his subjects, and by his own œconomy, upon fortifying *Sidon*, *Caiaphas*, *Acon*, and other places on the sea-coast, though he could not but foresee that they must in time fall into the hands of the infidels.

His mother's death determines him to return to France.

Lewis, in 1254, was greatly affected with the news of the death of his mother, and that her days had been shortened by the grief she conceived for his misfortunes. He immediately resolved to return to *France* with part of his army, and to leave the remainder in *Palestine*, under the command of *Geoffrey de Sergines*, one of his most experienced officers, with a large sum of money in the hands of the legate, for the payment of the garrisons he left behind him in *Palestine*. On the twenty-third of *April*, he put himself, his wife, children, and attendants on board fourteen ships, but met prodigious dangers by sea; so that the queen made a vow, if she escaped, to offer a ship of silver to *St. Nicholas of Lorrain*, where it remains to this day.

Lewis having touched at *Cyprus*, landed at *Yeres*, and made his entry into *Paris* in the beginning of *September*. His subjects found a vast alteration in his looks, which were now thoughtful, severe and disconsolate. His dress was plain, and his attendants but few, excepting on days of state. He gave his daughter *Isabel* in marriage, after compromising all differences with regard to the county of *Bretagne*, to *Theobald II.* king of *Navarre*; and *Henry III.* of *England*, who was then in *Gascony*, expressed an earnest desire to have an interview with *Lewis*, to which the latter consented. Upon this occasion it was, that the dowager countess of *Provence* had the unusual happiness of meeting with her four daughters, the queens of *England* and *France*, and the countesses of *Anjou* and *Cornwall*.

The

The histories of those times are full of the splendor of the Where he interview between the two kings. *Lewis* met his illustrious is visited guest at some distance from *Paris*, and they entertained each by *Henry* other with the same freedom and friendship as if they had III. of been educated together. *Henry* was attended by a hundred *England*. horsemen, all of them nobly mounted. They were received at the gates of *Paris* by the scholars of the university, and the citizens, with a profusion of honours and splendid exhibitions; and *Henry* took up his lodging at the *Old Temple*, which was then large enough to accommodate all his train. *Matthew Paris*, who lived at the time, and seems to have been on the spot, has been very particular in describing the festivities which passed on this occasion. According to him, *Lewis* offered *Henry* the seat of honour, but *Henry* refused it. Next day, however, when *Henry* visited *Lewis* in his palace within *Paris*, the latter told *Henry* that he was master there, and would be obeyed, and he accordingly obliged *Henry* to take the seat of honour. It is said, that the expence of one day's entertainment cost *Lewis* a thousand pounds in silver, and that he bewailed the haughtiness of his *French* lords, who would not suffer him to do justice to *Henry* by restoring him *Normandy*.

Having renewed the truce with *Henry*, *Lewis* applied He re- himself to reform the abuses that had crept into his kingdom forms the during his absence, and above all, to settle disputes among internal his subjects. He was so intent upon this, that he gave state of money out of his own purse, to his brother *Charles* of *Anjou*, his king- to enable him to fulfil an award pronounced by himself, in dom. a difference between *Charles* and the old countess of *Provence*. He was equally anxious about terminating all differences, with his neighbours. He renewed his treaties and connections with the king of *Arragon*, whose daughter he intended his eldest son *Lewis* should marry; but upon the death of that prince, his second son *Philip* espoused her. This was about the year 1263, when the differences between *Henry* III. of *England* and his barons had risen to a great height; but so venerable was the character of *Lewis* at that time, that both parties agreed to make him the arbiter of their differences. The award of *Lewis*, though unexceptionable, was disagreeable to both parties, though each construed it in his own favour. *Lewis*, by condemning all that had been done at *Oxford*, and by the rebellious barons during the course of the civil war, restored *Henry* to his independency as a king; but at the same time he awarded him to observe all the stipulations of *Magna Charta*; which the barons pretended was all they had desired from the beginning.

We have (during the course of this history) had various His opportunities of treating of the affairs of *Naples*, and brother *Sicily*, and of mentioning the grant made of that crown, chosen then possessed by the bastard *Mainfroi*, by pope *Urban* IV.

king of Naples by *Mainfroi's* title, or whatever crimes he might have been guilty of, it is certain, that the *French* prince could have no manner of right to that succession, which undoubtedly belonged to the house of *Suabia*. *Lewis*, was either blinded by his deference to the papal power, or by the desire of aggrandizing his own family; when after long and serious deliberations, he not only agreed that his brother should accept the iniquitous offer, but resolved to assist him with all his power. *Charles*, at this time, was a powerful prince, being possessed of *Provence*, and *Languedoc*, a part of *Piedmont*, and many other noble estates; but neither he nor *Lewis* thought, that, without a vigorous assistance from the holy see, his power was equal to so great an undertaking.

Upon the death of pope *Urban*, the papal chair was filled by *Clement IV.* who clogged the terms which had been offered by his predecessor, with such restrictions in favour of the holy see, as damped the zeal of *Lewis* and his brother for concluding the bargain. *Clement*, however, by giving up some terms, and softening others, and by feeding the royal brothers with most magnificent promises, at last, brought them to embark heartily in the undertaking. The reader, in former parts of this work, has been made fully acquainted with the history of *Charles of Anjou*, of his having accepted the papal offer, of his having defeated *Mainfroi* on the plains of *Benevento*, of the barbarity with which he exercised his victory, and of his inhumanly putting to death *Conradin* of *Suabia*, and his cousin the archduke of *Austria*. To the reproach of *Lewis*, or rather of that corrupted *Christianity* which he called religion, and with which he was infatuated, we are informed of no opposition which he gave to the infernal cruelties of his brother, who from his successes in having seated himself on the throne of *Naples*, is by the *French* historians distinguished by the title of the founder of the first *Anjouvine* line.

While *Lewis* was thus employed in contributing to the exaltation of his family, his kingdom felt the benefit of many excellent regulations which he laid down for its internal welfare. The code of his laws is still known by the name of the establishment of *St. Lewis*. He formed that system of inland commerce, and the rules to be observed among mechanics, merchants, and manufacturers, that still takes place in *France*; and he put the demesnes of his crown upon a respectable, because a certain, foundation. By enforcing the feudal laws with regard to successions, he became heir to many noble families; and in all disputes between him and his great lords, they thought themselves happy if he constituted himself sole judge, because, where there was the least opening in favour of the subject, he decided against himself. This happened in the case of the county of *Dammartin*, which he separated from the crown of *France*,

See

Vol. X.

p. 105.

et seq.

Vol. VIII.

p. 493.

Vol. X.

p. 108.

St. Lewis.

composes

a code of

laws.

France, to which it had been annexed, in favour of *Matthew de Trie*, who claimed to be heir to the countess of *Boulogne*. He gave up to *Henry III.* of *England*, the *Limosin*, *Querci*, *Perigord*, and other places, upon that prince and his son's renouncing all right to *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, and *Poitou*. This he did merely out of a scruple of conscience, as the crown of *England* was, at that time, in no condition to have reclaimed those countries.

Instead of following the common policy of fomenting differences among his neighbours, *Lewis* did all he could to reconcile them; as happened in a dispute concerning the town of *Bayonne*, between the kings of *England* and *Naparré*. In short, *Lewis* laid the foundations of his government on the most amiable of all principles, that of ruling less by his power than by his authority; by which is meant, the opinion which his subjects and neighbours conceived of his virtue.

But with all those sublime qualifications, *Lewis*, notwithstanding all that he and his subjects had suffered, never was thoroughly cured of his favourite phrensy, his passion for crusades. Ever since his return from the *Holy Land* he had been amassing money and materials for a new expedition, and he was resolved to begin by the reduction of *Tunis*, the king of which, he said, had deceived him, by not performing his promise in turning *Christian*. He had invited young *Edward* of *England*, the bravest and the wisest prince of his age, to attend him; and when *Edward* excused himself on account of the lowness of his father's finances through the civil wars, *Lewis*, according to *Matthew Paris*, immediately offered either to lend, or to give him freely thirty thousand marks, which *Edward* accepted of, and secured *Lewis* in the repayment, by a mortgage upon *Guienne*. He was, in like manner, solicitous to be attended by his brother the king of *Naples*, who promised to assist him in his expedition with all his force, notwithstanding the state of his yet unsettled kingdom. It is true, that the expedition was particularly convenient for *Charles*, as the *Tunisians* were extremely troublesome to his *Neapolitan* subjects; but *Lewis* had no great regard to that consideration, and sought only to secure a commodious post in the *Mediterranean*, for the conveniency of his expedition. Every thing concurred in dissuading *Lewis* from his undertaking. His brother *Charles* of *Anjou*, was more powerful than himself, and as he was to reap the chief benefit of the expedition, he ought to have carried it into execution. The kingdom of *France* was enjoying in tranquility the fruits of her king's patriot and mild administration. He had settled his children in life with proper provisions for each, and arts, agriculture, and manufactures, were making a surprizing progress in his kingdom.

Those

against the
king of
Tunis;
where he
dies.

Summary
of his
history
and cha-
racter.

Those important considerations had no weight with *Lewis*, who engaged his three sons, and his nephew the count of *Artois*, to attend him. Accordingly, on the eleventh of *July* 1270, he embarked at *Aigues Mortes*, and steering for *Africa*, he seized upon what are thought to be the ruins of *Carthage*, and laid siege to *Tunis*. By this time, he had not been joined by his brother's armament, and the heats of the country and season had introduced into his army pestilential diseases, which swept off great numbers of his troops; and at last seized upon the king himself. Perceiving his end approaching, he spent the remaining moments of his life in instructing his eldest son *Philip*, in the duties of a king, and he died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the forty-fourth of his reign.

It appears from our history of this prince, that he was one of the most amiable that ever sat upon a throne. He was endued with all that is great, manly, and generous, in the human frame; but all those noble qualities were overcast by the pestilent turn of his religious notions, which hurried him into undertakings equally unjust as barbarous. His virtues were so much revered by his neighbours, that they proved to be the sources of his grandeur, as well as of his happiness. Before his time, the administration of justice was in the hands of the laymen, who sat in parliament, and every petty barony had its own judge, from whom there was no appeal. *Lewis* introduced into his parliament men of letters, who had studied the principles of distributive justice; and he opened four royal bailiwicks, where appeals might be brought for relief of the subject against the arbitrary or ignorant decrees of inferior courts.

It is likewise to the glory of *Lewis*, that notwithstanding his profound submission to the papal see, he checked its encroachments upon his temporal power, and he was the author of that pragmatic which secures the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and which we shall often have occasion to mention, and explain. He added to his crown *Namur*, *Peronne*, *Auranches*, *Mortagne*, and *du Perche*; but his moderation and justice prevented his taking advantage of the troubles of *England*, by enlarging his dominions with that prince's dominions in *France*.

A slight review of the situation of *Lewis* can easily account for the harmony that always subsisted between him and the *Roman* pontiffs, notwithstanding his checking their encroachments; for *Lewis* lived at a time when a perpetual and most cruel war was carried on between the popes and the emperors of *Germany*. *Lewis*, without breaking with either, obtained the esteem and friendship of both; and *Clement XI.* granted him the tenth penny on the revenues of his clergy for three years. The last expedition of *Lewis* was plainly a trap laid for his devotion, by his brother,
Charles

Charles of Anjou, who pretended, that the king of *Tunis* ought to be his tributary, and that he was greatly in his arrears.

Those crusades enriched the then maritime powers of *Europe*, who were the *Pisans*, the *Genoese*, and the *Venetians*, but impoverished *France*, *England*, *Germany*, and other countries, both in men and money. By a strange revolution, this impoverishment contributed to the aggrandizement of the *French* crown. When kings served in person, their principal subjects vied with each other in the splendor, richness, and number of their equipages, and either before or after the expedition, they generally found themselves under a necessity of selling or mortgaging part of their estates to defray their expences. The excellent plan which *Lewis* had laid down for the increase of his finances, had enabled him, during the last thirteen years of his residence in *France*, to purchase many of those estates, and the improvement of manufactures and agriculture among the lower ranks of the *French* had been such, that many of the townships or boroughs, were rich enough to buy their franchises from their respective lords; which, remotely, was likewise an acquisition to the crown, not only as those purchases weakened its overgrown subjects, but because the purchasers naturally put themselves under its protection for the validity of their bargains.

Lewis IX. commonly called *St. Lewis*, by his queen *Margaret*, daughter of *Raimond Berengar*, count of *Provence*, had six sons, and five daughters; *Lewis* the eldest, died when he was but sixteen years of age. The second, *Philip*, succeeded to the throne of *France*; *John*, the third son, died a child; *John Tristram*, the fourth, was born at *Damiata*, while his father was a prisoner in *Egypt*, and died at the siege of *Tunis*; *Peter*, the fifth son, was count of *Alençon*, and married the countess of *Blois*; *Robert*, the sixth son, was count of *Clermont*, and married the heiress of the house of *Bourbon*. The eldest daughter, *Blanche*, died young; *Isabel*, the second daughter, was wife to *Theobald* king of *Navarre*, and had no issue; *Blanche* was born in *Syria*, and wife of the royal infant, *Ferdinand de la Cerda*; *Margaret*, the fourth daughter, married *John* duke of *Brabant*; and *Agnes*, the youngest, was wife to *Robert II.* duke of *Burgundy*. As to queen *Margaret* herself, she was not only one of the greatest beauties, but one of the wisest women of her age. Though she declined all connections with state affairs, yet she was often chosen arbiter in territorial and other disputes between the greatest princes. She died at the age of seventy-six, in the year 1285, having spent the last twelve years of her life in retirement. *Lewis IX.* was canonized in 1297, by *Boniface VIII.*

Philip

Philip III. *commonly called the Hardy.*

The
crusade
fatal to
the royal
family of
France.

NOtwithstanding the great interest the king of *Naples* had in the success of his brother's expedition against *Tunis*, yet he had not, at the time of *Lewis's* death, joined it, either with his ships or troops, but he did in a few days after. The *French* army was then in a miserable condition; the pestilence continued to rage in their camp, and it was beset by great numbers of *Moors* and *Saracens*. *Philip*, the eldest surviving son of *St. Lewis*, immediately upon his father's decease took upon himself the regal state, and behaved with so much firmness against the *Moors*, that he then obtained the surname of the *Hardy*. Being seized with the pestilential disorder, he was obliged to commit the care of his army to the kings of *Naples* and *Navarre*. *Charles of Anjou*, is, not without great justice, accused of having, during the whole of this unfortunate campaign, held a private correspondence with the *Tunisian* prince, or king, whom he brought over to his terms, upon *Charles* engaging to withdraw his own and the *French* troops from *Tunis*, which they were preparing to besiege.

The state of affairs in *France*, where the abbot of *St. Dennis*, and the count of *Nesle*, by the appointment of the late king, acted as regents, rendered a peace necessary, and it was concluded upon advantageous terms for *Charles*, who was to receive double tribute, and a large sum of ready money, a small part of which was to be paid to his nephew the king of *France*. Upon the conclusion of this treaty, an end was put to the expedition, which was particularly fatal to the royal family of *France*, by the death of the king, and one of his sons, the king and queen of *Navarre*; *Isabel* of *Arragon*, and the count and countess of *Poitiers*, who all of them died of diseases contracted in the expedition. *Philip*, to divert his melancholly, visited *Italy* in his way to *Paris*, where he was received with that affection for which the *French* had been always remarkable to their kings.

Philip
subdues
the count
of *Foix*.

Philip found that the feudal system continued to operate strongly, notwithstanding all the wise precautions taken by his father to correct it. After his coronation, he found that the royal domain which, as we have already hinted, was the sole source of the royal revenues of *France*, was in excellent order and tranquility, but that a kind of civil war was carrying on between the count of *Armagnac* and the lord of *Casaubon*. At first, the lord of *Casaubon* was victorious, by beating the count and killing his brother, when they insulted him in his castle. The count, however, being related to some of the most considerable families of the kingdom, summoned together so great a force, that the lord of *Casaubon* implored the royal protection, and in the
mean

mean while, surrendered himself prisoner to the king, who was, at that time, on his journey to take possession of the county of *Tholouse*. *Philip* ordered him and his family to reside at the castle of *Sompui*, which lay within the royal domain. The count of *Foix*, one of the count of *Armagnac*'s allies, without regarding the royal protection, invested *Sompui*, and took all within it prisoners, the lord of *Casaubon* excepted. *Philip* resented this affront put upon his royal authority, ordered three summonses to be issued for the count of *Foix* to appear before him, and these being disregarded, he besieged the strong castle of *Foix*, and reduced the count to such extremity, that he was obliged to throw himself at the feet of the king, who sent him in irons a prisoner to *Paris*. At the same time, all the estates and effects of the count were forfeited to the crown. *Philip*, however, by his severity towards the count, meant, only to vindicate his royal authority. He treated the count's family with great tenderness, and after keeping him a prisoner for twelve months, he restored him, with admonitions for his good behaviour, to all his possessions.

The crown of *Navarre*, at this time, belonged to the He mar- only daughter of its late king, *Henry*, by the daughter of ries his *Robert*, count of *Artois*, brother to *St. Lewis*. That son to the princess therefore, naturally becoming a ward to the king heiress of of *France*, he solicited at *Rome* a dispensation for leave (on *Navarre*. account of the consanguinity) to marry her to his eldest son *Philip*. The match was opposed by the courts of *Castile* and *Arragon*, as tending to the too great aggrandizement of the *French* royal family. *Philip*, to engage the pope, who was *Gregory X.* in his favour, made him a present of the county of *Venaissin*; but *Gregory*, who was privately jealous of the *French* greatness, refused to grant the dispensation to *Philip*'s eldest son; but gave it to *Lewis* his second son; upon which *Philip* took possession of the kingdom of *Navarre* in right of his son. About the same time, (having lost his first wife *Isabel*, of *Arragon*, and her eldest son, by whose death, *Philip* became heir apparent of the *French* crown) he married the beautiful *Mary*, daughter to the duke of *Brabant*; and so great was his love for peace, that when *Edward I.* of *England*, performed homage to him for his *French* possessions, he gave him the county of *Aginois*, which *Edward* claimed by virtue of a compromise between their two fathers.

The favourite of *Philip*, was one *Peter de la Brosse*, who His fa- from being barber to *St. Lewis*, engrossed the confidence vourite and abused the power of the son. This worthless minister la Brosse had even the impudence to be jealous of the young queen's hanged. ascendancy over her husband, and privately spread a report of her having effected the death of prince *Lewis* by poison. The princes of those days were, in their private capacities, most despicably credulous. Few of them were without their

their astrologer, who pretended to divine future events ; or some professor of supernaturalism. *La Brosse* had inspired his master with confidence in a nun, who, he said, had the faculty of divination ; and *Philip* was weak enough to send the bishop of *Eureaux*, a relation and friend of *la Brosse*, to consult the nun about having poisoned prince *Lewis*. The bishop brought back a report unfavourable for the queen ; and the king employed other agents, to whom the nun declared the queen to be innocent. This disgraced *la Brosse* with the king, and the family of *Brabant* had credit enough to procure his being put to death, without any formal trial, they themselves being witnesses of his execution. This act of severity was construed by the people, who execrated *la Brosse* in his life, as being bloody and arbitrary. *Philip* was then embroiled with the count of *Castile*, on account of his two nephews, the infants *de la Cerda*, who had been set aside from the succession to that crown by their uncle don *Sancho*. This dispute occasioned an insurrection in *Navarre*, which was suppressed ; but two untowardly events now broke into *Philip's* private, as well as public, tranquility. The charge against his queen for having poisoned his eldest son, was pushed with so much vigour, that the determination was left, according to the barbarous custom of those times, to the decision of champions. He who fought for the queen, had been singled out by her eldest son. Her brother, the duke of *Brabant*, as being the most expert of any in *France* in the exercise of arms, and he accordingly proved victorious ; upon which his antagonist was executed upon a gibbet. The other event was still more alarming, and was no other than the famous *Sicilian Vespers* (which we have more than once taken notice of) when about eight thousand *French* were massacred in *Sicily* in 1282, occasioned by their own insolence, and the barbarous tyranny of *Charles* of *Anjou*, king of *Sicily*. *Charles* had so dazzled the eyes of the *French* by his successful usurpation, that they adored him, and though his *Italian* and *Sicilian* subjects revolted from him in favour of don *Pedro*, king of *Arragon*, who had married the daughter of *Mainfroi* the bastard, killed in a battle by *Charles*, the nobility petitioned the king for leave to assist him, and *Philip* granted their request. *Ubi supra.* The event may be seen in former parts of this history, particularly in that of *Italy*.

See Vol. X. p. 112. *Philip* makes an expedition into Spain. As *Charles* had generally been a favourite with the *Roman* pontiffs, the thunder of the vatican fell upon the king of *Arragon*, who was excommunicated by pope *Martin*. The same sentence gave *Arragon* to any of *Philip's* sons whom he should please to nominate ; and he was infatuated enough, not only to equip an immense fleet for the assistance of his uncle, *Charles*, but to march with an army into the kingdom of *Arragon*, with a design of placing his son, *Charles* of *Valois*, upon that throne. He penetrated as far as *Gironne*, in *Catalonia*,

Catalonia, which he compelled to surrender; but his fleet being destroyed by the *Arragonefe* admiral, and his army thereby losing all the means of subsistence, *Philip* was obliged to retreat to *Perpignon*; where he died of grief, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and the forty-first of his age. where he dies.

His subjects had given him the name of *Hardy*, before they had any knowledge of his real disposition, which inclined to peace, till his uncle's misfortunes, and the papal promises, hurried him into the war that cost him his life. It is to his honour that he endeavoured to revive the noble notions of the *Franks*, who looked upon themselves to be equally noble, and that there ought to be among them no distinction of birth or quality, but what was earned by superior merit. It was upon this principle that *Philip* granted letters of nobility to one *Ralph*, the goldsmith; and he annexed the county of *Poitiers* to his crown upon the death of its count, *Alonso*, notwithstanding the opposition made by the king of *Sicily*, who pretended to a prior right. The parliament of *Paris*, however, gave a formal decision in favour of *Philip the Hardy*, in 1283, and which is still extant. If *Philip* did not possess all the high qualities of his father, *St. Lewis*, yet he did not disgrace him as a successor; and he followed his steps in those pacific measures that contributed to the greatness and riches of *France*.

Philip the Hardy's first wife was donna *Isabella*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*. She died in 1271, after bearing him four sons: *Lewis*, who, as we have already seen, was thought to have been poisoned by his mother-in-law; *Philip*, called *the Handsome*, who succeeded to the crown; *Charles*, count of *Valois*; and *Robert*, who died an infant. By *Mary of Brabant*, his second wife, he had *Lewis*, count of *Evreux*; *Margaret*, who married *Edward I.* king of *England*, in 1299; and *Blanche*; who was married, first, to the count of *Hainault*; and afterwards to the emperor *Rodolph's* son. *Mary of Brabant* lived thirty-six years after her husband, and died in the year 1321. His wives and issue.

Philip IV. surnamed the Handsome.

WE have already mentioned the marriage of this prince with the heiress of *Navarre*, by whom he likewise acquired the counties of *Champagne* and *Barre*. At his accession to the throne, he found himself involved in an impolitic and unprosperous war with the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*; but he compromised matters with *Edward I.* of *England*, the greatest prince of his time, to whom he gave up *Xantoigne*; for which *Edward* performed him homage at *Paris*. *Charles the lame*, eldest son to *Charles* of *Anjou*, was, at this time, a prisoner to the king of *Arragon*. A great friendship subsisting between *Charles the lame* and *Edward* of *England*, Accession of Philip IV.

land, the latter, after performing his homage, went to *Bordeaux*; where he held a parliament of his vassals; gave audience to the ambassadors of *Castile*, *Aragon*, and *Sicily*, and set on foot a negotiation for the deliverance of *Charles the lame*.

The generous intentions of *Edward* were defeated by the turbulence of the pope, who refused to ratify the treaty concluded between *Edward* and the king of *Aragon*; by which *don James*, that king's brother, was to enjoy the crown of *Sicily*.

ibid.

p. 113,
114.

We have already seen the terms on which *Charles*, at last, obtained his liberty; but, though king *Edward* paid twenty thousand of the fifty thousand livres stipulated for his ransom, he was both unwilling and unable to fulfil them; and he pressed *Philip* to continue the war against the king of *Aragon* in favour of his brother *Charles* of *Valois*, the pope's claimant of that crown. *Edward*, of *England*, thought himself ill used by this behaviour of *Charles the lame*, who pretended that he was forced upon what he did.

Charles the lame absolved from his engagements by the pope.

Pope *Nicholas* absolved him from his agreement with the king of *Aragon*; crowned him king of the *Two Sicilies*; and sent an army of crusaders, under a cardinal-legate, to *Gaeta*, against his competitor, *don James*, king of *Sicily*. *Edward*, of *England*, took those proceedings so much amiss, that he accused the pope of being the firebrand of *Europe*, and compelled him, at last, to agree to a truce he had concluded between *Charles* and *James*. To satisfy the count of *Valois* for his claim upon *Aragon*, which was the great bone of contention between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, *Charles the lame* gave him his daughter in marriage, together with the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine* in dowry; and *Philip* made peace with the king of *Castile*, by relinquishing the rights of his kinsmen, the infants *de la Cerda*. Those arrangements were approved of by all parties; but the count of *Artois*, who commanded a body of *French* in the service of *Charles the lame*, and who being disappointed in his towering expectations, returned in disgust to *France*.

War between *France* and *England*.

The great possessions which *Edward I.* of *England* had in *France*, did not fail of being attended with their usual consequences of embroiling the two kings. *Philip* valued himself on being lord-paramount of *Edward's* *French* possessions, and made no allowance for the superior abilities and power of *Edward*. The *Gascons* and the *Normans*, the former the subjects of *Edward*, the latter of *Philip*, quarrelled at sea; and the *English* taking part with the *Gascons*, a maritime war was, for some time, carried on, till *Edward* found himself obliged to order reprisals to be made. *Philip's* ambassadors demanded satisfaction at *London*, in very harsh terms; and *Edward*, who was passionately bent upon the conquest of *Scotland* and *Wales*, sent his brother *Edmund* to *Paris*, to apologize for what had happened. *Philip* knew

so little of *Edward's* character, that he interpreted this condescension to be a mark of fear; summoned *Edward* to appear before his parliament at *Paris*; and, upon his non-appearance, he was adjudged to be guilty of felony, and all his *French* estates were forfeited to *Philip*. *Edward* bore this injustice with wonderful moderation; and the queen-consort and queen-mother of *France* undertook to mediate between the two monarchs. They proposed, that *Philip*, as a satisfaction to his honour for *Edward's* refusing to appear before the *French* parliament, should suffer *Philip* to name an officer who was to preside in all the great towns in *Guienne*, excepting three; and, that six of the principal fortresses of that province should be actually ceded to *Philip*. But it was proposed, at the same time, that, after *Edward's* sentence of forfeiture was taken off, the two kings should have an interview with each other for coming to a final accommodation; and, that, *Philip's* honour being thus satisfied, the ceded places should be restored to *Edward*. Prince *Edmund*, who was likewise earl of *Lancaster*, previous to his proceeding in the negotiation, obtained, in presence of the two queens, and some of the great lords both of *France* and *England*, a solemn declaration, that he would adhere to what had been proposed by the two queens; and, upon *Edmund's* producing his brother's ratification of the truce, *John de St. John*, *Edward's* general in *Guienne*, sold off his magazines; and the stipulated places were accordingly yielded up to the *French* troops.

The treaty was no sooner thus carried into execution, *Philip's* than *Philip* disavowed the promise he had made of restitution; and gave the constable of *France* orders to secure, for faith. his crown, the places that had been ceded. This naturally brought on a war between the two crowns; and *Edward* was so much exasperated, that he not only refused to stand by the late treaty, but disowned all allegiance and subjection to *Philip* as a vassal. The count of *Valois*, upon this, entered *Guienne* with an army, while *Matthew de Montmorenci* and *John de Harcourt* invaded *England* and burnt *Dover*, with some other places upon the sea-coast. To counterbalance those operations, *Edward's* general, *John de St. John* took the town of *Bayonne*, and the *English* fleet ravaged the coasts of *Normandy*; where it destroyed *Cherbourg* and several other places.

In 1296, *Edmund*, earl of *Lancaster*, who was sent over by Vol. IX. his brother to command in *Guienne*, died at *Bayonne*; but p. 8. *Edward*, being still intent on the conquest of *Scotland*, made an alliance with the emperor *Adolph* of *Nassau*; and the counts of *Bretagne*, *Holland*, *Bar*, *Juliers*, *Gueldres*, and *Flanders*. *Adolph* having received a considerable sum from *Edward*, formally demanded, that *Philip* should resign to him the kingdom of *Arles*, and the other fiefs which he held of the empire. This being refused, a war commenced be-

ibid. p. 9. tween him and *Philip*. The latter would gladly have avoided this dispute ; but he dexterously turned it to his own advantage, by bribing the duke of *Austria*, and other powerful *German* princes, who formed a conspiracy against *Adolph* and deprived him of his crown and life.

His differ- *Philip* was now at liberty to reduce, by his arms, such of
ences with *Edward's* allies as he could not gain over by his money ;
England and, by fomenting the differences between the *Flemings* and
accom- their sovereign, the earl of *Flanders*, he excited a rebellion
modated. in *Ghent*, which had almost cost *Edward* his life.

Charles the lame, who was now king of *Naples*, interposed, in gratitude for the obligations he was under to *Edward* ; and a truce was concluded for two years, till a definitive treaty could be settled under the pope's mediation. Next year, the county of *Bretagne* was erected into a dutchy and peerage of *France*, to replace the dutchy and peerage of *Champagne*, which was now unalienably annexed to the crown. *Bretagne* was then held by *John de Dreux*, who was of the blood royal of *France*, and had married the sister of *Edward*, king of *England*.

Vol. X. We have already related the rise of the dispute between
p. 121. *Philip* and *Boniface VIII.* who was one of the most haughty pontiffs that had ever filled that chair ; and we shall here supply what the nature of our work required we should omit in the history of *Italy*.

Philip at *Philip*, in his disposition, was as haughty and arbitrary as
variance *Boniface* ; and disregarded all the pope's exhortations for a
with pope crusade to recover *Ptolemais*, which the *Christians* had just
Boniface, lost. *Philip* had raised money upon his clergy, and the pope had forbidden them, under pain of excommunication, to furnish him with more. *Boniface* had invited *Charles* of *Valois*, *Philip's* brother, to *Italy*, where he had made him his vicar in *Tuscany* ; and, after marrying the grand-daughter of *Baldwin II.* emperor of *Constantinople*, he declared him emperor of the *East*. Those honours, thus heaped upon *Charles* of *Valois*, did not abate the differences between *Philip* and *Boniface* ; but the papal power was then so terrible, that both *Edward* and *Philip* consented to submit the determination of their disputes to the pontiff's arbitration. He accordingly awarded, that all *Philip's* conquests in *Guienne* should be restored to *Edward* ; that his holiness should be the depository of the places still in dispute, and have the direction in all restitutions and other matters preparative to a definitive treaty.

While this treaty was in dependance, *Boniface* and *Philip* again quarrelled. The pope demanded, that *Philip* should account for the money which the see of *Rome* had allowed him to raise, by a tenth penny, for the assistance of the *Holy Land* ; and which *Philip* had applied to the carrying on of his wars against the king of *England*. It is almost incredible that, though *Boniface VIII.* had afresh decreed, that no per-
son

son in holy orders was to pay any thing to the king his master, without the express commission of the sovereign pontiff, *Philip* durst shew no other resentment than by issuing an ordinance for a general prohibition of carrying the coin out of *France*. *Boniface* had erected the abbey of *Pamieres* into a bishopric, in favour of one *Bernard Sayseti*, a factious ecclesiastic, whom *Philip* hated; while *Philip* patronized the noble family of *Colonna* at *Rome*, who disowned the pope's authority.

The repressing the pontifical insolence was now the common cause both of *Philip* and *Edward*, and occasioned their accommodating all differences, by a definitive treaty concluded on the twentieth of *May*, 1303. This treaty included an article, by which the two kings respectively agreed to defend each other's prerogatives against all attacks; and that stipulation was supposed to be aimed at the pope, who had sent the turbulent bishop of *Pamieres*, as his legate, into *France*.

Philip's resentment of this usage seemed to encrease the whole le-pope's insolence. He published bulls upon bulls, declaring, gate he
 "That the vicar of *Jesus Christ* is placed with full power imp. ifons.
 over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." The bishop of *Pamieres*, though a subject of the king, braved him to his face; for which he was put under an arrest. *Philip*, instead of putting the legate to death, sent his chancellor, *Peter Flotta*, to plead his cause; first, before the archbishop of *Narbonne*, at *Senlis*, against the bishop of *Pamieres*; and then before the pope in person, at *Rome*, to justify his having put the bishop under arrest.

Flotta executed his commission with great intrepidity. He told *Boniface*, That the kingdom of *France* was of this world, but that of the pope was not. The pope answered this freedom by repeating his insolent bulls, summoning the *French* bishops to appear before him at *Rome*, and threatening *Philip* with excommunication if he did not immediately set his legate at liberty. Those bulls and menaces were presented to *Philip* by another of his subjects, who was archdeacon of *Narbonne*, and who had been nominated by *Boniface* to be his nuntio at the court of *France*.

Philip ordered the bulls to be thrown into the fire, but Disowns dismissed the nuntio. The breach now seemed to be in- th. pope's curable, and *Philip* at last, being excommunicated by the authority pope, denied the validity of his election. Forty *French* in tem- bishops, though forbidden by their king in the most porals.
 peremptory manner to leave *France*, repaired to *Rome*; and a general disposition appeared among them and the *German* prelates for admitting the pope's claim of judging all princes in temporals as well as spirituals. *Boniface* having written a letter in that insolent strain to *Philip*, the latter answered him in the following words. "To *Boniface*, the pretend-
 "ed pope, little or no health. Be it known to your most
 D 2 "supreme

“supreme vanity, that we are in subjection to no one in temporal matters.” The clergy of *France* were divided, and the king in 1303 assembled his states, including such of his clergy, as remained faithful to his prerogative. The question agitated in the meeting was in fact neither more nor less than whether *Boniface* or *Philip* was king of *France*. The members stood by *Philip*, and were seconded by the magistrates and representatives of cities, a third order which was now introduced into the *French* assemblies of the states. Notwithstanding all this, neither *Philip* nor any of his subjects had the courage or sense to strike at the root of the evil they complained of, by disowning the pope’s authority in spiritual, as well as in temporal, matters. Instead of that, after suffering excommunication they appealed to a general council under a future pope, and they put the whole question between them on the single point of the pope’s personal abuse of power and the validity of his election, which last head was uncontested by any of the other *European* powers.

The
pope’s
person
seized
by the
French.

A regular war was now entered into by *Philip* and *Boniface* as temporal princes. *Philip* had recalled his brother *Charles* of *Anjou* from *Italy*, but that prince had left some *French* troops in *Tuscany*, to whom his holiness was in arrears, and who were very ready to embrace any proposal that could procure them their money, or humble the pontiff. *Philip* had hitherto preserved his subjects in their allegiance; but he was startled when he heard that the pope had a bull prepared for giving his monarchy to the emperor, and for absolving all *Frenchmen* from their allegiance to him as their sovereign. According to the best authors, this bull was actually published when *Philip* resolved to strike a decisive blow, by employing *William de Nogaret*, and *Sciarra Colonna*, to collect a body of *French* troops, who surprised the pontiff at *Anagni*, the place of his residence.

ibid.

p. 122.

His death.

We have already seen the noble deportment of his holiness, when he was made prisoner, and that he died of chagrin soon after. Upon the whole, *Philip*’s seasonable opposition to the pope, was a severe blow to the person of *Boniface*; but was of no prejudice to the pontifical authority. It is even doubtful from the complexion of the history, both civil and ecclesiastical, of that time, whether if *Philip* had not in a formal process proved *Boniface* to have been guilty of murdering his predecessor, after persuading him to resign the pontificate, of procuring himself to be elected by indirect means, and using many blasphemous expressions, by denying the whole of the *Christian* religion; whether the loyalty of the *French* would have been proof against the papal fulminations. *Philip* gave a proof how tender he was of the rights of an unexceptionable pope. He suffered *Nogaret*, who had done him so important a service, and who is said to have saved the pope’s life, by rescuing him from

from the fury of *Colonna*, to appear as a criminal before the next pope, *Benedict XI.* who condemned him to perpetual exile in the *Holy Land*.

Benedict XI. was of a more practicable temper than pope *Boniface VIII.* had been. Among many other reformatations by *Benedict XI.* of church discipline and papal abuses of power, he took off all the interdicts that had been laid upon *Philip* or his kingdom, by his predecessor. He restored the former harmony that had subsisted between *France* and the see of *Rome*, and he pardoned the *Colonnas*; but it was thought that he was poisoned on account of his zeal for reformation. The choice of the next pope was a matter of great delicacy. *Philip's* party in the conclave gave him intelligence that the cardinals were inclinable to elect the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who was known to be no favourer of the principles on which *Philip* had proceeded against *Boniface*. *Philip* ordered the archbishop to meet him in a wood, where he actually offered him the papal dignity, on his promise to suffer the process against *Boniface* to be closed, to condemn his memory, to renounce his acts, to give him the tenths of the *French* clergy for five years, to restore the *Colonnas* to their estates, and to grant him another demand which he did not think then proper to reveal. Upon the archbishop promising faithfully to perform all those particulars, *Philip* gave way to his being elected pope, and he took the name of *Clement V.* As an earnest of his good faith towards his benefactor, he insisted upon being crowned at *Lyons*, which he accordingly was on the fourteenth of *November* 1305. After his coronation, returning from church on horseback, attended by the king and the princes of the blood, who by turns held the bridle, a wall overloaded by his corospectators fell among the illustrious processionists, beat off the pope's crown, wounded the king and the count of *Valois*, and crushed to death the duke of *Bretagne*, the pope's brother, and several other persons of eminence.

Philip now called upon the pope for the performance of his promises, especially that of condemning the memory of *Boniface*. *Clement* considered this matter in a very different light from what he had done before. He saw, that should he stigmatise the memory of a pope, and reverse his acts, he must aim an irrecoverable blow at the whole system of the papal infallibility. He did not however flatly refuse to gratify *Philip*, but he prudently threw in such delays on pretence of being willing to receive further information, that the process came to nothing, and the memory of *Boniface* in the sequel, instead of being stigmatized, was justified. *Philip*, though impatient and haughty, saw into *Clement's* motives, but his resentment subsiding, and the pope's friendship being necessary to the great purposes he had in view, he was forced to acquiesce. He had persuaded *Clement* by this time, to change the place of the papal

residence from *Rome* to *Avignon*, but tho' he, in a manner, now lived under the protection of *Philip*, he was by no means so devoted to his interest as that prince had expected.

Compro- *Philip* had with great industry strengthened himself with
mise be- alliances, by which, with the pope's assistance, he was in
tween hopes to compass the great matters he had in view. His son
Philip and *Lewis*, was king of *Navarre* in his mother's right, and his
the future daughter *Isabel*, the most abandoned woman of her age,
pope. had been married to *Edward II.* of *England*, who was in
perfect friendship with his father-in-law, and had done him
homage for *Guienne*. The death of the emperor, *Albert*,
who was murdered by his nephew *John*, the young duke
of *Suabia*, opened a career for *Philip's* ambition; and he
now laid before *Clement* the secret desire of his soul, which
at their first interview he told him he would reserve for a
proper opportunity. This was no other than to procure
either himself or *Charles* of *Valois*, his brother, to be elect-
ed emperor of *Germany*. *Clement* was startled at the pro-
posal. He trembled at the thoughts of seeing the royal
family of *France* so powerful, and he privately dispatched
an express to the electors, informing them that if they did
not immediately proceed to the choice of an emperor, they
must receive *Philip* or his brother for their head. At the
same time, he recommended to them *Henry*, count of *Lux-
embourg*, who was accordingly chosen. *Philip* was upon
his march to *Avignon* with a body of troops to make good
his pretensions to the empire, when he received the news of
his disappointment; nor does it appear that he was then
acquainted with the true motive of the election.

It cannot, however, be denied, that *Clement's* friendship
was of vast service to *Philip*. He persuaded the archbishop
of *Lyons* to renounce the temporal sovereignty of that city,
which was for ever annexed to the crown of *France*; but
the extinction of the order of *Knights Templars*, is the trans-
action that chiefly distinguishes the reign of *Philip the
Handsome*.

Extermi- The vast schemes of *Philip's* ambition, especially in his
nation *Flemish* wars, which we shall recount hereafter; had laid
of the his government under great distresses for money, and he
Knights had been obliged to make several alterations in his coin that
Templars. had been vastly prejudicial to the creditors of his crown,
the chief of whom were the *Knights Templars*. That order
of men, by acting in the double capacity of monks and
soldiers, had in the former capacity amassed vast wealth by
pious donations, which had been made them through the
credulity of the age, and in the latter, by their swords.
Their institution undoubtedly was impolitic and dangerous
to civil government, because in matters of obedience they
owned no immediate superior but the pope, and their grand
master, and they industriously affected to keep secret the
institutions

institutions and rules of their order. Their immense property made them the bankers of *Europe*, and *Philip's* finances were in their hands, when an insurrection happened at *Paris*, occasioned by the alterations of the coin, which *Philip* suspected the *Knights Templars* to have fomented. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that *Philip* had formed a deep plan for their extirpation, which he pursued with great steadiness till he accomplished it. The insolence, pride, luxury, and dissolute manners of the knights assisted him in his design, one *Squin de Florian*, a burgher of *Beziers*, who was himself a knight of the order, had been sentenced by the great master, to perpetual imprisonment, as was another, *Noffo de Florentin*, for a variety of crimes he had committed. Those two wretches pretended, that if they were brought before the king they could make great discoveries to the disgrace of the order.

It is more than probable, that those two apostates had been privately encouraged by the king in what they offered; because, before that time, he certainly had resolved upon the extinction of that order, and had treated with the pope, and other princes for that purpose. The apostate knights were indulged in their demand, and being admitted to the king's presence, their discoveries, whether real or pretended, were truly horrible and infernal. They accused their brethren of renouncing Jesus Christ on their entering into the order, and of devoting themselves to the devil, after performing certain ceremonies too detestable to be mentioned. Their examinations were kept secret. *Philip* had previously concerted with the pope, that the latter should call the chief knights of the order to *France* to take measures for a new crusade. Still pursuing his plan of secrecy he sent sealed orders to his bailiffs and other officers of justice, which under pain of death they were not to open till the thirteenth of *October*; but in the mean while, they were to call in assistance to enable them to execute an important piece of justice. Each magistrate opening his order on the appointed day, all of them terminated in the same purpose, that of immediately imprisoning the *Knights Templars*, and confiscating their effects and estates for the king's use, till they could be properly disposed of. This general order, through *Philip's* wise precaution, was punctually executed through all parts of *France* on the same day, while *Clement* came to *Poitiers*, that he might be at hand to assist at the trials.

Some difficulties occurred at first concerning the sole right which the pope had to try the members of a religious order, and that of the king to try his own subjects; but mutual interests soon terminated those disputes, and the process went forward. *Clement* examined seventy-two knights in person, and the trials of the remainder were committed to inquisitors, and commissaries. The allegations, it is true, were proved by the confession of great numbers of the order,

order, but then we are to remember, that those confessions were forced from the unhappy knights, either by the application or the fear of the most exquisite tortures, which some of them were intrepid enough to undergo, and to die, affirming their innocence to the last. This circumstance is sufficient to induce us to suspect that the chief crimes of the *Knights Templars* consisted in their riches, and the intemperate use they made of them.

Confiderations on the same.

To believe that an order which subsisted by the religion of Jesus Christ, should abjure that religion, is to suppose the knights of the order to be void of common sense, as well as christianity. The other allegations are absurd, because they are unnatural, especially those of their worshipping a golden head, and of spitting upon the cross, crimes that could not contribute to the gratification of even vicious pleasures. At the same time, it is scarcely to be doubted, that some of the young knights had been not a little free in ridiculing the fopperies of the popish religion, which were then multiplied to a monstrous extravagance; and it must likewise be acknowledged, that the luxury, especially drunkenness of the order, was become proverbial. But the persecution of the unhappy knights was not confined to *France*; for in imitation of *Philip*, the kings of *England* and *Spain*, and other princes confiscated their revenues, but without putting their persons to death. Fifty-nine of them were burnt at *Paris*, and asserted their innocence to the last. To give the finishing blow to the order, *Clement* indicted a general council, at *Vienne* in *Dauphiny*, where the memory of pope *Boniface* was formally cleared from all imputation of heresy, simony, and other crimes, and two *Catalan* knights entered the lists to fight any two of *Philip's* subjects who should asperse it. A prince of *Philip's* haughty impetuous disposition, would not have borne such an insult upon his former conduct, had it not been to gratify his favourite view, we mean that of exterminating the order of the *Knights Templars*.

The cruel punishment and execution of the grand master.

The grand master of the order, *Jean de Molay*, and *Guy*, brother to the dauphin of *Auvergne*, two of the greatest lords in *Europe*, were not put to death because it was alleged, they had made confessions, which they were to read and acknowledge before all the people of *Paris*, and certain cardinals, and other persons of distinction, after which, they were to suffer perpetual imprisonment. The criminals accordingly appeared upon a scaffold erected before the church of *Notre Dame*, at *Paris*. Their confessions were read, but the grand master with a loud voice contradicted all that they contained, excepting an acknowledgment of the common frailties of nature, and said, if he or his brethren had confessed any thing else, they had done it thro' the dread of torture, with which they were menaced. He even said, that as he could neither read nor write, the commissaries

commissaries had set down things in writing, the reverse of what he had acknowledged. This unexpected declaration from a man, who, (in other respects) seemed to be fond of life, wounded the credit of the king and the pope so much, that orders were given for immediately burning to death the grand master, and *Guy de Auvergne*, at a slow fire, a punishment which they magnanimously suffered, and they died asserting their innocence, and again appealing to heaven to judge between them and their persecutors. Seventy four of the order who were unimpeached, petitioned the council for leave to defend the innocence of their order; but their petition was rejected, to the disgrace of public justice, and the pope issued his bulls for abolishing the order over all christendom. Their estates in general were conferred on the knights of *Rhodes*, now the knights of *Malta*. In *Germany*, and *Arragon*, the knights made a noble resistance; but they were at last subdued, and the kings of *Castile*, and *Arragon*, gave that part of the spoil, which they did not appropriate to themselves, to the knights of *Calatrava*.

Though history is not particular as to the profit accruing to his holiness by the extinction of this order, yet we may easily conclude it to have been very considerable; and their *Philip*, notwithstanding the appropriation of their estates, seized them to the value of two hundred thousand livres, and his son *Lewis*, raised upon them sixty thousand more. The possessions which fell to the knights of *Rhodes*, were in no degree equal to those forfeited by the *Templars*, so that it seems credible, that great part of their wealth and estates fell to the share of private persons; nor was this great affair terminated till the year 1312.

The reannexing the county of *Flanders* to his crown was *Philip* another capital object with *Philip*; but he was not so successful in that as he was in persecuting the order of the *Templars*. He had treated that count, *Guy de Dampier*, in the same manner as his son-in-law the king of *England* had done the family of *Bruce* in *Scotland*, by not admitting him to be comprehended in any of their treaties. The *Flemings*, excepting, perhaps, the *Venetians*, were then the most flourishing people in *Europe*; but they were factious and divided. Some of them declaring for a *French* government, *Philip* sent his brother *Charles* of *Valois*, to support them, which he did so effectually, that old *Guy* and his sons surrendered themselves to *Philip*'s mercy, upon his brother's engaging that they should not be confined, and that if in twelve months they did not effect an accommodation with *Philip* they should be at liberty to return. Notwithstanding this, they were obliged to attend the triumphal entry of *Charles* into *Paris*; and *Philip* disavowed the agreement made with *Charles*, and sent the old count prisoner to *Compiègne*, and his sons to other prisons. He is said to have been guilty of this

this injustice, (though he stood in need of no prompter to gratify his lust of power) by the instigation of his queen and the count of *Artois*, who mortally hated *Guy* and his family, and *Philip* now openly declared his intention of reuniting *Flanders* to his crown.

The Flemings expelled his governor Chatillon, With this view, he and his queen made a most magnificent progress into *Flanders*, where they endeavoured to amuse the *Flemings* with the most pompous exhibitions of their grandeur; and to render themselves popular by abolishing some oppressive taxes. They could not, however, have pitched upon a more disagreeable person than *John de Chatillon* was, for the government of that country, to which he was appointed by the queen's interest. He fortified the towns of his government, and he countenanced the magistrates in oppressing the people, who were remarkably tenacious of their privileges; so that the whole country was soon filled with discontent. The people of *Bruges*, were headed by a dyer in opposing the *French* government; but he and his associates were soon driven out of the city, which *Chatillon* entered at the head of seventeen hundred *French* horse; preceded by two hogheads full of halts, which *Chatillon* publicly declared were to be employed in hanging the chiefs of the rebellious. Dispositions were made accordingly, but the people ran to arms, and recalling the dyer, cut in pieces fifteen hundred of the *French* horse, who were to have guarded the executions, *Chatillon* himself escaping with great difficulty by swimming across the town-ditch in the night-time. A general revolt of the country followed, and it was headed by three sons of the count, who had resided at *Namur*, their mother's inheritance, and who besieged *Courtray*.

and throw off the French yoke. This sudden revolt of a country on which *Philip* had set his heart, gave him great disquiet, and he made the count of *Artois* his general for reducing the *Flemings*, and raising the siege of *Courtray*. The count advanced to that city, and the princes, though their men were raw and undisciplined, fortified their camp and continued the siege at the same time; upon which the count of *Artois*, against the advice of the constable *de Nesle*, who attended him, prepared to attack their trenches with his cavalry. This rash attempt was punished by a total defeat of the *French*, twenty thousand of whom fell upon the spot, together with the count and the constable. This great defeat put almost all the noble families in *France* into mourning, and *Philip* raised the whole force of his kingdom to revenge it, but he was diverted, as is said, by a secret piece of intelligence, which his sister, the queen of *England* sent him, and which she pretended to have had from her husband, as if some of *Philip's* chief officers had entered into a conspiracy to deliver him into the hands of the *Flemings*. Whatever may be in this story, it is certain, that *Philip* pretended the season

season was too far gone, and he put off his expedition to the next year.

In the mean while, the *Genoese* gallies which were in the *A treaty*. *French* pay, and commanded by *Grimaldi*, beat the *Flemish* fleet, commanded by the count's son *Guy*, who was taken and sent prisoner to *Paris*. This advantage did not compensate for the prodigious expence that attended the war. *Philip*, to defray it, had consented to the diminution of his coin, which we have already taken notice of; but all methods being found ineffectual, he agreed upon a truce, and setting at liberty old count *Guy*, he sent him to *Flanders*, to endeavour to bring his subjects to *Philip's* terms; but stipulating, that if he did not succeed, he should return to his chains, which the old count punctually performed, and died at *Champeigne* in the eightieth year of his age. This obstinacy of the *Flemings*, who were still commanded by three of the old count's sons, obliged *Philip* to raise a fresh army, consisting of almost all the fighting men in *France*, and commanded by himself, and his two brothers, the counts of *Valois*, and *Eureux*, and the chief of the *French* lords. The chief command of the *Flemings* was entrusted with prince *Philip* of *Flanders*, who had seen some service in *Italy*; and after opposing as effectually as he could, *Philip's* army, waited for it at *Mons en Puelle*, where he fortified his camp.

The flower of the *French* troops consisted in cavalry, who Total de-
repelled the sallies of the *Flemings*; but their ardour was feat of
not to be restrained by *Philip's* authority. Instead of be- the *French*
ing shut up in their camp they attacked the *French* troops troops.
in theirs with so much fury, that they overthrew all be-
fore them, and penetrated to the royal tent, just as the king
was preparing to go to supper. His person had probably
fallen into their hands, had not a few lords rallied their
flying troops and charged the *Flemings* with such intrepidity
as changed the fortune of the field, so that a great slaughter
of the *Flemings* ensued, and after the survivors had been
driven back to their camp, *Philip* laid siege to *Lisle*. The
besieged agreed to surrender the town, if not relieved be-
fore *October*, when all of a sudden prince *John* of *Namur*,
appeared at the head of sixty thousand men for its relief.
Though honour had compelled the great *French* lords to
serve *Philip* faithfully in the field, yet they were not dis-
pleased with the appearance of the *Flemish* army, which
gave them a plausible handle for advising the king to relin-
quish an attempt, by which if he proved successful, he
might become too powerful for all his vassals. The duke
of *Brabant*, and other lords accordingly pressed the matter
so close to *Philip*, that he gave orders for setting at
liberty *Robert de Bethune*, the eldest son of the *Flemish* prince,
who performed homage for his country, and delivered into
Philip's hands certain towns as pledges for eight hundred
thousand livres, which he was to pay for the expences of
the

the war. Though the event of this campaign fell far short of *Philip's* expectations, yet upon his return to *Paris*, he gave thanks for his successes, and endowed the church of *Notre Dame* with an additional revenue of a hundred livres a year, besides presenting it with an equestrian statue of himself in commemoration of the battle he had gained over the *Flemings*, which was fought on the eighteenth of *August*.

Philip's The cruelty of *Philip's* proceedings against the *Knights* accommo- *Templars*, and in the internal government of his kingdom, dation began now to disgust the *French*. He did not venture to with the resent several affronts that had been offered to the gover- king of nors of his frontier places by those of his son-in-law the *England*. king of *England*, who was in a similar situation with his barons, so that both kings agreed in putting nothing in dispute between them to the decision of the sword. *Edward* and his queen repaired to *Paris*, where after being most magnificently entertained by *Philip*, they agreed upon a mutual oblivion of all that had past. This accommodation became the more necessary to *Philip*, as he had now resumed his favourite design of reannexing *Flanders* to his crown. He accused the count of not having fulfilled the late treaty, and the count alleging that *Philip* himself was the infractor, he and his son were put under arrest, but they made their escape from *Paris*.

The parliament of *Paris* was then in high reputation, owing to the indefatigable pains of *Philip*, who had augmented it with lawyers and presidents, and had fixt its residence, so that all its proceedings were regular and had an air of the highest authority. The credit it obtained freed *Philip* from a great deal of trouble, by hearing and discussing appeals in person, which were sometimes attended with unpopular consequences. He made no scruple of submitting to his parliament the case between himself and the count of *Flanders*, who was summoned to appear before him in person. The count sent his deputy, which was deemed to be an insufficient appearance, and *Philip* urged his suit so warmly, that he obtained of the parliament a decree, by which the count was declared to have forfeited all his estates to the crown. The public, even in *France*, thought the sentence hard, if not unjust, and the pope interposed by his legate, cardinal *Gosselin*, in favour of the count. *Philip* proved deaf to all intercession, and raised another great army to execute the sentence of his parliament, under himself, his three sons, whom with the duke of *Burgundy* he knighted on the occasion, and his two brothers.

He re- *Philip* thought himself now sure of the conquest of news the *Flanders*, but he soon perceived his mistake. The powerful vassals of his crown disliked the expedition, and both *Flemish* his parliament and people disliked the oppressive measures war. which

which his ministers pursued for raising money, so much, that they refused to supply him. *Philip* was in this situation, and at the head of an army he could not pay, when the count offered to agree to a fresh treaty, and to give hostages for the performance of the terms, and in the meanwhile, to put *Courtray* into the king's hands. *Philip* was obliged to accept of those conditions. He found upon his return, that an universal spirit of dissatisfaction at his government had seized upon his subjects, and had he not laid aside his *Flemish* expedition, a general rebellion must have ensued. Afflictions of a still more tender nature at this time distressed *Philip*. The three princesses to whom his three sons had been married, proved unfaithful to their marriage-beds. The queen of *Navarre*, daughter to the duke of *Burgundy*, and the count *de la March*'s wife, were convicted of adultery with *Philip*, and *Walter de Launai*, who were, in regard to their persons, far inferior to those of the princes they had wronged. The ladies were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and their lovers, with their pandar, after being flayed alive, were hanged upon gibbets. This sentence did not satisfy the king of *Navarre*, for he ordered his wife to be strangled in the place of her confinement.

This series of public and private disgraces broke the spirit of *Philip*, and he died in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign, leaving his dominions in great disorder, through the avarice of his disposition, and the cruelty of his government, which were of more prejudice to his people, than his abilities and virtues, of which he had many, were of service.

Lewis X. surnamed Hutin, or the Boisterous.

THE favourite brother of *Philip* the late king, *Charles de Valois*, had during that reign acquired such experience in the affairs of the *French* monarchy, that he retained all his influence under this prince. *Lewis* succeeded his father under great disadvantages. The people were discontented, and the treasury exhausted to such a degree, that he was unable, for some time, to defray the expence of his coronation and that of his second wife, *Clemence*, daughter to *Charles*, king of *Hungary*. He was, besides, apprehensive, from the public discontents, of an insurrection which might interrupt the solemnity. *Charles de Valois* undertook, on the part of his nephew, that the nobility, who thought their privileges had been impaired during the late reign, should be restored to all they had possessed under *St. Lewis*, and the ceremony was performed at *Rheims* by the archbishop of that city.

Though

Which is
governed
by Charles
of Valois.

Though *Charles* of *Valois* thus retained his influence in the management of public affairs, yet the acting minister was *Poitier de Marigni*. He was an able statesman, and had for his public services, particularly during the dispute between the late king and pope *Boniface*, been placed at the head of the finances, but he had the misfortune of being as remarkably passionate as *Charles de Valois* was in his natural disposition. *Lewis*, in the presence of both, asked the reason why his treasury was so empty. *Marigni* replied, that *Charles* had appropriated to himself all the money that remained over the sums disbursed in the late reign for the king's use. *Charles* resented this boldness; however honest, so much, that high words past before the king, and a duel must have ensued in his presence, had not the other counsellors interposed. *Charles*, however, remained implacable, and prosecuted *Marigni* with the utmost bitterness, and with such ridiculous aggravations of the charge against him, that he was accused of having employed a magician to make certain wax figures of the king and his father, to effect their deaths by necromancy, and which had proved fatal to the late king. The judges who could admit such a charge to be brought before them, could not be supposed to be void of prepossession. The king was secretly convinced of *Marigni's* innocence, and would have saved him, but the influence of *Charles* was so great that he was condemned by the judges, and notwithstanding the reluctance of *Lewis*, he was hanged upon a remarkably high gibbet, erected by himself for the punishment of signal offenders. The supposed necromancer put himself to death in prison, the under officers of the treasury were tortured; *Marigni's* brother, who was bishop of *Beauvois*, was forced to fly, but the bishop of *Chalors*, chancellor of *France*, being charged as an accomplice in *Marigni's* treason, was acquitted by his judges.

Marigni
the first
minister
wrongful-
ly put to
death.

The
Flemish
war re-
newed.

The executions of *Marigni* and of his accomplices, preceded the coronation of *Lewis*, but the money that arose from the confiscations of their estates being quickly exhausted, new methods were devised for raising more, which proved so disagreeable to the public, that the punishment of *Marigni* was by the populace condemned as being cruel and unjust, and *Charles* of *Valois* was execrated as being his murderer, and the author of all the calamities of the state. *Lewis* and his uncle seemed to think that *Marigni* had suffered unjustly. The former left by his will a sum to his family; and the latter fell into a kind of remorse of conscience upon his being struck with a palsy, which he interpreted as a divine judgment for the hand he had in the prosecution. Notwithstanding this, *Charles* of *Valois* appeared as haughty and intractable as ever, and in a manner compelled his nephew to resume the *Flemish* war, which the *French* in general looked upon with horror. He thought that

that a fair opportunity for this presented, by the *Flemings* being at this time afflicted with a famine; but he found great difficulty in raising money for the expedition.

The vassals of feudatories of the crown were not compellable but to a certain service, and therefore *Lewis* could have recourse only on his demesne lands, which indeed were very considerable; but his tenants claimed the protection of law and justice, and pleaded an exemption from all extrafeudal duties, or arbitrary demands of money. *Marigni*, who by all accounts, was a bold, arbitrary, though honest, minister, had disregarded those pleas, and had employed the king's officers to levy by force both upon the nobles and the sub-tenants, whatever taxes he called for. But though he thus used force, he had still some excuse at hand. Sometimes he pretended only to borrow the money he raised, and sometimes he sold the bondsmen (by whom we are to understand the tenants, and subtenants in the royal demesne, who were obliged to certain services, both menial and rural) an exemption from those services, to which he gave the name of selling them their freedom; and he often obliged the clergy to give him the tithes of their revenues. The same oppressive maxims were pursued after *Marigni's* death; and at last an army was raised for the reduction of *Flanders*. It was in vain for the count to plead that he had punctually fulfilled all the terms of the treaty, which he had entered into during the late reign, and that he had paid the money for which he stood engaged to *Marigni*. The king and his uncle entered his country, and the count, who seems to have had excellent intelligence, and to have known the backwardness with which the *French* soldiers served in the expedition, had recourse to his former practice of deprecating the royal vengeance, and once more offered to put *Courtray* into the king's hands, and to give hostages for the performance of any terms that *Lewis* should impose. By this, it seems as if the count had not surrendered *Courtray* in the late reign, or that he had retaken it. *Lewis* and his uncle found the army by no means disposed to second their efforts, and they accepted of the count's proposals by taking possession of *Courtray*. The negociation had been so artfully protracted by the count, that the wet season set in just as *Courtray* was delivered up, and the king's troops returning to *France*, the count recovered *Courtray*. This and the bad faith of the count, who thought himself intitled to repel injustice by fraud, in performing the other articles of the treaty, affected *Lewis* the more, as he still found his coffers empty, and his people discontented.

Various are the accounts of his death, which happened on the fifth of *June* 1316, some say, by drinking water while he was overheated, and others by poison, the use of which

Lewis
outwitted
by the
count of
Flanders.

Lewis.

which was then common in *France*, and administered to him by the relations of the *Marigni* family.

We can say little as to the character of this prince, who reigned but twenty months, and was entirely directed by his uncle of *Valois*. By his first wife, who was the grand-daughter of *St. Lewis*, by the duke of *Burgundy*, and who, as we have already mentioned, was strangled in her confinement by her husband's order, he had a daughter, *Jane* or *Joan*, who upon his death became heiress of *Navarre*, *Champagne*, and *Brie*, and who was educated under her grand-mother, at the court of her uncle *Otho*, duke of *Burgundy*. His second queen, daughter to *Charles* king of *Hungary*, was pregnant at the time of his death with a posthumous son, and survived him twelve years, which she spent in the most deplorable affliction for his death. Her grief was such, that it was thought to have proved fatal to her posthumous son.

State of The benefit of the institution of the parliament of *Paris*,
France at and the introducing into it jurists, or gownmen learned in
that time. the laws, was now sensibly felt in *France*, where the succession both to the crown and regency became doubtful. The count of *Valois* had in a manner despotically governed *France* during the late reign, collected his party and took possession of the *Louvre*. *Philip*, count of *Poitou*, the eldest brother to the late king, was then at *Lyons*, canvassing for the election of a pope; which he thought to be of so much importance, that he could not be drawn to *Paris*, and he committed his interest to the constable, the count of *Eureux*, who, as we have seen, was brother to *Charles* of *Valois*. The constable forced *Charles* to surrender the *Louvre*, and to submit his claim of being regent, to the decision of the parliament of *Paris*, who gave it for *Philip*. He was accordingly invested in it for eighteen years, and the seal which he made use of had for its inscription, "*Philip*, son of the *French* king, ruling the kingdoms of *France* and *Navarre*," This settlement of the regency brought on the consideration of the succession to the crown in case the child, with which the queen was pregnant, should die. No precedent had occurred since the extinction of the *Carlovingian* line, that could raise a doubt as to the succession, which had always descended from the father to the eldest son.

Doubts The salique law, though since so famous, was at this
concern- time but little mentioned in *France*. The count de la
ing the *Marche*, who was the second prince of the blood, *Charles*
succession. of *Valois*, the constable d'*Eureux*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, were of opinion that the crown of *France* ought to be considered as a simple fief, to descend to the heir, whether male or female, of the last possessor. In this light, *Lewis Hutin's* daughter by his first marriage must have been queen of *France*; but this opinion was strongly combatted by the favourers of the salique law, who were numerous and powerful,

powerful, and who insisted upon the females being passed over, and their crown descending to the regent. On the seventeenth of *June* all parties came to an accommodation at *Vincennes*. No doubt was made, that if the queen was pregnant of a prince, who should live, he must be king; and it was provided, that, if the queen was pregnant of a daughter, she and her eldest sister should inherit the kingdom of *Navarre*, with the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*, but that neither of them should marry without the consent of the regent for the time being.

All this while a war was going on between the regent and *Robert of Artois*; about some estates which the former thought belonged to the regent's wife's mother the countess of *Artois*; in which the regent was so successful that he forced *Robert* to surrender himself prisoner, and to refer his claim to the parliament, who gave it in favour of the countess.

John I.

WE are justified in admitting this prince into the list of *French* kings, because, though he did not live above ten or twelve days, public acts certainly passed in his name. Remark;

Philip V. surnamed the Tall.

THE general sense of the *French* nation at this time, undoubtedly favoured the salique law, and *Philip V.* made no scruple of mounting the throne in preference to the daughter of the late king. The old dutchess of *Burgundy* entered a protest in favour of her grand-daughter; and *Philip*, though he had gone to *Rheims* to be crowned, promised that her case should be submitted to the parliament of *Paris*. Some doubts arose concerning the party which *Charles de la Marche*, the king's brother would embrace, on account of his hastily leaving *Rheims*, and not being at the coronation; but that prince was soon reconciled to the salique succession, which opened a prospect of the crown for himself and his family. *Philip* behaved with vast firmness and moderation at the same time. The general assembly of the states or parliament of *Paris*, solemnly recognized his right by swearing allegiance to him, and, after him, even to his son, *Lewis*, who died a few days after. He engaged on his side pope *John XXII.* who empowered the archbishop of *Bourges*, to excommunicate all disturbers of the public peace, be their rank or degree ever so high. As the house of *Burgundy* was chiefly engaged in perplexing his title to the crown, he took off its opposition by giving the county of *Burgundy* to his daughter whom he married

to the duke, and he promised his niece, the queen of *Navarre* in marriage to the son of the constable of *Evreux*.

He reduces the grievances of his people. All opposition from the friends of the queen of *Navarre* being removed by those seasonable measures, *Philip* issued a commission to enquire into the grievances of his people. The encrease of the royal power continued still to be an eye sore to the great tenants of the crown, because it

curbed the tyrannical exercise of their power over their inferiors. *Philip* instructed his commissioners to declare, that as impartial justice was the rule of his government, so he would not suffer the greatest peer, prelate, or lord of his kingdom to oppress the meanest of his subjects, and that he was determined to punish with the utmost severity all who should have recourse to arms in opposing his commissioners in the execution of their duty. A prince who opposes the oppressions of an intermediate order, is sure of rendering himself popular, if not absolute, and *Philip* was so well supported by the inferior ranks on this occasion, that contrary to expectation, the public tranquillity was preserved, and the tyranny of the crown vassals was curbed.

The popularity of *Philip* reached even to the *Flemings*, between whom, and the *French*, hostilities were suspended by a truce. When the war was about to be renewed, the *Flemings* obliged their count to come in good earnest to a reconciliation with *Philip*. *Lisle*, *Doway*, and *Orchies*, were accordingly ceded to *France*, and *Philip* gave his daughter *Margaret*, in marriage to the grandson of the count, who was to succeed to the county, preferably to his father.

The springs in France said to be poisoned by the Jews. *Philip*, after that, summoned *Edward* II. of *England* to do him homage for his *French* dominions, and though *Edward* evaded the performance, he accepted of his excuse, out of affection to his sister, and in consideration of his own circumstances at home. He had formerly taken the cross, and he made it a point of conscience to perform his engagements. This could not be done without amassing vast sums of money; but *Philip* suspended his intention for some time by the earnest desire of the pope, who was hard pressed by his enemies in *Italy*. Notwithstanding this suspension, the *Saracen* princes who had settled in *Africa*, took the alarm, and according to the *French* authors, they employed the *Jews*, who after being banished, had been re-admitted into *France* during the late reign, to poison the wells and springs all over *France*. The *Jews* are said to have employed the lepers (great numbers of whom were then in the kingdom, but kept in hospitals separate from the rest of the people) to execute that most infernal purpose, which they did so effectually, as to thin *France* of its people.

Vol. X. p. 130. About this time, *Philip* sent *Philip*, son to *Charles* of *Valois*, into *Italy*, with an army, to the pope's assistance. *Philip* of *Valois*, either unwilling or unable to fight *Visconti*, compromised matters with him, and returned with his army to *France*,

France, just at a time when the people there, exasperated to frenzy against the *Jews*, were burning and butchering them in all quarters of the kingdom. Upon the whole, however, this universal poisoning of the wells is a very questionable assertion, and, indeed, improbable; nor are authors agreed upon the circumstances attending it. The *Jews* of this century were persecuted in more *Christian* countries than *France*, on account of their money, and upon the most frivolous pretexts. It is certain that the unhappy victims persisted, to the last, in professing their innocence, and affirming that the mortality was owing to a plague.

Philip V: like the greatest of his ancestors, never lost sight of reducing the power of his vassals not belonging to his demesne. Many of them continued to exercise rights which were incompatible with those of his sovereignty as lord-paramount, particularly those of coinage; and each, within his own dominions, had separate weights, standards, and measures; which, in matters of commerce, introduced inexpressible confusion. *Philip* issued a commission for enquiring into those grievances; and having received the report of the commissioners, he applied himself to correct them, by entering into treaty with his principal vassals; to whom he offered an equivalent in money for their most dangerous and inconvenient privileges. The counts of *Valois*, *Clermont*, and *Bourbon*, embraced his offer; but the opposition among the other vassals was so strenuous, that *Philip* found himself unable to complete so good and so wise a design. He had made it a point of conscience to oblige his prelates to reside in their respective dioceses, and they proved to be the most violent opposers of his government and his most public-spirited measures. A report prevailed, that *Philip* intended to oblige every tenant of his demesne lands to pay one fifth of his income for purchasing those privileges; and this report was so strenuously propagated, that it lost *Philip* all the popularity he had so deservedly acquired.

Opposition made by the *French* against *Philip's* good designs.

It must be acknowledged, that the *French* nation, at this time, was both degenerate and licentious; and the great feudatories encouraged their inferiors in all their enormities.

Degeneracy of the *French*.

Philip, among other attempts at reformation, had re-established the chancellery, or the court that had belonged to his ancestors, as counts of *Paris*, and in which their peers sat. The course of justice in this court had been so monstrously perverted, that the provost of *Paris* offered to acquit a rich man who could bribe him, and to hang a poor one in his stead, and for his crime. This fact being proved, the provost himself was hanged; and *Philip* ordered, that all his successors should preside in the chancellery, and administer justice in person.

All *Philip's* virtues could not defend him from the breath of calumny; and it affected his spirit so much, that he fell ill of a fever which terminated in a consumption, and cut

Philip's death; him

him off, in 1322, after languishing five months, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the sixth of his reign; but many authors say that his death was hastened by poison. From the tenor of *Philip's* reign, we must conclude him to have been a prince endued with all the virtues and abilities of his greatest predecessors. His chief misfortunes were owing to his being too much of a patriot king. He lamented the sufferings of the poor under his great vassals, who, at that time, were barbarous, ignorant, and superstitious, and placed all their importance in the power they had to tyrannize. The measures which *Philip* pursued in reducing them were wise and generous; but he was obliged to give way, at last, to their ferocity; though it must be acknowledged that he carried his reformation to very considerable lengths. *Philip* had the additional misfortune of being ill served by his ministers, particularly as to his finances; but the imposts he laid upon his subjects were by him sincerely meant to be applied to the purposes for which they were levied, and which proceeded from the ridiculous spirit of crusading. It is not among the least of this prince's merits, that he was a patron and encourager of learning, and extremely solicitous to have a learned and virtuous clergy.

His first queen was *Jane*, daughter to the count of *Burgundy* by a countess *Matilda*, who was heir of the county of *Artois*. Though she had been condemned to imprisonment, upon the charge of adultery, yet *Philip*, either out of love or justice, believed her to be innocent, and took her back to his bed. He had by her a son, called *Lewis*, who died in his infancy; and a daughter, *Joan*, who was, in her own right, countess of *Burgundy* and *Artois*, and was married to the duke of *Burgundy*. His second daughter, by the same marriage, was *Margaret*, married to the count of *Flanders*. His third daughter was *Isabel*, wife, first, to the dauphin of *Vienne*, and then to the count of *Fecoming*, in *Franche Comte*; his fourth daughter, *Blanche*, died a nun.

Charles IV. surnamed the Fair.

Accession of Charles IV. **T**HIS prince, whom we formerly called the count *de la Marche*, had, as we have seen, been an early convert to the principles of the salique succession; and the duke of *Burgundy*, husband to the late king's eldest daughter, was the first who paid him homage. As the late king was only count of *Poitou* when the duke's wife was born, the duke claimed that county as her inheritance. The affair was referred to the parliament; who, upon examination, found the grant of the county to have been limited to the count and his heirs male, and therefore they disallowed of the duke's claim.

The reader may remember that *Blanche*, the count *de la Marche's* wife, had, towards the end of the reign of *Philip* the

the Handsome, been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment for adultery. The husband was now a king; the wife continued a prisoner; but no divorce had passed between them. The pope was applied to; and he found a ready salvo for His marriage arbitratingly dissolving the marriage, by declaring it to be illegal for two causes: first, because the countess *Matilda*, who had been mother to *Blanche*, had stood god-mother to the king; and, secondly, because the wedded parties were related to each other in the fourth degree. This sentence was as absurd as it was infamous and groundless, and fully manifested the pestilent power assumed by the popes of those days. If the lady was proved to have been guilty of adultery, a divorce ought to have passed in course, and none would have blamed the process. But this was no more than could have been done by an inferior prelate; and the pope was resolved to shew his omnipotence in church matters, by dissolving the marriage with his own impious breath. Even when a dispensation from one of his own predecessors for the consanguinity was produced, he set it aside, as being informal.

Charles the Fair being thus declared a single person, he married *Mary*, daughter to the emperor of *Germany*, where he intended to establish an interest, as he secretly aspired to the imperial crown; but, about the year 1323, his attention was diverted towards *England*. One of that king's vassals, who is, by the *French* king's historians, called the lord of *Montpesat*, had built a castle upon a debateable estate claimed by the crown of *France*, and therefore he was dispossessed of it by the order of *Charles*. *Edward's* seneschal of *Guienne* retook it, and put the *French* garrison to the sword, if we are to believe the *French* authorities. It is certain, the matter became, in a short time, so serious, that *Edward* was summoned to appear in the *French* parliament, there to answer to his peers. *Edward*, instead of obeying, sent thither, as his proxy, his brother *Edmund*, earl of *Kent*. This appearance was, as usual, judged to be insufficient, because the summons was personal; and *Charles of Valois* over-run with an army great part of *Edward's* possessions in *France*. All that the earl of *Kent*, who remained still at *Paris*, could do, was to solicit for a truce, that his brother might have time for recollection and making his personal appearance. It does not appear that *Charles* was in earnest with regard to his divesting *Edward* of his *French* dominions; but his sister, the queen of *England*, a woman born for her husband's ruin, had been so provoked by his conduct, that she had formed connections with the discontented *English* barons, and with some lords about *Charles's* person, who entered into a deep scheme for deposing the unhappy *Edward*.

It was at this crisis that the famous count *de Valois*, who had so long made a capital figure in the *French* history, was attacked by a disease which was unaccountable and incurable; and which he considered as a judgment from heaven for

the death of *Marigni*, whom he had procured to be condemned unheard. The count was so much convinced of this, that he procured a reversal of *Marigni's* sentence; restored his descendents to their blood and estates; and ordered his body to be taken from the gibbet, where it was still exposed, and to be buried.

Intrigues of the queen of *England* against her husband. The plot between the queen of *England* and her *French* and *English* friends, had been so deeply laid, that *Edward* found himself in an inextricable toil. He saw himself in danger of being stripped of all his *French* possessions by the judgment of his peers in *France* and the arms of *Charles*, unless he appeared in that parliament; which he could not do without risking the crown of *England* by the disaffection of his barons.

The queen affected to forget all her causes of complaint, and offered to negotiate her husband's peace with her brother, by going in person to *Paris*. There she endeavoured to inflame *Charles*, and all his ministers, against her husband and his favourites, particularly the *Despensers*; and behaved so much like a fury, that, notwithstanding the differences between her brother and her husband, she was checked by the former, who advised her to behave with more decency; and *Charles* was so moderate, that he forwarded an accommodation with his brother-in law.

By this time, for reasons foreign to the history of *France*, the two *Despensers* having returned to *England*, joined with the king, and took a severe vengeance upon their enemies. It appears, in fact, that queen *Isabel's* friends had acted illegally, as well as precipitately, in the sentences they had passed against the *Despensers*; and had been obliged to sue out a pardon from the king for what they had done.

Her infamous passion for *Mortimer*. *Isabel* was deeply in love with *Mortimer*, the head of the opposition to the *Despensers*; and, by the force of her intrigues, she procured an asylum for him and all the lords of her faction, who repaired to her brother's court.

proved by her letters. The merit and power of the *Despensers*, the eldest of whom was one of the most illustrious noblemen in *Europe*, full of years, but of vigour at the same time, had procured them many friends in *France*; and the queen had spun the thread of her dissimulation too fine. She had, upon her arrival in *France*, kept up a correspondence with the *Despensers*, by letters filled with professions of esteem and friendship for their persons and characters. *Edward*, on the other hand, had pressed her, in the most tender and affectionate manner, to return to *England*; and offered to give her security for all attempts that might be made to her prejudice by the *Despensers*, or any other subjects, be they ever so great. He wrote in the same terms to her brother, the king of *France*, who pressed likewise for her return to her husband; but he could do her no other answer than, that she could not return with safety to *England* while the younger *Despenser* was alive.

alive. This answer being communicated by *Charles* to *Edward*, the latter sent over copies of all the letters she had written to the *Despensers* since the time of her leaving *England*, as so many vouchers, that it was the love of *Mortimer*, not the fear of the *Despensers*, that retained her in *France*.

Those proofs were too striking, and the queen's passion was now too public, not to affect *Charles*, notwithstanding all the ascendancy his sister had over him. The pope, likewise, interposed in the affair, and wrote a letter to *Charles*, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to send his sister and her son over to *England*.

In the mean while, the treaty between *Charles* and *Edward* An account went forward. The seizure of *Guienne* was allowed to be commo- valid, and *Charles* was to provide it with a seneschal of his dation, own, till *Edward* should, in person, make his appearance proposed, before the parliament of *Paris*; and then it was to be re- stored to him. *Edward's* ministers were afraid of being ru- ined if he should leave *England*; and *Edward*, by way of salvo, proposed to resign his *French* dominions to his son, who should do homage for them in person; but upon the express condition, that those estates should revert to *Edward* in case of his son's death; and, that the young prince should not be under the tutory of his uncle, the king of *France*, nor obliged to marry without his father's consent. Those terms being agreed to, the young prince was sent over with the bi- shop of *Exeter*, and a noble escort, to *France*, where his mo- ther immediately took him under her tuition.

It was in vain for *Edward* to complain of the non-per- formance of the late treaty. The queen of *England's* in- fluence at the *French* court was now redoubled, and she pre- vailed with her son to declare, that he did not intend to re- turn to *England*. *Edward* seeing himself thus infamously abused, commenced hostilities by sea and land; and the king of *Castile* joined with the pope in remonstrating with *Charles* upon the scandalous treatment that *Edward* met with. *Charles* was ashamed to give his countenance longer to so infamous a conspiracy against the bed and dignity of a monarch. He told his sister, in plain terms, that he was resolved she should retire from his dominions, and that he hoped she would not put him to the trouble of employing force to oblige her. but broken.

Isabel had foreseen this shock, and had provided against it. Queen *Robert de Artois* was her friend, and advised her to connect *Isabel* herself with the earl of *Hainault*, as being the most likely prince on the continent to serve her; and, at the same time, *Hainault* he proposed a match between the count's beautiful daughter *Philippa* and the young prince of *Wales*. *Isabel* accepted of the proposal; which, very possibly, was made with the consent of her brother *Charles*; and, upon her arrival at the court of *Hainault*, that prince's brother, *John*, in the romantic stile of the times, professed himself her knight, and was

was by her accepted of as such. As to the conduct of *Charles* it is pretty questionable in point of sincerity. His subjects had lost no fewer than a hundred and twenty ships in the short rupture with *England*, and *Oliver Ingham*, whom, with *Edward's* consent, he had appointed to be governor of *Guienne*, had invaded the *French* dominions. The queen and her party aggravated matters, and spread abroad reports that all the *French* in *England* had been put to the sword, which produced an order from *Charles* for arresting the persons and effects of the *English* in *France*, but they were released as soon as the other report was found to be groundless. All the ministers of *Charles* counselled him to give up the queen of *England*, and to send her home to her husband, and *Robert de Artois* was the only *Frenchman* of importance who openly espoused her interest. It seems to be certain, that the queen thought her brother in earnest, for upon her going to *Hainault* she travelled some part of the way towards the sea coast, and great debates were held in the *French* council whether she and her son ought not to be sent over in custody to *England*, because they had remained in *France* a few days after they had notice to leave it.

and de-
thrones
her hus-
band.

The remainder of *Isabella's* adventures, her invading *England* with about three thousand *Hainaulters*, the dethronization, and murder of her husband, with the accession of her son to the throne of *England*, belong not to this part of our history.

Charles
aspires to
the im-
perial
crown.

By virtue of the accommodation we have already mentioned in the affairs of *Flanders*; count *Lewis* had succeeded his father *Robert de Bethune*, in virtue of a decision of the *French* parliament, and he was supported in it by *Charles*. The fixing so great an ally as the count of *Flanders* was, in his interest, was conducive to his favourite view of being chosen emperor of *Germany*. The pope had befriended *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, in opposition to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, who had defeated and imprisoned his rival, and he proposed that upon *Frederic's* obtaining his liberty, he should resign all his pretensions to the imperial crown to *Charles*, who was to pay a large sum to *Leopold* of *Austria*, the most powerful prince of that family. The emperor

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Lewis had some intimation of this confederacy, and set *Frederic* at liberty without any ransom, by which *Leopold* was disappointed; but being very unwilling to lose the money promised by *Charles*, he flattered him with the hopes that the *German* princes would recognize his title to the empire. *Charles* was so much bent on that prospect which flattered his ambition, to reunite to the crown of *France* all the dominions that had belonged to *Charles the Great*, that he appointed a meeting at *Bur jur Aube*, to which he accordingly went with equipages and attendants suitable to his quality. He was however deceived in his expectations.

ibid.

in which
he is dis-
appointed

The rigour and injustice of the pope against the emperor
Lewis

Lewis of Bavaria, had made the princes of *Germany* that emperor's friend, and *Leopold* was the only person who repaired to the place of meeting. This disappointment awakened *Charles* from his dream of ambition, and he was so much ashamed of his project that he never could be brought to resume it.

In other respects *Charles* appears to have been a wise and a moderate prince. He considered the *Scots* as the best check that *France* could have upon the *English*, and not only cultivated a friendship with them but entered into a mutual guaranty with regard to the succession to both crowns; by which, if either king should die without an heir, male the other was to support the determination of the states of his kingdom in regard to the succession to the crown with all his force. This treaty was the effect of providence in *Charles*, who saw the probability of himself dying without a male heir, his young son and his queen being now both dead, *Charles* however, espoused for a second wife, his cousin german *Joan*, daughter to the count of *Eureux*, which marriage was held to be valid, though his first had been pronounced invalid, though contracted within a much more remote degree of consanguinity. *Charles* at this time, dropt all thoughts of ambition, and applied himself to the internal affairs of his kingdom.

The *Lombards*, who were then the greatest bankers in *Europe*, had found means to become masters of his finances, by which they had acquired most prodigious sums to the prejudice of the public. This being discovered, *Charles* ordered them to be prosecuted with the utmost severity, stript them of their ill gotten wealth, and banished them out of his kingdom. One *Jourdain de Lisle*, a lord of *Aquitain*, a true representative of the ancient feudal tyrants, had been indicted before the king and his parliament for no fewer than eighteen capital felonies. He was related by marriage to pope *John XXII.* who had been a *French* cobbler at *Cahors*, and he thought this alliance rendered his person sacred. Besides that, he was rich, and had no idea of any subordination, especially, to the parliament. An officer summoned him to appear before that tribunal, and *de Lisle* beat the officer's brains out with his own mace. Without conceiving he had done any thing amiss, he went to *Paris* soon after, where by the order of *Charles*, he was arrested, tried before the parliament, and hanged ignominiously on a gibbet.

Upon the death of *Edward II.* of *England*, his son, *Edward III.* (who had by this time married *Philippa*, daughter of the earl of *Hainault*) was summoned to perform his homage at the *French* court for possessions in that kingdom. *Edward* declined to appear in person, and though he was then embroiled in a war with the *Scots*, *Charles* accepted of his excuse. Perhaps his complaisance was owing to the sensible decay of his health. Before his death he exchanged *la Marche*,

His treaty
with the
Scots.

His ex-
amplary
justice.

Marche, for *Clermont*, which belonged to *Lewis*, grandson to *St. Lewis*, and he erected his barony of *Bourbon* into a dukedom and peerage.

Death and character. *Charles* died at *Bois de Vincennes*, on the first of *February* 1328, after living thirty-four years, and reigning seven, leaving his queen big with child. When he was past hopes of recovery, during his last illness, some of his courtiers put him in mind of the succession to his crown. His answer was, "That if his queen was with child of a daughter, the states of the kingdom were to nominate his successor. If this answer is true, it affords strong grounds for presuming that the principles of the *salique* law were as yet undetermined with regard to the succession. The governing rule of the reign of *Charles* was a good correspondence with all his neighbours, and the princes of the blood, though he was far from being without ambition, and was brave in his own person.

Philip VI. of Valois, surnamed the Fortunate.

State of the suc-
cession to
the crown
of France. THE pregnancy of the queen involved the administration of *France* in vast difficulties, which were increased by the great number of princes of the blood then existing. At the head of those was the king of *Navarre* of the house of *Eureux*; but tho' he was married to the daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, the decision of parliament in favour of the male line, set him aside from the succession. The next prince of the blood was the duke of *Bourbon*, lately so created, and deriving his descent from *Robert*, count of *Clermont*, son of *St. Lewis*. The house of *Artois*, the third of the blood royal, was descended from *Robert* of *Artois*, who, as we have seen, had been killed in *Egypt*, and was brother to *St. Lewis*. *Robert* the third, was then count of *Artois*, though the county had been adjudged to belong to his aunt *Maud*. *Dreux* and *Courtnei* were two other royal houses, and their head was the duke of *Bretagne*, who was descended from *Robert*, the son of *Lewis the Gross*. The last, but perhaps, the most powerful of the princes of the *French* blood was that of *Burgundy*, who by the father's side was descended from *Robert*, son to king *Robert*, and grandson to *Hugh Capet*, and by the mother's side, he was grandson to *St. Lewis*. *Philip de Valois*, descended from *Charles*, third son of *Philip the Hardy*, had married to the duke of *Burgundy's* sister. We have not inserted the name of *Philip* of *Valois* as a prince of the blood because he pretended to be king, as being cousin german to the late king. He met with a powerful opponent in the person of *Edward III.* king of *England*, who, by his mother *Isabel*, was nephew to the late king, and pretended, that admitting the validity of the *salique* law, his being a male heir, though by a female, entitled him to the succession.

The appointment of a regent was the first measure in which is dispute. It was on all hands agreed to confer that dignity adjudged on the heir of the crown; consequently, the appointment to *Philip* of the regency determined the succession. The *French* parliament, peers, and princes, and the nation in general were clear that *Edward* by descending from a female could have no right to the crown of *France* upon the principles of the *salique* law, and *Philip* accordingly entered on the exercise of the regency. *Edward* pretended he did not oppose him, because it was uncertain whether the queen was pregnant of a son or a daughter; but he declared that he was resolved never to lose sight of his claim upon the crown. For this purpose he sent over the bishops of *Hereford* and *Coventry* to assert his claim, as soon as he understood that the late king's widow was brought to bed of a daughter; but *Edward's* youth and the divisions which prevailed in his kingdom rendered his claim but little regarded in *France*, and *Philip* was crowned king, and as such recognized by all the people of *France*.

but claimed by *Edward* of *England*.

Among the first measures of his government was his sending ambassadors peremptorily to demand from *Edward* the performance of his homage for his *French* dominions. *Edward*, young as he was, was secret, determined, and resolute, though seemingly adviseable. His mother, and her infamous paramour *Mortimer* at that time governed the councils of *England*, and overpersuaded him to agree to pay the demanded homage; but, before he gave an answer to the *French* ambassadors, he appointed a procurator, who was a member of his council, whom he obliged to take an oath and to enter in his (*Edward's*) name, the following protestation: "That, for any homage, whatever to be made to the lord *Philip* of *Valois* (then bearing himself as king of *France*) by king *Edward* of *England*, for the dukedom of *Aquitain*, and the earldom of *Ponthieu*, he did not, nor would, thereby intend to renounce his hereditary right which he had to the said realm of *France*, or any way derogate from the same, even tho' all letters should afterwards be signed with either of his seals. And he did farther protest, that he would not do any homage to the lord *Philip* of his own free will; but as he should do it for the just fear he had of losing the said duchy and earldom: and because he was afraid, unless he should do homage to the said *Philip*, he could not avoid other great dangers and irreparable losses: therefore, in confirmation of the premises, king *Edward* caused his said procurator to take an oath, by laying his hands on the holy gospel, before all those of his council then present."

We shall not here enter into any dispute concerning the morality or justice of this reserved protestation. The ambassadors received a satisfactory answer by the mouth of the bishop of *London*, and upon their return home they made

Disputes concerning his homage.

made their report accordingly, that *Edward* was about to repair to *France* and perform his homage. *Edward's* magnanimity could not brook this report when it was published in *England*, and both openly and in private he repeated his resolution of never giving up his claim upon the crown of *France*, and that the concessions he had made were only to save his *French* dominions. All this passed before the coronation of *Philip de Valois*. It was therefore agreed at his court that *Edward* should perform his homage at *Amiens*, where *Philip* was to be crowned in *May* 1329. *Philip* aroused by *Edward's* declarations, took care that the ceremony should be as authentic and public as possible, and therefore all his great vassals, with the kings of *Bohemia*, *Navarre*, and *Majorca*, attended at *Amiens*.

which he
partially
performs,

Upon *Edward's* arrival there, great disputes arose concerning the manner in which he should perform his homage, and the *English* and *French* writers differ so much on that head, that it is to this day uncertain whether he did it according to the ceremonial prescribed by the *French* court, and which by *Philip* and his council held to be material to a feudal tenure. It seems to be certain, that *Edward* refused to submit to some circumstances of the demanded homage. *Philip*, who affected the utmost politeness to *Edward*, overlooked the failure, which consisted in *Edward's* not promising to bear faith and loyalty unto *Philip*. *Edward*, while at the *French* court was master of himself, and attended by a wise vigilant minister his chancellor, the bishop of *Lincoln*. *Philip* though he perceived the omission, carried his affectation of politeness so far that he only gently admonished *Edward* to examine upon his return to *England* whether he had not omitted some part of the ceremony, and if he should discover he had, to supply it.

but mends
it.

The queen dowager of *England*, and *Mortimer*, continued to be so violently attached to peace with *France*, that they condemned *Edward* for refusing to submit to the performance of the whole ceremonial as prescribed by the *French*. The princes of the blood and the great lords of *France* were not so complaisant as *Philip*, whom they upbraided with his tameness in receiving *Edward's* partial performance of his homage. The bishop of *Lincoln* perceived their discontent both in their countenances and discourse, and secretly hinted to *Edward*, that it was very possible the *French* king might extend his sovereign power so far as to arrest him; upon which *Edward* departed for *England* without taking leave, and was at *Windsor* before it was known that he had left *France*. He was followed by an embassy from *France*, consisting of the bishops of *Chartres* and *Beauvais*, the lord *Lewis Clermont*, the duke of *Bourbon*, the counts of *Harcourt* and *Tancarville*, with other noblemen, who had an audience of *Edward* and his council,

cil, where it was determined by his mother's and *Mortimer's* influence, that he had been guilty of an omission in performing his homage, and his complaisance went so far as to order an instrument to be made out, acknowledging the deficiency, and promising to supply it according to the ceremonial prescribed by the *French* court.

The dispute about the homage was not the only one that now subsisted between *Edward* and *Philip*. Double marriages between the two courts were proposed, in order to abolish all differences; but without effect, and an embassy of civilians, with the bishop of *Norwich*, and the earl of *Lancaster* at its head, was sent to compromise all matters in dispute. *Philip* had banished out of *France* some of *Edward's* *French* subjects by his right of sovereignty, and complained that some traitors to himself were harboured in *Guienne*. *Philip* claimed a large sum of money, which he pretended was due upon the arrears of former treaties between the two crowns, and he complained that four castles had been built upon his demesnes by the *English*. The prevailing party in the *English* council insisted upon *Edward* giving satisfaction to *Philip* upon all those heads, and *Edward* still retained so much delicacy for his mother that he was shy of declaring his sentiments, though he sent over the earl of *Cornwall* to take upon him the government of *Aquitain*.

Other differences between *France* and *England*.

In the mean while, the conferences between the *English* and the *French* ministers still went on, though *Philip* depending upon his interest in the *English* parliament had ordered his brother the duke of *Alençon* to besiege *Xaintes*, belonging to *Edward*. The latter made *Philip* all the concessions he could reasonably desire; but being teased by his mother and *Mortimer* to go still greater lengths, he took a resolution of visiting *France* incognito with only fifteen persons in his retinue. It is more than probable, that *Philip* had no real intention to provoke *Edward* by taking from him any part of his *French* dominions; but to embarrass him so as to prevail upon him to lay aside all thoughts of his claim upon the crown of *France*. *Edward*, on the other hand, did not care what concessions he made provided he kept that claim entire; and he thought that the protestaion which his procurator had entered was a sufficient salvo for all he had agreed to. He consented to ratify all that had been done by his ambassadors, though the king of *France* had by this time taken and demolished *Xaintes*.

Xaintes besieged by the *French*.

Edward dissembled so well that *Philip* imagined he had prevailed with him to drop all thoughts of the *French* succession; and he therefore not only restored him *Xaintes*, but remitted the demolition of the castle of *St. Croix*, which had been stipulated, and even gave *Edward* a present of thirty thousand pounds *Tournois*, by way of indemnification for the damages the *French* army had done him. Upon *Edward's* return to *England* he put to death *Mortimer*, and confined

But an accommodation takes place.

confined his mother, and thereby freed himself from all the difficulties he was under with regard to his *French* claim.

History of Robert of Artois. We have already mentioned the determination of the parliament of *Paris* in favour of *Maud*, who was daughter to the first count of *Artois*, and in prejudice to *Robert*, who was the heir male, and who pretended, that if the *salique* law was to take place in the succession to the crown, it ought to do the same with regard to the great fiefs belonging to it. The matter had been again and again disputed in parliament, but was always given against *Robert*. *Blanche*, the grand-daughter of *Maud* inherited the county; and upon the accession of *Philip* of *Valois*, whom *Robert* of *Artois* had been highly instrumental in raising to the throne; he demanded the county, and produced writings in his favour, which appeared to have been forged by a young woman who was very expert at that art. So daring an imposture provoked *Philip* so much, that he not only confirmed the county to *Blanche*, but banished *Robert* from court, though he was married to his sister. *Robert*, who had great parts as well as power, openly vowed revenge against *Philip*, upon which his estate in *France* was confiscated in 1331, he himself proclaimed a traitor, a reward set upon his head, and his wife and family were imprisoned.

Negotiations with England. *Robert* first took refuge with the count of *Namur*, and then with the duke of *Brabant*, and the count of *Hainault*; but all those princes being intimidated by *Philip's* power, *Robert* threw himself into the arms of *Edward*, who received him as an instrument designed by providence for placing him on the throne of *France*. *Philip* was vexed at the reception which *Robert* of *Artois* met with in *England*; and omitted nothing to break the connections between him and *Edward*. At first, he invited *Edward* to accompany him to an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and he paid so much regard to the invitation that he laid it before his parliament; who, without rejecting it, desired that the expedition might be put off for three years. This project failing, *Philip* invited *Edward* to a personal interview, at which all differences between them were to be terminated. This invitation was attended by a bull from the pope, in which his holiness very peremptorily insisted upon *Edward's* observing his engagements to *Philip*.

Injustice of the French ministry. While matters were thus situated, the *French* government thought proper to seize upon certain *English* ships, belonging to the port of *London*, and their crews, whom they imprisoned by way of reprisals. *Philip* likewise ordered his customhouse-officers to exact from *Edward's* subjects ten shillings *Tournois*, for every hoghead of wine brought down the river *Garonne*. As this demand was unprecedented, *Edward* resented it with some warmth, and ordered the

the sheriffs of *London* to draw up remonstrances against its novelty, and he commanded his ministers at the *French* court to complain of it in the strongest terms. We know of no satisfaction which *Edward* obtained upon this complaint, and indeed the state of his affairs were so complicated that he was in no condition to act with decisive vigour.

His claim upon the *French* crown continued still to be uppermost in his thoughts, and to influence all his measures both in the field and the cabinet. He was no stranger to the attachments between the kings of *France* and *Scotland*, and he knew that *David Bruce*, though betrothed to his sister, would declare for the *French*, if *Edward* should invade *Philip's* dominions. The hereditary right of *Bruce* to the crown of *Scotland* was very questionable, and *David* had a powerful competitor in the person of *Edward Baliol*, a young prince full of fire and vigour. We cannot suppose that *Edward*, by espousing so vigorously as he did, *Baliol's* right, meant to dethrone *Bruce*, if the latter could be brought to be quiet during *Edward's* absence in *France*, but that being found impracticable, *Edward* by a series of victories and warlike achievements which do not belong to this part of our history, actually placed *Baliol* upon the throne of *Scotland*, and forced *Bruce* to take refuge in *France*.

Edward's
ambitious
views up-
on *France*

Philip was far from being an unconcerned spectator of his antient ally's ruin. He long interposed by his ambassadors, and was seconded by those of the pope, in *Bruce's* favour, but *Edward* pretended that the dispute was entirely between the two competitors to a fief that belonged to the *English* crown. *Philip* did not think it proper to declare himself a party, though he lent a squadron of ships to *Bruce*. The truce between *England* and *Scotland* expiring, *Edward* made a formal concession of the *Scotch* crown to *Baliol*, who did him homage for the same, and thoroughly subdued that kingdom, though his and *Baliol's* possession of it proved to be short lived and precarious. *Edward* by his treaty with *Baliol* had disowned *Bruce's* right to the crown of *Scotland*, and *Philip* generously declared that he would employ all his force both by sea and land in restoring *Bruce*. He accordingly gave orders for invading *Edward's* *French* dominions, and he bestowed the command of twenty-six stout manned gallies to young *Bruce* to distress the *English* shipping. This was a sensible blow upon *Edward*; the *English* fleet being at that time far inferior to that of *France*, and *Bruce* did very considerable damage upon the coast of *England*, and those of the isle of *Wight*, *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, where he put many of the inhabitants to death, in retaliation for the barbarities committed by *Edward* in his invasion of *Scotland*.

Edward

Philip *Edward* endeavoured to make the pope his friend, by pretending that he was ready to undertake the crusade, and returning to *England* he was bountifully supplied by his subjects with money for making his grand claim good. He imagined that the frequent overthrows he had given the *Scots*, had totally disabled them from giving *England* any disturbance in his absence, and he now meditated a grand alliance with the most powerful of the *German* princes, which the bounty of his parliament and the vast sums he borrowed from foreigners, especially *Florentines*, enabled him to complete. Till he could do that, he artfully engaged *Philip* in a negotiation through the mediation of the pope. *Philip* received the credentials of the *English* ambassador, the chief of whom was the archbishop of *Canterbury*; but, having perused them, he declared he would not treat with *Edward* exclusive of his ally *David* king of *Scotland*. This and other negotiations were only to gain time on both sides. By the advice of *Robert* of *Artois*, he brought over his father-in-law the count of *Hainault* to enter heartily into his designs; and that prince undertook; with a little money to be furnished by *Edward*, to bring over to his interest the *Flemings*, who were disgusted with their count because of his attachments to *France*, and likewise the nobility of the *Low Countries* and the neighbourhood of the *Rhine*; and in short, the bishop of *Liege*, the archbishop of *Cologne*, the marquis of *Juliars*, and the other *German* princes upon the frontiers of the empire. As to the *Flemings*, neither their count nor their nobility had any command or authority over them; but they were entirely governed by a brewer, one *James Arteville*. This vile demagogue exercised a most despotic tyranny over his fellow subjects, and *Edward's* agent the artful bishop of *Lincoln*, omitted nothing that could gain him over to his master's interest. All he could do, however, was to get *Arteville's* consent that the *Flemings* should continue neuter in the dispute; and that the *English* should be supplied from *Flanders*, for their money, with arms and other necessaries. Besides those *German* princes, *Edward* had a strong interest among the *French* nobility, particularly the counts of *Armagnac*, and *de Foix*, and those vassals of the crown who thought that their importance had been reduced.

His allies. *Philip* on the other hand was not without his allies. The king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Britagne*, the count of *Bar*, and many other vassals continued faithful to him, and he entered into a particular convention with *John* of *Luxembourg*, king of *Bohemia*, the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*, with the bishop of *Mentz*, and other great *German* lords. But *Philip's* chief dependence was upon his fleet, which was manned by *Genoese*, who were then the best sailors in *Europe*, and continued still to command the seas. That he might keep well with the pope, he detached

detached a strong squadron to act against the infidels. *Edward* having intelligence of this detachment ventured to sea, and in his passage to *Flanders* entirely defeated the *French* fleet; they losing in the engagement twenty thousand men, as the *English* did about seven thousand, besides having their ships so much disabled that they were fit for no operation during the remaining part of the season.

Edward, about this time, sustained an irreparable loss by the death of his father-in-law the old count of *Hainault*, who had always effectually served him. The *German* princes were poor and mercenary to the last degree. They had agreed with the earl to enter ten thousand of their troops into *Edward's* pay; but having received his money they started a thousand objections before they could be brought to act against *Philip*, who, they said, was then in treaty with the head of the empire. Even *Edward's* brother-in-law, the new count of *Hainault*, began to entertain scruples with regard to his father's engagements, and *Edward* was obliged to encrease the subsidies he had contracted for.

The emperor was as needy as the other princes of the empire, and *Edward* was forced to see him with a large sum of money before he could prevail with him to invent a pretext for acting offensively against *Philip*. One soon presented, by the *French* having taken *Cambray*, and the emperor, who was then at variance with the pope, created *Edward* his vicar general of the empire, in order to retake it. *Edward*, accordingly besieged that city, which was defended by a numerous garrison under *Philip's* son, *John* duke of *Normandy*. He was prevailed upon by *Robert* of *Artois* to raise the siege, and to march into *Picardy*, which he found to be well provided to receive him. Both generals, on this occasion, proceeded with great caution, as the smallest slip might have been fatal to either. *Philip* found himself under inexpressible disadvantages by the indecision of his allies, the *Flemings* especially, who, though well inclined towards *Edward*, had certain scruples with regard to the lawfulness of fighting against their lord paramount, the king of *France*. To remove their objections, *Edward* besieged *Tournay*, and immediately assumed the titles and arms belonging to the kings of *France*. This was the more necessary, as he had been lately summoned before the *French* parliament as a peer, to answer for his protecting *Robert d'Artois*, who was a proscribed traitor, and upon his refusing to appear, *Philip* ordered his duchy of *Guienne*, and his county of *Ponthieu* to be confiscated; add to this, that *Edward's* assuming the title of *France*, in the eyes of the *Flemings*, freed them from their obligations to pay two millions of *Florins* to the pope in case they should take arms against the king of *France*.

While *Edward* was besieging *Tournay*, his mother-in-law, A truce the old countess of *Hainault*, who was likewise sister to concluded

Edward's
vast ex-
pences in
procuring
alliances.

He be-
sieges
Tournay.

Philip, and sister-in-law to *Robert d'Artois*, offered her mediation. *Philip* had, by this time, almost blocked up *Edward's* army in its camp. So powerful an advocate for peace could not be wholly unsuccessful, and she prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce for twelve months, preparatory for a general accommodation, which she did not live to complete. Upon the conclusion of the truce, the count of *Flanders* was re-admitted to his dominions; but though he paid great civilities to *Edward* at *Ghent*, yet he could not be prevailed upon to abandon *Philip*.

Affairs of *Bretagne*. Before the expiration of the truce, the dispute concerning the succession to the duchy of *Bretagne*, rekindled the flames of war more violently than ever. *Arthur II.* duke of *Bretagne*, had by his first wife three sons, *John*, *Guy*, and *Peter*; by his second wife, he had *John* of *Montfort*, and five daughters. *John* and *Peter* by the first marriage, had no issue, but *Guy*, the second son by the same marriage, had a daughter, whom her uncle duke *John*, who was the third duke of *Bretagne*, out of hatred to the wife and issue of the second marriage, considered as his heiress, and she was married to *Charles de Blois*, who was second son to *Philip de Blois*, by the king's sister. No sooner was this marriage consummated, than duke *John's* authority prevailed with the states of *Bretagne* to swear to the eventual succession of *Charles* to the duchy. *John de Montfort* thought that this was an invasion of his right, and no sooner was his eldest brother duke *John* dead, than he seized his money and made himself master of the duchy. The case was extremely difficult, as it did not clearly appear whether the duchy descended to females or not. Be that as it will, *Philip*, as lord of the fief, naturally supported his nephew, in right of his wife, daughter to *Guy* the count of *Penthièvre*, while *Montfort* threw himself upon the protection of *Edward*, who not only as king of *France*, but in his revived claim to the duchy of *Normandy*, pretended to be lord paramount. *Montfort* went to *England*, where he performed his homage to *Edward*, and received promises of assistance. *Philip* summoned *Montfort* to appear before his parliament, and, he accordingly went to *Paris*, from whence, being apprehensive of designs upon his person, he privately made his escape. Upon this, the parliament adjudged the duchy to belong to the countess of *Penthièvre*, and *Philip* ordered the duke of *Normandy* to give possession of it to her and her husband; but this decision was very justly thought to be directly contrary to the principles of the *salique* law, by which *Philip* was king of *France*.

Courage of the countess of *Montfort*. The duke of *Normandy*, at the head of the army of execution, entered *Bretagne*, when *Montfort*, who retired to *Nantes*, was betrayed into his hands and sent prisoner to *Paris*, while his wife, who was daughter to the count of *Flanders*,

Flanders, shut herself up in *Hennebonne*, with her son, then about five years of age. She was there besieged by *Charles of Blois*, but being a woman of more than masculine spirit and conduct, she found means to send off *Amery de Clisson* to inform *Edward*, who was then in *England*, of her situation; upon which, *Walter de Mauny*, one of *Edward's* best generals, was sent with some troops to relieve her. *Charles de Blois* was well supported by the *French* court, but the countess artfully negotiated a truce, which gave her an opportunity of escaping to *England* just at the time when the truce was expiring. *Edward* generously gave to *Robert d'Artois* a fleet and an army for her relief. In their voyage to *France* they were attacked by *Philip's* fleet under *Lewis de la Cerda*, and an engagement ensued, in which the dutchess behaved with as much courage and spirit as any officer on board. A storm separated the two fleets, and *Robert d'Artois* landing in *Bretagne*, took *Vannes*, which was soon after retaken by the *French*: *Robert* being mortally wounded, went over to *England*, where he soon after died.

It must be acknowledged that *Edward's* courage and impatience at this time, precipitated him into several dangerous inconveniences. He had found little or no support from his *German* allies, and that emperor even began to repent of his having conferred upon him the post of vicar general of the empire. The *German* princes who were in the interest of *France*, pretended that he could not bestow so great a power without the consent of the pope, and *Edward* refused to part with it without being indemnified for the expences which it had cost him. He past over to *Bretagne*, and at once laid siege to *Nantes*, *Vannes*, and *Guignan*, of which he was able only to take the latter, and raising the other sieges he assembled his army near *Vannes*, where he found himself much streightened by the duke of *Burgundy*; but pope *Clement VI.* then elected, interposing, a treaty of truce was concluded, by which *John de Montfort* recovered his liberty, and though forbidden to leave *Paris*, he was so apprehensive of designs against his person that he again fled to *Bretagne*. The pope, who was then at *Avignon*, laboured for peace, but all he could do was to prolong the truce for two years between *France* and *England*, in which the allies of both powers were included.

This campaign cannot be said to have been glorious to *Edward*, but he profited by every day's experience. *Philip* on the other hand was the more exorable on the head of peace, as he hoped that *Edward* would be more adviseable on that point now *Robert de Artois* was dead. This was far from being the case. Neither *Edward's* failure of success, nor the restoration of *David Bruce* to the crown of *Scotland*, could daunt *Edward*. He narrowly escaped being shipwrecked in his return to *England*, where he laid the terms

Original
of the
motto for
the order
of the
garter.

of the truce before his parliament, which was so far from giving any sanction to his claim upon the crown of *France*, that the members, in a manner, obliged him to send commissioners to the papal court to put an end to all differences between the two crowns by a definitive treaty. But *Edward*, who was averse to such a measure, gave such instructions to his commissioners as rendered the conferences fruitless. He, about the same time, prevailed with *Oliver de Clisson*, to declare for the *Montfort* party in *Bretagne*, where he was one of the greatest lords. *Philip*, by this time, began to feel the superiority of *Edward*, and therefore he sought to strengthen himself by alliances, and aggrandizing his family. *Spain* promised to furnish him with shipping; he made a most advantageous treaty with *Humbert*, dauphin of the *Viennois*, and he ordered a magnificent tournament to be held in honour of a marriage he had concluded between his son, the duke of *Orleans*, and the princess *Blanche*, daughter to *Charles the Fair*. *Clisson*, who had been lately a prisoner in *England* for taking part with the *Blois* family, having been exchanged, he repaired with eleven of his friends to assist at the tournament, which was to be held in imitation of *Arthur's* round table, lately revived by *Edward*, where all of them were most treacherously arrested by *Philip's* orders, and put to death.

Here we are to observe, that the motto of the institution of the garter was owing to those executions, though both *French* and *English* authors give it a more romantic and ridiculous original. Nothing could be more natural than for *Edward* to reproach his enemy *Philip* of *Valois*, for murdering the knights companions of this order after inviting them to the tournament; nor could this reproach be conveyed in more stinging terms than the motto he gave to his knights of the garter; intimating, that he meant not to trepan them as *Philip* had done the *Breton* noblemen. This is the obvious, and we will venture to say, the true, sense of the motto which has so greatly puzzled and perplexed all antiquaries, *English* as well as *French*.

Barbarity
of *Philip*.

It must be owned, that the *French* historians have but lamely defended their king from the charge of having murdered *Clisson* and his friends. All they can say is, that the parties wished well for the *Montfort* interest; but as no connection appeared between them and *Edward*, this proceeding of *Philip* was unpardonable. His barbarity affected *Edward* so much, that he published a letter which he wrote to the pope on the subject, full of invectives against *Philip*. He went farther, for he threatened to put to death *Philip de Leon*, one of the greatest men in *Bretagne*, and all his *French* prisoners, by way of reprisal. Upon his cousin the earl of *Derby* remonstrating to him that, by such a proceeding, he copied the *French* barbarity, he magnanimously gave *Leon* his liberty for ten thousand crowns, though

though he might have exacted forty thousand, upon his promising to repair to the *French*, court, and to deliver a defiance to *Philip*, declaring the truce to be broken. About the same time, *Edward* made a great addition to his marine, and gave additional subsidies to the duke of *Brabant* and other princes on the continent. He likewise ordered an account of all the breaches of the truce to be laid before his parliament; which advised him to prosecute the war, but without any papal or other mediation, or to put an end to it, if he was so inclined.

Philip was no stranger to *Edward*'s measures, and published a manifesto accusing him of having stirred up rebellions among his *French* subjects, and of being the sole and original infractor of the truce. In imitation of *Edward*, he increased his marine, and ordered his forests to be cut down for ship-building. Besides the king of *Castile*, who was to have furnished him with a fleet, he gained over the new bishop of *Liege*, and the count of *Hainault* to his interest. He prevailed with the pope to create his cousin, prince *Lewis* of *Spain*, king of the *Fortunate* or *Canary Islands*, by which that prince had a plausible pretext for raising men both in *France* and *England*, most of whom he delivered over to *Philip*'s service. Those vigorous preparations for war required immense sums, and obliged *Philip*, among other oppressive taxes, to lay one upon salt, which is to this day called the gabelle, and was projected by *Jews* and other foreigners.

In the year 1345, *Edward* sent a hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers to the assistance of the count of *Montfort* in *Bretagne*; and *Philip* was again, by *Edward*, defied, as his capital enemy and the usurper of his rights. Both sides appealed to the pope, who manifested great partiality for *Philip*, and justified his having executed the *Breton* noblemen. He likewise reproached *Edward* for the hostilities he had committed in *Bretagne*. *Edward* answered this letter, but at the same time invaded *France* with a strong fleet and army commanded by the earls of *Derby*, *Pembroke*, and *Oxford*. Those troops took *Bergerac*, and its inhabitants swore fealty to *Edward*. They likewise were successful against some other places, but the whole was not worth the blood and treasure spent in reducing them, so that the earl of *Derby* returned with little more than half his army to *Bordeaux*. The detached actions of this campaign are scarcely worth recording; but upon the whole, the earl of *Derby* and the *English* were victorious. They received, however, a considerable check before *Blaie*, where the valour of the garrison obliged them to raise the siege.

The successes of the earl of *Derby* were in a great measure owing to the straitened circumstances of *Philip*. He had

Edward's had oppressed his subjects with taxes, and lowered the value of his coin, that he might overbid *Edward* with the princes on the continent, and this had filled his subjects with universal discontent. No man was torn by public insurrections, the people there being always averse to the French government. *Geoffrey de Harcourt*, a Norman nobleman, of much the same turn with *Robert de Artois*, had put himself under the protection of *Edward*, who received him so favourably that he became one of his chief favourites and ministers; so that the arms of *Philip* were divided, as the duke of *Normandy* was chiefly intent upon the reduction of his own dutchy. *Edward*, on the other hand, did not properly support the earl of *Derby*, because he was engaged at this time in a project equally ambitious as unjust, on the side of *Flanders*.

His de- The earl of *Flanders* had returned to his dominions, signs upon where he found a party sufficient to counterballance that of *Flanders*. *Arteville*, which put the latter upon a scheme of giving that earldom to *Edward* and his family. *Edward* relished it, and proposed his son the famous *Black Prince* of *Wales*, to be count of *Flanders*. *Arteville* promoted the design, but found that the count's return had greatly diminished his authority. He summoned a meeting of the states of *Flanders* at *Ghent*, where he proposed his design. He gave the count of *Flanders* an option either to break with the court of *France*, or, in fact, to resign his country to the prince of *Wales*, who was along with his father to take possession of it. At the same time, he expatiated upon the prodigious advantages that must arise to the *Flemings* by being under the protection of so powerful a prince as the king of *England*, who was the true heir of the crown of *France*.

Where
Arteville
is mur-
dered.

The deputies of the *Flemings*, who had met with sentiments very favourable for *Edward*, disliked that so weighty a proposal should come from *Arteville*, and demanded a month's time to give in their answer, that they might be at liberty to consult their principals. He undertook to bring in the prince of *Wales*, (though *Edward* was inclined to have renounced the project) by the common people of *Flanders*, without regard to their deputies. He prevailed in *Bruges*, and *Ipres*, but found a strong opposition in *Ghent*, where the townsmen detested *Arteville* for his tyranny and murders. *Edward*, while *Arteville* was in *Ghent*, had assigned him a guard of five hundred *Welch* for the protection of his person, and *Arteville* despising this precaution, relied upon his popularity, so that he was surprized and murdered in an insurrection of the citizens; upon which, *Edward*, who had all this while a powerful fleet and army lying upon the coast of *Flanders*, returned to *England* full of vexation and disappointment.

Edward

Edward still retained his passion for being master of *Flemish Flanders*, and upon his arrival in *England* he studiously concealed the disgrace he had met with, and admitted the *Flemish* deputies to an audience, in which they endeavoured to clear themselves from all disaffection to *Edward's* person or family, and to represent the tyrant *Arteville*, as the only object of their resentment. *Edward* met with a like disappointment about that time. The count of *Hainault* being killed in an expedition against the *Frisons*, *John of Hainault*, uncle to *Edward's* queen, succeeded to his dominions, the greatest part of which were claimed by *Edward*, in virtue of a will, which, he pretended, had been made by his father-in-law the late count; upon which, *John of Hainault* immediately put himself under *Philip's* protection.

The affairs of *Bretagne* suffered a revolution equally disagreeable to *Edward*. He had sent over an army to the assistance of the count of *Montfort*, who took *Dinant*, but died towards the end of *September*. His rival *Charles of Blois*, improved that event by reducing great part of *Bretagne*; but the gallant countess of *Montfort* held out the places that were in her possession with so much valour, that she gave time for *Edward's* general the earl of *Northampton* to come to her relief. He accordingly beat the army of *Charles de Blois* in *Bretagne*, and took *Roch de Rien*, one of the most important fortresses of the duchy. By this time, *Philip* had succeeded in uniting the jarring parties in his own kingdom against the *English*, their common enemy, and the duke of *Normandy* marched, at the head of a hundred thousand men, against the earl of *Derby*, who by his father's death was now become earl of *Lancaster*. The latter was obliged to call in all the *English* troops in those parts, and to keep the field during the winter of the year 1345, but could not prevent the duke of *Normandy* from making himself master of *Miremont*, and other places, and at last, after a brave opposition made by the *English* generals, from forming the siege of *Aiguillon*, one of the strongest places in *France*. The defence of the garrison against the numerous forces who besieged it was brave and intrepid, and the earl of *Lancaster*, at the head of a flying army, gave vast interruption to the besiegers. It is, however, reasonable to suppose, that they could not have defended themselves much longer, had not certain intelligence come to the *French* of a new and powerful invasion of their kingdom under *Edward*.

That prince had dazzled the minds of the *English* so much by the greatness of his claims and the lustre of his actions, that he had succeeded in uniting the *English* parliament in support of his most ambitious views. He pointed the rendezvous of his army to be at *Portsmouth*, and before he embarked he informed his soldiers and officers in a public speech, that he was resolved either to conquer

Edward
again in-
vades
France.

or to die, upon which they unanimously shouted that they were resolved to follow their king to death itself. *Edward's* army did not consist of above thirty-two thousand men, but they were, perhaps, the bravest and best provided troops in the world. His intention was to have landed at *Bayonne* or *Bordeaux*; but the winds proving unfavourable for either of those ports, *Geoffrey de Harcourt* had leisure to propose to *Edward* a scheme which he had long meditated, that of landing in *Normandy*, where the country was more open, and the people better disposed to receive him.

The
French
meditate
a descent
upon Eng-
land.

The *French* court endeavoured to divert the blow by making a descent in their turn upon the coast of *England*, which was to be favoured by an irruption of the *Scots* into that kingdom; but this scheme came to nothing, and *Edward* landed his army at *la Hogue*, where he seized thirty *French* ships, and received the homage of *Geoffrey de Harcourt*, as one of the chief *Norman* noblemen. All *France* was struck with consternation at this sudden alteration of *Edward's* purpose, which entirely disconcerted the operations intended against *England*. *Edward* disposed his army into three divisions, moving in parallel lines; that on the right, towards the sea, was commanded by the earl of *Warwick*; the left, towards the inland, by *Geoffrey de Harcourt*; and the center by *Edward* in person; while the fleet under the earl of *Huntingdon* was to coast along, observing the motions of the army, and when needful supplying it with provisions. Nothing could withstand the *English*. The towns in that country were then but poorly fortified, and they fell into *Edward's* hands almost without resistance, till *Edward* arrived at the city of *Caen*, the capital of the *Lower Normandy*.

Edward
takes
Caen.

Philip, and the duke of *Burgundy*, beheld *Edward's* progress with great coolness till he laid siege to *Caen*, which was immensely rich, and not a great distance from *Paris*. Wealth had made the inhabitants insolent, because they had never formed any idea of the miseries of war. The count of *Eu*, constable of *France*, and the count of *Tankerville*, commanded in the place. The herald who on *Edward's* part summoned the town to surrender was treated with the grossest abuse; upon which *Edward* ordered dispositions to be made for a general attack. The townsmen persuaded the constable to lead them out against the *English* army; but the sight of its array struck them with such terror, that they turned their backs. Five thousand of them were killed, and the earl of *Warwick's* division entered the town along with the flyers. The constable and the count were forced to surrender themselves prisoners; but the townsmen madly barricaded their houses, and with such weapons as came to their hands killed five hundred of *Edward's* best troops. *Edward*, who was naturally haughty and choleric, would have punished their frenzy in the most exemplary

exemplary manner had he not been diverted by the earnest interposition of *Harcourt*, which saved the lives of the inhabitants, but could not preserve the town from being plundered of an immense booty, which was put on board the *English* fleet, together with the constable and the count of *Tankerville*, and three hundred of the richest burghers, and sixty knights. *Edward*, without amusing himself with besieging the castle of *Caen*, which still held out, proceeded through the bishoprics of *Lizieux*, and *Evreux*, towards *Rouen* itself, the capital of all *Normandy*.

Edward's exploits at *Caen* had alarmed *Philip*, who was then busied in drawing together his army. He ordered the bridges upon the *Seine* between *Paris* and *Rouen* to be broken down, and he himself marched with the army he had collected to *Rouen*. Those precautions saved the capital of *France* from falling into the hands of *Edward*, who, unable to cross the *Seine*, ravaged the adjacent country, and marched towards *Paris*, so near as *Poissy*. It is probable, that *Philip* suffered *Edward* thus to advance almost to the suburbs of *Paris*, that he might cut off his retreat, and finish the war by the total destruction of the *English* army. He kept pace, on the opposite banks of the *Seine*, in a line with that of *Edward*, and assembled an other army at *St. Dennis*, under the command of the old king of *Bohemia*, and *John* of *Hainault*. He then took post at *Pontoise*, and hearing that *Edward* was determined at all events to pass the *Seine*, he ordered the *St. Dennis* army to join him, that the dispute might be determined by a general engagement. The truth is, *Edward*, brave as he was, had not taken his measures so well as *Philip* had done. He had indeed made a splendid march, but reaped nothing by it but plunder, and the pleasure of desolating a defenceless country, while he saw his enemy ready to attack him, at the head of a hundred thousand men, in a country every where intersected by rivers, and himself and his troops in danger of perishing for want of provisions.

Philip, notwithstanding the superiority of his numbers, still kept on the defensive; but, that the spirits of his people might not flag, he sent repeated challenges to *Edward* to fight him. Those kind of challenges, at that time, seldom or ever meant any thing more than for one general to invite another to quit some advantageous situation. *Edward* looked upon those of *Philip* in that light; he pretended that he was as eager as *Philip* could be to fight, but was not to be directed by his enemy as to time and place. *Edward's* true intention at this time, was to secure his retreat to *Flanders*; but finding the bridges upon the *Somme* broken down, the opposite banks lined with twelve thousand men, and the *French* army under *Philip* in his rear, it is probable, he and his army must have been destroyed had not a *Norman* peasant, for the sake of a large reward, discovered

Philip
raises a
great
army
against
him.

His won-
derful
passage of
the *Somme*.

covered a ford at a place called *Oysmont*, below *Abbeville*. *Edward* marched thither and found it practicable; but *Godmar de Fay*, who commanded twelve thousand *French* on the opposite bank, having discovered his design, presented himself to oppose him.

The affairs of *Edward* were now desperate, as the van of the *French* army under *Philip*, was in sight. *Edward* drew up his army in three divisions, commanded by himself, the earl of *Warwick*, and *Geoffrey de Harcourt*. After a most animated dispute, in which the *French* under *de Fay* shewed great courage and intrepidity, *Edward* gained the shore, chiefly by the strength and dexterity of his *English* archers, who overmatched the *Genoise* cross-bows, which before that day were looked upon to be the best of any in the world. Even after the *English* troops had passed the river, the dispositions which had been made by *de Fay* were so excellent, that nothing but the most vigorous exertion of *English* valour could have enabled *Edward* to proceed, but at last, he forced the enemy to retreat precipitately towards *Abbeville*.

He arrives at Crottoy. In the mean while, the van of the army under *Philip* had attacked the rear of *Edward's* army in its passage, but before the main body could be brought up, the tide flowed in, which rendered it impracticable for the *French* generals to cross the river. All that *Philip* could do was to draw off towards *Abbeville*, after tracing the march of *Edward* for fifty miles by the flames of *French* houses set on fire by the *English*. Upon *Edward's* arrival at *Crottoy* he found some ships laden with provisions, which brought a seasonable relief to his harried army, and marching three leagues into *Ponthieu* he took up a strong camp near the wood of *Cressy*, between *Abbeville* and *Hesdin*, where, in a council of war, it was resolved to fight the *French* army if it should advance.

He is followed by Philip with a hundred thousand men. *Philip*, exasperated by the disgraces and losses he had seen but could not prevent, advanced in the pursuit with too great fury, depending upon the number and spirit of his troops, who now considered the *English* as so many wild beasts taken in their toils. *Philip* having left *Abbeville*, sent a party to reconnoitre the *English* army, which they found to be posted with great judgment, and understood that their strength and spirits had been refreshed by plenty of provisions. The wisest of the *French* officers were for giving their troops a day's repose; but *Philip*, though sensible of the justness of that advice, found it was too late to be followed, for he had already drawn up his army in order of battle. He gave the command of the van, which was composed of his cross-bows, to *Doria*, and *Grimaldi*, two *Genoise* commanders; his brother, the count of *Alençon*, commanded the middle line, and himself the rear.

The battle of Cressy.

The

The *English* army, in like manner, was drawn up in three divisions, the first commanded by the young prince of *Wales*, who had under him the earls of *Warwick*, *Harcourt*, and *Chandois*, with the flower of the *English* officers. The earls of *Northampton*, and *Arundel*, commanded the second line, and *Edward* himself the third. As to the number on both sides, it is generally agreed that the *French* army consisted of a hundred thousand men, and that of the *English* thirty thousand; but all of them trained to arms, and under excellent discipline. Some *French* writers have informed us, that *Edward* carried with him a train of artillery which he made use of that day; but that is highly improbable, because he certainly would have made use of it in the passage at *Oysimont*, where it would have been far more effectual than his long bows; nor does it appear that *Philip*, though he had much better conveniencies for transporting artillery than *Edward*, had carried any along with him, notwithstanding it is certain, that the *French* were then no strangers to the use of cannon.

The *French* army, though its officers were brave even to a fault, was commanded by men who had no true notions of subordination either civil or military, all of them contending for the post of honour. *Philip* probably changing his mind, and proposing not to fight that day, ordered them to halt, but their ardour impelled them forwards. A rain that had fallen had wetted the strings of the *Genoese* crossbows, so as to render some useless, and to damage them all; but the *English* archers had secured both their bows and strings with covers, and when the *Genoese* attacked the division under the prince of *Wales*, they suffered such slaughter, that they were driven back on their second line, commanded by the earl of *Alençon*. This occasioned a great confusion, which was so critically improved by the prince of *Wales*, that the *French* cavalry, of which their second line consisted, opened to the right and left, and flanked the great battalion of the *English* archers; but by this motion they put it out of *Philip's* power to support them. The counts of *Alençon*, and *Blois*, the duke of *Lorraine*, and the dauphin of *Vienna* did wonders, and the *English* column must have been cut in pieces, notwithstanding the prodigies of valour exerted by the prince of *Wales*, had not the earls of *Arundel* and *Northampton* supported it with a body of troops from the second line, which was thereby so weakened, that *Philip* was now at liberty to pour in forces to his brother's assistance.

Both *French* and *English* historians have concurred in telling us that *Edward*, who had kept his own division untouched, was, during this hot engagement, coolly observing it from an eminence in the neighbourhood, and that when the earl of *Warwick* sent to apprise him of his son's danger, he said, he knew his boy, and desired him to fight on, that

Observation on *Edward's* conduct.

that he might win his spurs and the whole glory of the day: If *Edward* behaved in that manner, while the fortune of the day was even inclining against his son, without moving to his relief, we can consider him in no better light than that of a fortunate madman. However fond he might be of his son's glory, we cannot imagine that he would have risked the ruin of himself and his army, to maintain so chimerical a point of honour, and therefore we conclude that the answer was invented after the victory had fallen to the *English*, and never having been disavowed by *Edward*, it has become current with posterity.

The
French
totally
defeated.

Be this as it will, it is certain, that young *Edward* with the officers and troops under him seemed to receive new spirits from the danger they were in of being utterly defeated. All their second line had now joined them, and *Philip*, who performed every duty of an able general and a brave man, redoubled his efforts to crush them with numbers. He led up his battalions in person, and fought with vast courage. Every thing was against the *English*, but that determined courage and bodily strength which ever has, and probably ever will, render them victorious when singly opposed to the *French*. This at last prevailed. The bravest of the *French* generals were killed, *Philip*, was carried wounded out of the field of battle, and the rout of the *French* became general. Before the victory was complete it was dark, and *Edward* lighted up prodigious fires of dry wood, which not only directed his soldiers in their pursuit, but discovered the glory they had won.

Authors differ as to the number of the slain that day; but it is allowed, that on the part of the *English*, no person of distinction was lost but three knights, and one esquire. This we look upon as a proof that the dispute between the two armies had not been so equal as historians have represented it. It was for the credit of both nations that their troops should be thought to have behaved well; but we think it absurd to imagine, that in an engagement of so long continuance, there should be so great a disproportion of loss on both sides, as both were equally well armed, and equally resolute. Upon the whole, we cannot believe that the danger and toils of the *English* in acquiring this victory was so great as they have been represented by historians.

Loss of
the *French*

As to the loss of the *French* in this first day's fight, it consisted of the counts of *Alençon*, (who behaved very bravely) *Blois*, *Flanders*, *Auxerre*, and the dukes of *Lorraine*, and *Burgundy*, all of them of the blood royal of *France*. The brave old king of *Bohemia*, the greatest and most successful warrior of this age, though blind, ordered his knights attendants to lead him into the thickest of the battle, and to post him so as that he might exchange a few blows with the prince of *Wales*; but he was laid dead on the spot. Authors speak likewise of a king of *Majorca*,
who

who fell on the side of the *French* in this battle. The marquis *Charles*, afterwards emperor of *Germany*, and son to the king of *Bohemia*, who had a considerable post under *Philip*, was wounded in three places, and forced to retire out of the battle. As to *Philip*, he behaved with so much resolution, that *John* of *Hainault*, was obliged to lay hold of his horse and carry him out of the field. In short, the whole of the *French* loss amounted to eleven princes, fourscore bannerets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen at arms, four thousand squires who rode on horseback, and thirty thousand common soldiers. So great a slaughter in an age when defensive armour was so much in use seems almost incredible, and can only be accounted for by a resolution both parties had taken of giving no quarter. Some have endeavoured to justify *Edward*, if he issued such orders, by the great danger he and his army must have incurred, had he been encumbered with prisoners. We suspect however, that the loss here mentioned was that of both days.

Philip, that day exhibited, in his conduct, all the power of infatuation. Passionate and presumptuous by nature, he ventured a battle, when he ought to have rested and refreshed his army. He trusted to undisciplined, ungovernable numbers; and the haughty treatment which the count of *Alençon* gave the *Genoese* when they were first repulsed, deprived the *French* of the service of that useful body. Add to all those considerations, *Philip* fighting before the reinforcements which he knew were on their march, and at hand to join him, were arrived. *Edward* had intelligence of this, and lay with his troops under arms upon the field of battle the whole night. Next day presented fresh scenes of slaughter. The *French* reinforcements had been persuaded that the battle which was fought on *Friday* would have been deferred till the following day, and two bodies of them had arrived near the camp. Of one of those bodies, which consisted of militia, seven thousand were put to the sword by the *English*, who were favoured by a mist. The other was far more considerable, and commanded by the archbishop of *Rouen*, and the grand prior of *France*; and of them few escaped being cut in pieces, as were several straggling detachments.

The victory of *Cressy*, though one of the most glorious ever obtained, was, upon the main, of no decisive consequence to *Edward*, who instead of pursuing *Philip* to *Paris*, as that prince apprehended he would, continued his march, and destroyed the country to the gates of *Bologne*, till on the seventh of *September* 1346, he formed the siege of *Calais* by sea and land, his *English* ships, commanded by the earl of *Huntington*, consisting of seven hundred and thirty-eight vessels. As to *Philip*, he ordered the duke of *Normandy*, who had been all this time carrying on the siege of *Aiguillon* with

vast loss, immediately to return to *Paris* with his army. The earl of *Lancaster*, and lord *Walter Mauny*, who had defended the place, then united their troops, passed the *Garonne*, took and burned a vast number of places, and proceeded with such rapidity of conquest as seemed to take from the *French* all power of resistance. This glorious campaign was closed on the part of the earl of *Lancaster* by the taking of *Poitiers*, which on account of its largeness, he was obliged to leave ungarrisoned; after which, he put his army into winter quarters at *Bordeaux*.

Edward
turns the
siege of
Calais
into a
blockade.

His
answer to
Philip's
challenge.

John de Vienne was governor of *Calais*, when *Edward* made the most amazing dispositions that age had seen, for besieging it. Despairing of carrying it by storm, as brave as his army was, he turned the siege into a regular blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. With this view he desolated all the country round. He formed his camp into a city; the tents were covered huts; regular streets, where open markets were held, ran from one end of the camp to the other, and it was surrounded by fortifications against all attacks, almost as strong as those of *Calais* itself. *Philip* having reached *Paris*, was joined by the duke of *Normandy*, and was soon at the head of another army of a hundred thousand men, intending to raise the siege of *Calais*. When he approached *Edward's* camp he quickly saw how ineffectual his attempt must be. He had carried with him the famous *Oriflamme*, from the church of *St. Dennis*, nor did the defeat he received at *Cressy* abate his presumption. He sent messengers and trumpets to the *English* camp, where they found a ready admittance, but were amazed to see that it contained not only all the conveniencies of a well policed city, but all the magnificence of a splendid court. Being introduced into *Edward's* presence, they found him and his queen giving audience to the cardinals of *Clermont* and *Naples*, whom the pope had appointed to mediate under him for a peace. The cardinals proved no more successful than the messengers, for *Edward* dismissed them even with some roughness, and without giving them the least satisfaction. As to the messengers, they challenged *Edward* in their master's name to a battle, but *Edward* coolly answered, that his business was to take *Calais* and not to fight *Philip*.

It was with the utmost difficulty that the latter could keep his great army together. He had established a chamber of resumption, by which he had raised some money upon the estates of those who had committed malversations in their offices, or had been guilty of peculation or robbing the public. He had squeezed considerable sums out of the usurious *Lombards*; but above all, the assemblies of the states, to their immortal honour, supplied him freely and generously, though all he could raise was insufficient for his purposes.

One of the great objects in dispute between *Philip* and *The Edward* was, the marriage which the latter had proposed count of between his daughter the princess *Isabella*, and the young *Flanders* earl of *Flanders*, who had been educated at the *French* imprisonment, and who was but fifteen years of age. Though the *ed*, *Flemings* in general were fond of the match, yet a stop was put to it by the duke of *Brabant* forming a strong party in *Flanders*, and offering to bring that country over to *Philip's* interest, provided he would agree to the young earl marrying his daughter. *Edward* hearing of this project, counteracted it so successfully, that when the states of *Flanders* met, no member among them was found bold enough to stand up for the *French*, or the *Brabant* interest. The young prince was restored to his country, but declared, that however fond his subjects were of the match, he never would marry the daughter of any man who owed him his father's life. The *Flemings* were so offended at this declaration, open and generous as it was, that they confined the young prince to *Courtray*. There he soon learned that his imprisonment was owing to his openness, and pretending to be perfectly well disposed to the match, the young princess was conducted by her father and mother, and a magnificent equipage, to the abbey of *Berg*. They were met there by escapes to the count, and even the marriage day was fixed ; but he *Paris*. found means, on pretext of hawking, to escape to *Paris*, where, according to *Philip's* views, he married the *Brabant* princess. The *Flemings* were exasperated into fury at this event. They besieged *Bethune*, as the duke of *Normandy* did *Cassel*, but neither of the places were taken, and the duke put his troops into winter quarters for the year 1347.

The uncommon rancour which then prevailed between *The English* and the *French*, was chiefly owing to a cause blockade which has never been sufficiently explained by the *French* of *Calais* historians. The *English* parliament, was by no means fond formed. of *Edward's French* expeditions, on account of the vast expence attending them. It is doubtful, if, even after the battle of *Cressy*, they could have been persuaded to raise the necessary supplies for continuing the war, if the *English* ministers had not laid before the parliament an indenture between *Philip* and the *Normans* for the conquest of *England*, under the duke of *Normandy*. Though we are far from vouching for the authenticity of this instrument, yet it is certain, that a new conquest of *England* was a project that had been long talked of at the court of *France*, and the discovery, whether true or false, had all the effect which the *English* ministry intended, by inspiring the people of *England* with so irreconcilable aversion to the *French*, that they gave their king liberal supplies for the war. *Edward* was thereby enabled to continue the siege of *Calais*, which, according to our best information, was, before the use of artillery, the strongest place in *Europe*, if not in the world ;
and

and bravely defended by the *French*. The soil was improper for playing the engines against the walls, and the situation of the camp was so boggy, that *Edward* had lost a prodigious number of men by diseases. Notwithstanding all his precautions by sea, thirty *Norman* vessels had thrown provisions into the place; but *Edward* found means at last, to block it up so effectually, that it was plain it must be reduced by famine, if not relieved by *Philip's* army, which still lay in the neighbourhood.

War in
Bretagne.

It is hard to say what the event of *Philip's* attempt might have been, had not his friend and vassal *Charles* of *Blois*, been beaten and taken prisoner by the *English* army under the countess of *Montfort*. *Charles* himself being wounded, was sent prisoner to *England*, and all the *Lower Normandy* fell into the hands of the countess. It happened by an unusual concurrence of circumstances, that the wife of *Charles* was the rival of the countess of *Montfort*, not only in dominion, but in spirit and courage, and collecting together the remains of her husband's army, she put herself at its head. All this while hostilities were going on in the neighbourhood of *Calais*, but so much to the disadvantage of the *French*, though *Philip* behaved very bravely, that he was, as his last resource, obliged to apply once more to the pope's legate for setting on foot a negotiation, which was agreed to by *Edward*, probably only with a view of gaining time. The commissioners for *Philip* were the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, *Lewis* of *Savoy*, and *John* of *Hainault*. Those for *Edward* were the earls of *Northampton*, and *Derby*, lord *Walter Mauny*, and another nobleman. During the dependency of this negotiation, *Edward* sent *Philip* the following letter, which he had intercepted from the citizens of *Calais*, and addressed to their king.

Miseries
of the
Calisians.

“Know, dread Sir, that your people in *Calais*, have eaten their horses, dogs, and even rats; now nothing remains for them to live upon, unless they eat one another. Wherefore great Sir, if we have not speedy succour, the town is lost, and we are all resolved, if we are not relieved, to sally forth, and die by our enemies with honour, rather than to die within the walls by famine; and God grant you power to render to us, or our heirs, according to our sufferings in your service.”

Obstinacy
of *Philip.*

It is amazing, that notwithstanding all the humiliating blows *Philip* had received, the conferences that were still continued on foot proved ineffectual through his obstinacy; for he would agree to give up nothing to *Edward* but the dutchy of *Guienne*, and the county of *Ponthieu*, which were in a manner already in his possession. *Philip*, at this time, was encamped in sight of the *Calisians*, and still had hopes, through the great diminution of *Edward's* army by sickness, of relieving them. *Edward*, to take from him all expectations of that kind, brought before the harbour ships mounted

with

with cannon, and was supplied with a reinforcement from *England*. This determined the fate of *Calais*, after a siege of twelve months. *Philip* retired with loss and precipitation towards *Amiens* through *Picardy*; and the *Calisians* offered to capitulate for their lives and liberties.

This is one of the conjunctures in which history wishes she could draw a veil over the memories of the great so as not to conceal those of the worthy: *Edward* looked upon the *Calisians* as rebels. He considered the duties they had so bravely discharged towards their sovereign and their country, as resulting from obstinacy and treason, and he refused to grant the unhappy *Frenchmen* any terms, unless six of their principal citizens should throw themselves at his feet with halters about their necks. *Eustace de St. Pierre*, one of the most considerable citizens, and three others, nobly devoted themselves to the glorious service; and the number was quickly complete. They appeared before him in their shirts with halters round their necks, and he ordered them to be beheaded; a circumstance which implies some inconsistency in the narrative. The prince of *Wales*, and *Edward's* lords, interceded for them; but *Edward* continued, or pretended to continue inflexible. The lord *Walter Mauny*, his most considerable general, who had managed the negotiation, threw himself at his feet, and implored him, though he had no pity for the *Calisians*, to have some for his own glory. *Edward* remained seemingly inexorable till the queen embraced his knees, and *Edward* resigned the prisoners to her. She ordered them into her own tent, to be refreshed and new cloathed, and to receive some money.

The charge of barbarity against *Edward* examined.

Though we have, on the faith of the best evidences of the time, related this transaction as they report it, yet we can by no means think that *Edward* ever was serious in his resolution that the six illustrious *Calisians* should be put to death. It is true, he might think an appearance of such cruelty might be necessary for the state of his affairs, and in this he undoubtedly shewed himself to be an able politician. As he had taken to himself the title of king of *France*, it would have been absurd if he had not acted as such, and the cruel orders he gave were the most effectual for persuading his other *French* subjects that he was in earnest. The granting the lives of the *Calisians* to the supplications of the queen, and not to his son and other officers, was likewise highly proper, as they were no other than fellow subjects with the *Calisians*; add to this, that the queen had a kind of a right to such a concession, as she had just come over from defeating *David* king of *Scotland* and taking him prisoner.

Calais surrendered.

Calais was too important an acquisition to *England* for *Edward* not to improve it to the full. He laid *John de Vienne*, and the other *French* officers that remained in it under arrest; declaring that his intention was to people it entirely

and peo-
pled by
the En-
glish.

with his *English* subjects. If farther proof was wanting, that *Edward* meant only to establish his claim to the crown of *France* by the orders he had given against the six victims, his behaviour towards the remaining *Calisians* would be sufficient. He ordered them such plenty of victuals and drink that three hundred of them were surfeited to death, but the rest, being sufficiently refreshed, were ordered to leave the place; but to be well entertained and guarded till they arrived at the castle of *Guînes*. Thus *Calais* was evacuated of all its *French* inhabitants but one priest, and two old men, whom *Edward* ordered to be retained to point out the constitution and boundaries of the place, which soon became a flourishing colony of *English*, and continued so for above two hundred years. After the reduction of *Calais*, the pope's legate, the cardinal of *Cæcilus*, proposed a truce, which was agreed to and continued till the ninth of *July* next year, to the mutual satisfaction of both kings, *Edward's* finances being in terrible disorder, and his *English* subjects discontented at the vast number of their fellow subjects who had perished in his *French* expeditions.

Attempt
to retake
it by
treachery.

The truce which had been concluded comprehended *Scotland*, *Flanders*, *Gascony*, and *Bretagne*, but it was ill observed between the rival ladies in the last mentioned country. The country from *Paris* to the sea and beyond the *Loire* was rendered a desert; a famine and plague prevailed, and the distressed situation of his country touched the heart of *Geoffrey de Harcourt* so sensibly, that he threw himself with a handkerchief twisted like a halter about his neck at the feet of *Philip*, who raised and forgave him. The plague having communicated itself to *England*, both kings thought proper to prolong the truce for three years. *Edward* had named an excellent officer, a native of *Pavia*, one *Aimery*, to command in *Calais*, and *Geoffrey de Charni*, commanded in chief all *Philip's* troops in *Picardy*. *Charni* tempted *Aimery* with a promise of thirty thousand crowns of gold to deliver up the place to him. *Aimery* disclosed *Charni's* proposal to *Edward*, who ordered him to take the money, and to seem to agree to *Charni's* terms; but in the mean time, he privately introduced himself and his son the prince of *Wales*, into the dungeon of the place, in order to receive the *French* party that was to take possession of it, and which was to have been supported by *Charni*, at the head of twenty thousand men. The advanced party were taken prisoners. *Charni* found he was betrayed, and the *English* with the king and the prince of *Wales*, in disguised armour, at their head, attacked the main body under *Charni*, who, though he behaved like a gallant officer, was at last beaten. In this conflict, *Edward* singled out *Eustace de Ribaumont*, esteemed the strongest and the bravest knight in *France*, as the object of his arms. *Ribaumont* twice beat the king down, but was conquered at last, and taken prisoner.

Edward's
courage
and gene-
rosity.

soner by *Edward*, who was so far from treating him as a traitor, that he entertained both him and *Charni*, (who was a prisoner likewise,) at night, with a magnificent supper, and placed upon *Ribaumont's* head with his own hand a chaplet of pearls, in acknowledgment of his being the hardiest of all the *French* knights.

We dare not venture to say that *Philip* was actually conscious of *Charni's* design; but it is difficult to conceive how one of his private subjects could afford to lose so considerable a sum, (which actually was paid to *Aimery*) and to raise an army of twenty thousand men. Be that as it will, *Philip* disclaimed all knowledge of the matter, and no infraction of the truce ensued on either side. *Philip* therefore resumed the prosecution of an affair which he had had long at heart. The dauphin of *Vienne* had repeated his promise, if he died without heirs, to leave his dominions to the royal family of *France*; but having an inclination to re-marry, he intended to espouse the duke of *Bourbon's* daughter, when *Philip* prevailed with the lady to marry his grandson *Charles*, son to the duke of *Normandy*. Upon this, the dauphin, who seems not to have been of a sound brain, abandoned the world, and bequeathed his territories to *Charles*, the very prince who had deprived him of his mistress. This was a valuable acquisition to the royal family of *France*: *Dauphiny*, so called from its princes having taken a dolphin for their arms, had been part of the kingdom of *Arles*, and consequently the emperor of *Germany* insisted upon its being a fief of the empire; but the longest sword proved, at last, that it was not. *Philip* likewise advanced a sum to the king of *Majorca*, who was of the house of *Arragon* (the same perhaps, who is said to have been killed at the battle of *Cressy*) and who had mortgaged to him the provinces of *Roussillon*, and *Cerdagne*.

Philip, towards the latter end of his life, proposed a marriage between his son and the princess *Blanche*, sister to *Charles* the wicked king of *Navarre*; but being then a widower, he no sooner saw her person than he was so smitten with her charms that he married her himself, as his son did the countess of *Boulogne*, widow to the count of *Artois*. The short remainder of *Philip's* reign was consumed in rejoicings; but he was now fifty seven years of age, and his new queen was scarcely seventeen, so that the reader can scarcely be surprized that he did not survive his marriage a year; for he died on the twenty-second of *August*, in the twenty-third year of his reign, leaving his queen, who died soon after, big with child.

As to *Philip's* character, it undoubtedly would have been and much greater than it is, had he not lived cotemporary with *Edward*. He could not defend his crown against so powerful a prince, and make the acquisitions he did, without immense sums, for which he was obliged to load his people,

to whom his haughty temper had rendered him odious. His subjects had given him the title of *Fortunate*, which can be only understood of his succeeding to the *French* crown, and of his not having been reduced, even lower than he was, by the prevailing arms of *England*. But though his people were impoverished and harraſſed during his reign, they behaved with invincible loyalty, which his misfortunes did not abate. The royal prerogative of *France*, during his reign, obtained a conſiderable addition of ſtrength by the introduction of writs of error, which are of the ſame nature with the *Engliſh* ſtatute of premnire, and were intended to be checks upon the eccleſiaſtical and inferior courts, who by their decrees or proceedings invaded any part of the royal authority.

John, ſurnamed the Good.

Accession
of *John*
to the
throne.

He puts
to death
the con-
ſtable of
Eu,

EVERY circumſtance promiſed the people of *France* happineſs under this prince. He was forty years of age at the time of his acceſſion. He had commanded armies with courage, and often with ſucceſs, and he had managed negotiations with addreſs and wiſdom. He had a ſon, *Charles*, the ſame who lately became dauphin of *Viennæ*, whom, at the time of his coronation, he knighted, with his ſecond ſon *Lewis*, afterwards count of *Anjou*, and his third ſon *Philip*, duke of *Orleans*, and *Philip*, duke of *Burgundy*, ſon to the queen conſort. When this ceremony was over, he ordered *Ralph de Brienne*, count of *Eu* and *Guiſnes*, to be arreſted and executed without any form of trial. This nobleman had ſucceeded his father as conſtable of *France*, and being, as we have ſeen, made priſoner in *Bretagne*, he had been detained, ever ſince, captive in *England*, where an exorbitant ſum, no leſs than eighty thouſand crowns, had been demanded for his ranſom. He had made ſeveral ſhort viſits into *France*, to raiſe (as he alledged) the money; but *John* ſuſpecting, and indeed with reaſon, that he was in treaty with *Edward* for his county of *Guiſnes*, put him to death in the inhuman manner we have related. His execution ſtruck the *French* with horror, and the king poorly pleaded in excuſe the miſeries from which *France* might have been delivered had *Robert* of *Artois*, and *Geoffrey de Harcourt* been treated in the ſame manner. He gave the conſtable's ſword to *Charles de la Cerda*, who as we have already ſhewn, was deſcended from *St. Lewis*; the county of *Eu* to *John de Artois*, the ſon of *Robert*, and the county of *Guiſnes* to *Walter de Brienne*, who had married the daughter of the deceased, and who was afterwards conſtable of *France*. Though thoſe perſons were all them of high quality, yet their not having been diſtinguiſhed for any public ſervices encreaſed the diſcontent of the nobility.

John

John saw them dissatisfied, and endeavoured to put them and in good humour by a profusion of court diversions, and the institution of a new order, called that of the star, in imitation of *Edward's* order of the garter. Before the death of the late king, negotiations had been set on foot at *Avignon* and *Boulogne*, for concluding a definitive treaty between *France* and *England*; but they were soon broken off. The war between the two fair competitors in *Bretagne* went on notwithstanding the truce, with incessant fury; and the brave *Dagworth*, who commanded the *English* auxiliaries in the service of the countess of *Montfort*, was killed in an ambuscade; upon which the earl of *Lancaster* took from the *French* a great number of castles, and burnt the suburbs of *Tholouse*. *Edward* would have supported him in person had he not been resolved to chastise the *Spaniards*, who in favour of the *French* had committed many insults and robberies upon the *English* navigation. For this purpose he embarked with his son, and his chief nobility, at *Sandwich*, and went with a well appointed fleet to seek that of *Spain*, which was then reckoned the best in *Europe*. He defeated it after an obstinate and bloody engagement.

By degrees the war revived between the *French* and the *English*; nor had the peace ever been properly observed. The *French* had formed a kind of blockade against *Calais*, and its governor Sir *John Beauchamp*, was killed in an excursion he made in the neighbourhood, but his successor Sir *Robert Harley*, avenged his death by signal devastations of the country. *Edward*, who certainly had gone great lengths in his bargain with the late constable, sent his son, the duke of *Lancaster* with an army, which ravaged the coasts of *Artoise*, and *Picardy*, took *Estaples*, *Fauquenbergh*, and *Terauene*, in which last place they put the inhabitants to the sword for their obstinate defence. He then carried desolation to the gates of *St. Omers*, and returned laden with plunder to *Calais*. To revenge this insult, the marshal (for that order had been for some time instituted in *France*) *du Nesle*, fell into *Gascony*, which he over-ran as far as *St. John de Angeli*; but he was defeated and taken prisoner by Sir *Walter Bently*, though *St. John de Angeli* was so poorly garrisoned that it fell easily into the hands of the *French*.

This loss was more than compensated by the acquisition of *Guisnes*, a place which in a manner covered the garrison surprised of *Calais*. *Edward* had never lost sight of the bargain he made with the constable, and though disappointed, he charged *Aimery*, who still commanded in *Calais*, to take every opportunity of becoming master of the place. Some say, that *Aimery* corrupted *Baucouray*, the lieutenant-governor, who had been appointed by the constable; and others, that it was taken by one *Lancaster*, who had been an *English* prisoner in the place, and had observed its weakness. Most probably, the acquisition was owing to a mixture

mixture of treachery and surprize. *Charles de Blois* was all this time a prisoner in *England*, and negotiating with *Edward* about the terms of his ransom. The queen of *England* befriended him, and was at the head of a party who wanted to persuade *Edward* to drop the protection of the *Montfort* party, to marry his daughter to *Charles*, and to accept of a very large sum from him and his family. *Edward* was inclining to agree to those terms, when the earl of *Derby* remonstrated so strongly against the disgrace and dishonour that must attend them, that all the queen obtained was, that *Charles* should give up his two sons as hostages till his ransom was discharged.

Their
attempt
upon *St.*
Omers un-
successful.

John reproached *Edward* for taking possession of *Guisnes*, and thereby breaking the truce. *Edward* dryly answered, "That he had learned from the late king of *France* in his bargain about *Calais* with *Aimery*, that a truce was no other than a trafficking time, and that it was not broken by buying or selling towns." *Aimery* seems in fact to have been fitted for surprises of that nature. He was very brave in his person, and encouraged by his success at *Guisnes*, he attempted to take *St Omers*, where he probably had a correspondence. Unfortunately for him, *Charni* was commandant of the garrison, and gave *Aimery* so hot a reception that the assailants were defeated, and *Aimery* being taken prisoner, was, by order of *Charni*, in revenge of his having defrauded him of the *Calais* purchase money, torn in pieces by horses.

The king
of *Na-*
varre
murders
the con-
stable of
France.

Notwithstanding these, and many other bickerings, we do not find that *John* was yet in a condition to declare war formally against *Edward*. He kept a splendid court at *Paris*, where the king of *Navarre*, as he was a most accomplished prince in his person, became the favourite of the queen consort, and the two queens dowager, and easily prevailed with *John* to give him his daughter the princess *Joan* in marriage. He then hinted to *John*, that having sustained vast loss by his county of *Angoulesme* being ravaged, it was but just that he should be indemnified out of other estates. *John* accordingly gave him assignments to estates in *Normandy*; but gave the county of *Angoulesme* to his kinsman and favourite *Charles* of *Spain*, then constable of *France*. *Charles* king of *Navarre*, resented his disappointment, in being obliged to part with *Angoulesme*, in a most bloody manner, for he murdered the constable in his bed, and avowed the fact. *John* was at that time in so distressed a situation that he could not give scope to his justice, and *Charles* compelled him to grant him and his accomplices a pardon, upon his submitting to the form of a conviction before the parliament at *Paris*. Perhaps after ages will have difficulty to believe that *Charles* before he would submit even to that mock trial, obliged *John* to give him his

second

second son as a hostage, that no penalty should follow his conviction.

The reader is to observe, that *Charles*, to whom the *French* have given the epithet of *Mauvais*, or *the Wicked*, secretly thought he had the best title to the crown of *France*, his mother being the only child to *Lewis Hutin*, but he openly claimed the dutchy of *Burgundy*, with the counties of *Champagne*, and *Brie*, all which had belonged to his ancestors, though alienated by the events of war, marriages, or family compacts. His escape from justice rendered him more proud and insolent than ever.

In 1354, negotiations were opened at *Avignon* for a definitive treaty between *John* and *Edward*. It is certain, that the latter was so tractable, that in a conference which his commissioners had with those of *John* near *Guisnes*, he offered to renounce his title to the crown of *France* upon *John* yielding up to him all *Guienne*, the counties of *Artois*, and *Guisnes*, and the town and territory of *Calais*, free and without homage. Those concessions on the part of *Edward*, who thereby gained the hearts of his own subjects, were made the groundwork of a negotiation at *Avignon*; but the daily growing discontent and ambition of the king of *Navarre*, seems to have influenced *Edward* to be less moderate. The duke of *Lancaster* was among the *English* commissioners at *Avignon*, and he formed connections with the king of *Navarre*, who courted his acquaintance, that were far from being pacific. This coming to the knowledge of *John*, he gave the dauphin, the dutchy of *Normandy*, where he seized several castles that had been assigned to the king of *Navarre*. *Charles* threw himself by sea into *Normandy*, where his *Navarrese* soldiers defended his other possessions. This check given to the king of *Navarre*, and the declared backwardness of the *English* parliament, had an influence upon the conferences at *Avignon*, where the *French* commissioners rejected the terms that had been proposed by *Edward* at *Guisnes*. All they could be brought to, was, that *Edward* might hold the places he demanded, as his ancestors had done, in fealty to the crown of *France*. *Edward* was not displeased at this haughtiness, and the rather, as the *French* commissioners told him very truly, that it was not in the power of *John* and his parliament to agree to *Edward's* terms, or to give up any part of the homage due to the future kings of *France*. The pope would for his own ends have given the *French* commissioners and their king an absolute resolution from all the obligations which they or their posterity might lie under as to the proposed alienation, but the *French* haughtily declared that they were ready to defend their king and his dignity to all extremities; so that all the pope could do was to bring the parties to agree to the continuance of the truce till the *Midsummer* following. But it is now time to return to the internal affairs of *France*.

Famous
assembly
of the
French
estates at
Paris,

its consti-
tution,

and pro-
ceedings.

John easily saw that a new war with *England* was now inevitable, and that it would require extraordinary sums to maintain it. He had already done more for raising money than his prerogative warranted; for he had circulated false coin, and had threatened those, to whom he committed the secret, with death if they divulged it. All those and many other methods of raising money proving ineffectual, *John*, as his last resource, threw himself upon the benevolence and loyalty of his people, by calling together at *Paris* an assembly of his three estates. As this was the most august meeting that *France* ever beheld, it is necessary here to give some account of its constitution.

The first estate comprehended the clergy with the archbishop of *Rheims* at their head; the second consisted of the nobility and gentry, whose speaker was *Walter de Brienne*, the titular duke of *Athens*. The deputies of the provinces formed the last order, and their mouth, was the famous *Stephen Marcel*, provost of the merchants. It is here very important for the reader to observe, that the assembly of the states thus constituted was a body entirely distinct from the parliament, the members of which were in the nature of magistrates appointed by the king to decide in cases civil and criminal; but without any feudal or territorial relation to his crown. The assembly being met, the parliament, with their first magistrate, their chancellor, at their head, attended it in the nature of proctors for their king. The chancellor set forth the distressed state of the crown and kingdom. He was heard with great respect, but the members, at the same time they agreed to supply his necessities, hinted that they expected redress of their grievances. They however, voted him an immediate supply, but some difficulties occurred as to the ways and means of raising it. The general sense of the meeting was for imposing taxes during a limited time, upon the necessities of life, to be raised by collectors of their own appointing; but this method being found to be impracticable, it was resolved to raise the supplies by a capitation tax, as had been requested by the parliament.

On the second day of the session they entered upon the consideration of their grievances, of which they produced a long list. They consisted of compulsive abuses of power, enforcing the subjects to furnish provisions for the king's household; of the frequent alterations of the coin; the arbitrary methods of imposing taxes, and other articles too long to be inserted here. *John* consented to give them satisfaction on all those heads, and both he and the dauphin duke of *Normandy*, bound themselves by oath to observe them. This ordinance, after all the parts of it were engrossed, might have been considered by the *French* as the great charter of their liberties; but it was only temporary, and not, like that of *England*, perpetual. It was not produced by a generous effort for liberty, for it was a merce-

nary

nary compact between the king and people, who in fact bribed him into the concessions he made, and his posterity thought they were absolved from all future observance of them as soon as the exigency was over.

The assembly before its dissolution voted to maintain A supply
thirty thousand men, so long as the war should last; and voted to
Mr. *Voltaire* imagines that the money voted for that service the king.
amounted to about nine millions five hundred thousand
livres of present *French* money; perhaps, the whole might
amount to about half a million sterling. We are however,
to observe, that this subsidy was imposed for two years,
and that the thirty thousand men, or, as others call
them, *Gens d'armes*, did not serve by tenure, but for pay,
and were only an addition to the feudal army raised upon
the king's demesnes, or chargeable upon his vassals. This
assembly of states was so free that they considered the money
they voted as belonging to themselves; for after they had
revived the gabelle upon salt, and settled the method of
collecting the duties they had voted, they appointed their
own receivers, and a committee of accounts for levying,
applying, and distributing the money so raised.

John, it must be owned, notwithstanding the kindness of His diffi-
his states, had a difficult and distressful province to manage. culties.
His commissioners were blamed on all hands for breaking
off the late conferences at *Avignon*. He had still hopes of
reclaiming the king of *Navarre*, as several prosperous events
had happened to his arms in *Normandy*; and a negotiation
was actually on foot between them during the conferences
at *Avignon*. The king of *Navarre* had filled with *Navarrese*
garrisons *Eureux*, *Pont-Andemur*, *Cherbourg*, *Auranche*, *Mor-*
taign and *Gavre*; and as an earnest of his good faith in
treating with *John*, he had actually refused the assistance
the *English* offered him by *Edward*. He continued, how-
ever, still to treat with the *English* as well as the *French*
court, and he had agreed to have a secret meeting with the
king of *England* in the island of *Jersey* or *Guernsey*, to put
the last hand to the arrangements they had concerted.
These were, that the prince of *Wales* should be sent over
to *Gascony* with an army, and with full powers to act for
his father both in a civil and military capacity. The prince makes
accordingly sailed with a noble attendance of troops and peace
nobility, but contrary winds interposing, the two kings with the
could not have the interview proposed, so that towards the king of
middle of *September* the king of *Navarre* found himself so *Navarre*.
hard pressed by *John* in *Normandy*, that he made a peace with
him, and his submissions to him at the same time, upon his
being paid a hundred thousand crowns.

Edward was all this while on board the armament which Expedi-
he had intended for the support of the king of *Navarre*, tion of
but was obliged to return to *Portsmouth* when he heard of the *Black*
that prince's reconciliation with *John*. This disappoint- Prince.
ment

ment was much more than compensated by the success of the prince of *Wales* in other parts of *France*. He arrived in *Gascony* on the twenty-fifth of *October*, and after mustering his army, he drew it out in three divisions, one commanded by the earl of *Warwick*, one by himself; and the third by the earls of *Suffolk* and *Salisbury*.

A curious letter is come to our hands, written by Sir *Anthony Wingfield*, who was present, and had a considerable command in the expedition, under the *Black Prince*. From that we learn, that he destroyed all the fortified places in the county of *Armagnac*, that he carried fire, sword, and desolation through *Quercy*, *Berry*, and *Touraine*. Nothing resisted him, and being followed by the pope's legates, he refused to treat of an accommodation, but referred them to his father. The number of his troops has been differently represented, though we are apt to believe that when he set out upon his march he had not with him above twelve thousand men; but they were veterans, and the best soldiers in the world. The description of the desolation which he spread every where is shocking to humanity, but was suitable to the rancour that prevailed between the two nations, and the booty he made was amazing. He was opposed by the constable of *Bourbon*, the marshal *Clermont*, and the count of *Armagnac* (I keep by *Wingfield's* account which must be more accurate than that of any later writer); but the disagreement among the *French* generals did not suffer them to unite their forces, so as to oppose him with any considerable effect, and the prince continued his destructive progress; during which he burnt the towns of *Plaisance*, *St. Bertrand*, *Narbonne*, and other places, and all this in sight of a superior army.

John
seizes the
king of
Navarre
and be-
heads
some of
his com-
panions.

John beheld, with grief, the fairest and richest provinces of his kingdom, thus either reduced or ruined by his enemies; but, before he could check them, it was necessary to strike an important blow. The king of *Navarre*, notwithstanding the late accommodation, still continued his intrigues, and had even debauched from his duty the dauphin, with the counts of *Foix*, *Namur*, *Harcourt*, and other young noblemen. He prevailed with the dauphin to resolve upon taking refuge in the emperor of *Germany's* court, on pretence of his not having a sufficient share of authority at home. *John* having a perfect information of all those, and many other intrigues, on the fifth of *April*, 1356, left *Vernouille* suddenly, attended by the princes of the blood about his person, and about two hundred chosen guards; and pushing on to *Rouen*, where the king of *Navarre* was, he there entered the castle, surprized the king and his company as they were sitting down to dinner, caused him to be put under an arrest, dined on the dishes provided for them, and, in the afternoon, ordered the heads of *Lewis*, count of *Harcourt*, the lord *Graville*, the lord *Maubue*, and *Oliver Doublet*, to be struck off,

off, and their bodies to be hanged on gibbets. He then commanded the dauphin, and the other prisoners, to be set at liberty ; but sent the king of *Navarre* a close prisoner to *Paris*, with orders that he should be strictly confined in the chastelet. This determined, though bloody, measure proved unsuccessful. *Philip*, the king of *Navarre's* brother, and the famous *Geoffrey Harcourt*, uncle to the count, flew to arms, and put themselves under the protection of *Edward* ; so that all *Normandy* and *Bretagne* were again involved in the flames of war.

Edward, in the mean while, had landed in *France* ; but, *Edward* though he mustered a noble army, and had under him excellent officers, he did nothing worthy of his high renown. *John* was then lying with a great army at *Amiens*, and prudently acted on the defensive. The *English* attempted to take *Hesdin*, but were repulsed ; and *Edward* found his army so much incommoded by the dispositions *John* made, that he retired, perhaps with some precipitation, to *Calais*. *John* considered this as a victory, and called upon *Edward* to fight him in what manner, and with what numbers, he pleased. *Edward* disdained the challenge ; but we cannot say what the event might have been, had not *Edward's* intelligence from *England* rendered his presence there absolutely necessary to repel the *Scots*, who had been spirited up by *John* to invade his kingdom.

The war was, all this while, raging in *Normandy* and *Bretagne*, where the duke of *Lancaster* commanded for *Edward*. *Philip* of *Navarre* had received a reinforcement from *England* under Sir *Miles Stapleton*, with promises of farther assistance from the duke of *Lancaster* ; but *John* now resolved to stake his fortune upon one decisive blow, by attacking the prince of *Wales*, who, he understood, had no more than eight thousand men with him. The prince was then returning from his expedition by the way of *Quercy* and *Auvergne*, and had been repulsed at *Bourges* *Yssodun*, when he heard that *John*, having collected all the force of his kingdom, was on the other side of the *Loire*. The prince called a council of war, where it was resolved to return to *Bourges* by the way of *Xantoinne*. He took the town of *Remorentin*, and continued his ravages through *Touraine* and *Anjou* ; but he began now to find, that his army, small as it was, had difficulty to subsist itself, chiefly through the ravages it had committed.

John, with his army, passed the *Loire* at *Orleans*, *Mehun*, *Tours* and *Saumur* ; that, by thus extending its lines, he might hem the prince in on every side ; and his dispositions were so wise and proper, that, in this, he was perfectly successful. The *Black Prince* now found that, in pursuit of glory, he had been guilty of a thousand wanton barbarities and errors in conduct. He entrenched himself at *Maupeyuis*, near *Poitiers* ; and, had *John* persevered in his cool, cautious

cautious measures, he must have surrendered, without fighting, through want of provisions.

who re-
jects all
his offers.

The dispositions made by the prince were the best that his melancholy situation could admit of; and cardinal *Talyrand*, on the part of the pope, interposed for an accommodation. The prince appeared to be very tractable, and was willing to give every thing up but his own, his country's, and his father's honour; to resign his conquests, release his prisoners, and to swear not to bear arms against *France* for seven years. *John* madly and haughtily, notwithstanding all the cardinal's remonstrances, insisted upon the prince, and an hundred of his chief nobility and officers, surrendering themselves prisoners of war. The prince rejected this condition with becoming indignation, and both sides prepared for battle.

Battle of
Poitiers.

The army under *John* was one of the best, though not the most numerous, that any king of *France* had ever brought to the field. By the most moderate accounts, it consisted, at least, of sixty thousand horse, besides infantry; and, being drawn up in three lines, it appeared equally terrible and glorious. The first was commanded by the duke of *Orleans*, *John's* brother; the second by the dauphin, and his two brothers, the dukes of *Anjou* and *Berry*; and the third, in which was the flower of the troops and nobility, by *John* in person. That prince's confidence and assurance of victory caused him to overlook a number of provident dispositions made by the prince; and, after having made his dismounted cavalry cut their spears to the length of five feet, that they might fight more closely, he was so ill informed as to order a body of horse to the attack through a lane, which the prince had privately lined with *English* archers. This body was backed by another of dismounted cavalry and *German* curassiers; but they were so galled by the *English*, that they fell into disorder, and recoiling on their second line, the *English* made an indiscriminate slaughter of both. The great division under *John* himself next moved against the prince; and here the battle was so severe and bloody, that three of *John's* sons abandoned the field, and left him with the youngest.

John
taken
prisoner.

It must be acknowledged that no prince ever fought more bravely than *John* did in his own person, and he was well seconded by his youngest son; but nothing could resist the compacted force of the *English* column, which bore down all before it; and, as their danger grew, seemed to acquire new vigour. The best and bravest of *John's* friends were now killed; and one Sir *Dennis*, of *Morbeque*, a knight of *Artois*, whom *John* had banished from *France*, called out to him, That his longer resistance was madness, and that he himself was a knight. An *Englishman*, *John de Pelham*, ancestor to the present duke of *Newcastle*, had, by this time, disarmed *John* of his sword; but that prince knowing *Morbeque* to be
a knight

a knight, threw him his right hand gauntlet, in token that he surrendered to him. *Pelham's* claim, however, was admitted both by the prince and his father; and his descendants, to this day, bear, as part of their arms and crest, the buckle of *John's* sword-belt.

It is said, and the fact is not improbable, that twenty of *John's* lords were that day dressed in armour resembling his; and the prince of *Wales*, having no certainty of his fate, had retired to repose himself under an open tent, when the earl of *Warwick*, whom he had sent out for that purpose, introduced the royal prisoner into his presence. The humanity, respect, and modesty, with which the prince received *John*, is so celebrated in history, that we shall not dwell upon it here. Even *John* himself was touched, though he was not very susceptible of the tender or humane passions. He said that two things gave him comfort: the first, that he was a captive to so deserving a prince; and the other, that he was taken fighting with his sword in his hand.

It was then almost dark; for which reason the prince ordered the pursuit to stop, as the number of the *French* were still double to that of his army; and this is the reason why the slaughter of the *French* at *Poitiers* was not so great as it had been at *Cressy*. It was, however, very considerable. Two dukes and nineteen counts of *France* were killed, as were six thousand men at arms; by which we suppose are meant the troops raised by the assembly of the states, and about eight thousand common soldiers. The number of prisoners, besides the king and his youngest son, were seventeen counts, fifteen hundred barons, knights, and esquires; and the common men almost doubled the *English* army. The prince, wisely considering his situation, gave way to the dismissal of all the prisoners upon their parole of honour, but those whose ransom exceeded fifteen thousand crowns; and it is said, to the honour of the *French*, that they most punctually discharged their engagements. The prince profited by the errors he had committed, and considered his victory as an additional motive for caution. The booty which his soldiers had acquired through the madness of the *French*, who marched rather as if they were to parade than to fight, is incredible; and was a fresh incitement for their enemies to attack him; so that, after his royal guest was sufficiently refreshed, he abandoned all thoughts of any farther operations, and returned to *Bordeaux*. He accounted his safe arrival to be next to miraculous; because, if the *French* had recovered their consternation, and re-united in a body, they might easily have destroyed all the *English* army under the prince, recovered their captive king and nobility, and regained the immense plunder they had lost. Being arrived at *Bordeaux*, the prince's moderation was such, that though he had great causes of complaint against cardinal *Tal-*
lyrand,

lyrand, he suffered him to renew the negotiations for a treaty of peace and ransom ; but *Edward* hearing of this, insisted upon *John*, and the other illustrious captives, being sent over to *England*, which they accordingly were.

Incredible
factious-
ness of the
French
nation.

Some time before the battle of *Poitiers*, the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Lancaster*, and the other heads of the *English* interest in *Bretagne*, had laid a scheme for marching to the relief of the prince of *Wales* ; but that being found impracticable, the duke of *Lancaster* besieged *Rennes*, while *Geoffrey de Harcourt* invaded *Normandy* ; and the king of *Navarre* went over to *England*. The dauphin took hold of that opportunity to assemble the states of *France* once more at *Paris* ; but the factiousness of the *French* nation, at that time, is inconceivable. The last assembly of the states had instructed the vassals of the crown in the original free nature of the feudal constitution, to which they stuck ; and they refused to perform any extra-feudal services, even to the raising their king's ransom, but upon their own terms. They could not agree as to the first principles of their government ; but all concluded, that the power of the crown was then far greater than it had been in former times. Without entering into any consideration of their king's captivity, or the danger of their country, they complained of their grievances ; factious committees were appointed, and six of their members were nominated for carrying the sense of the whole to the regent, who had assumed the title of his father's lieutenant. They demanded, that seven of the principal ministers of state should be displaced, and their estates confiscated ; that the king of *Navarre* should be restored to his liberty ; and the lieutenant himself, or, as others call him, the regent, should be under the controul of six and thirty of their members. These propositions were rejected by *John*, who was still at *Bordeaux* ; and the *Parisians* fortified their city.

Attempt
towards a
peace.

The regent behaved with great moderation but firmness, and resolved to avail himself of the good disposition that appeared in other provinces, the spirit of disloyalty raging chiefly at *Paris* and its neighbourhood. *Geoffrey de Harcourt* was defeated and killed by the lord *Robert Clermont* while he was invading *Normandy* ; the regent got possession of *Pont-l'arch* ; and other favourable events befriended the regent. The pope formed a plan of general pacification between *France* and *England*, to be executed by the emperor of *Germany*, who called a diet at *Metz* for that purpose ; where he appeared attended by the regent, his great *German* officers, and twenty thousand horse ; but this tentative, like others of the same kind, came to nothing. *Edward*, however, had his reasons, the chief of which was the prior title of the king of *Navarre*, and that prince's abandoned character, for concluding a truce on the twenty-third of *March*, 1357 ;
and

and ordered the duke of *Lancaster* to raise the siege of *Rennes*.

The truce between *France* and *England*, by a strange fact, rather augmented than abated the miseries of *France*. It filled the kingdom with disbanded soldiers, the worst of all ruffians, who were ready to serve whatever party could give them bread and plunder. The war continued between the houses of *Navarre* and *Valois*, but they were unable to give employment to so many hands as were idle; and the remainder confederating together, laid all the open country, even to the gates of *Avignon*, where the pope resided, under contribution. This was a new species of calamity, and soon after afflicted, not only *France*, but *Italy*, in the most alarming manner: but even that scourge was slight, when compared to the universal degeneracy of manners that now prevailed amongst the *French* nobility. Both *John* and *Edward* had a turn for magnificence which sometimes broke into their most serious concerns; and the *French* nobility, looking upon themselves as being now without a head, thought that they had regained possession of their power to oppress their inferiors. This introduced the most inexpressible scenes of disorder. The peasantry were stripped and robbed by their lords, who insulted them with the most contemptuous expressions, and treated them, in a literal sense, like beasts of burden, that they might make a display of their own luxury and extravagance.

Human nature could not support so much misery; and the peasants about *Beauvois* ran immediately to the extreme of cruelty. They seized what rustic weapons came to their hands; they united in a body, and set out with a resolution of murdering all the nobility and their families wherever they could find them; which they punctually executed as far as was in their power. The nobility of all denominations were forced to remain on their own defence; and being possessed of all the arms of the kingdom, the *Jacquetrie*, as the insurgents were called, were soon suppressed. The duke of *Orleans* cut in pieces about ten thousand of them in the neighbourhood of *Paris*; as the king of *Navarre*, who was now freed from his prison, did twelve thousand more, with their chief, one *Caillet*, at their head.

The cool sagacious regent beheld those disorders, as well as the madness of the *Parisians*, with some degree of inward satisfaction, as they pointed out the necessity of restoring the civil government, by paying his father's ransom. He may, at this time, be considered as the head of a small party, but that composed of all the men of sense and virtue in the kingdom; and the king of *Navarre* as the oracle of frenzy and faction. The regent agreed, that no less than seventy cities and towns should be permitted to send deputies to *Paris*, to consult upon the state of the nation. This he did because the spirit of faction was not so strong in the provinces

as

as in the capital : but when those deputies reached *Paris*, they were seized with the same fury of sedition as the *Parisians*. They refused to come to any resolutions but such as were derogatory and destructive to the lawful government. They were, in all their mad proceedings, guided by the bishop of *Laon*, *Pequigny*, and *Marcel*, the provost of the merchants. The king of *Navarre* both hated and feared those demagogues, but they were useful to his interest. In like manner, he was taking secret measures for getting himself declared king of *France* preferably both to *John* and *Edward*; but he durst not break with the latter.

proves in-
effectual. The dauphin-regent dissembled all ; and affecting respect and reverence for the king of *Navarre*, he gave him what terms he pleased to demand. Those were so disgraceful to the royal authority, that the loyalists in the provinces refused to execute them ; which prolonged the war in *Normandy*, where the king's officers refused to give up to the *Navarese* the places that had been ceded to him by the dauphin ; because he took care they should know that the cessions were drawn from him by compulsion. It soon appeared that, if the king of *Navarre* had the brightest parts, the regent had the soundest judgment.

Barbarity
of *Marcel*,
provost of
Paris,
who puts
two mar-
shals of
France to
death. The exorbitant proceedings of the king of *Navarre*, who, by his actions, plainly pointed at a principle which he did not avow, began to open the eyes of many, who had been indifferent before as to both parties ; and they declared for the regent. This gave him encouragement to appear abroad, and to practise some of those arts of popularity in which the king of *Navarre* was so expert. That prince was then in *Normandy*, endeavouring to reduce it into his own power ; and imputing the opposition he met with to a secret collusion between the regent and the loyal officers in that province, he gave way to many barbarous proceedings against the dauphin's party. The faction in *Paris* upbraided the dauphin with the king of *Navarre*'s excesses, and began to be alarmed equally at the dauphin's popularity and the independant manner in which the *Navarese* acted. The treasurer of *France* had been assassinated by a low wretch, who took refuge in a church ; from whence, by the dauphin's order, he was dragged by the marshals of *Dauphine* and *Champagne* (others call them *Clermont* and *Constance*) and executed on a gibbet. *Marcel* had employed the murderer ; and the bishop of *Paris* complaining of the violation his church had suffered ; *Marcel* went, at the head of his ruffian crew, to the dauphin's palace ; where, in his presence, he butchered the two marshals. Some of their blood spouting upon the dauphin's cloaths, he asked, whether the same fate was designed for him. *Marcel* told him no ; and, to protect him, he put upon his own head the embroidered hat the dauphin wore, and gave him his own blue hat,

The

The reader is here to be informed that the factious party and forces had particular dresses to distinguish them, and the dauphin the dauphin was forced to carry his dissimulation so far as to wear one of them. Some time before, he had, by losing his hair and nails, recovered his suspected that he was poisoned by the king of *Navarre*; but liberty. he was cured by the skill of the emperor's physician. He durst not openly complain even of this infamous attempt; but all the provinces of *France* saw, with detestation, that his silence was owing to fear and constraint. The faction had, by this time, formed a kind of system of future government. The king was thereby deprived of almost all the executive power, which was to be lodged in the third estate, or what we may call the order of burgeses; and they had the presumption to communicate it to the provinces for their approbation; but it was by them rejected with infinite contempt. Every day's disorder gave a fresh advantage to the regent. The king of *Navarre* continued still in *Normandy*; and the regent's dissimulation had thrown him so far off his guard, that, at times, he made no secret of his designs upon the crown of *France*; and he had, even in the regent's presence, executed some acts which amounted to an assumption of the royal authority.

It is surprising that, notwithstanding all the violence and madness of party, the parliament still continued to be respected; and, during the absence of the king of *Navarre*, the dauphin prevailed upon them formally to recognize him as regent. He then gave the chancellor of *Normandy* the great-seal, and created *Moreaux de Fiennes* constable of *France*. He soothed *Marcel* so artfully, that he made him his friend; and escaping from *Paris* to *Compeigne*, he there found a noble army ready to receive him; while the states of *Picardy* and *Champagne* acknowledged his authority, and entered into an association for his defence.

The king of *Navarre* was greatly alarmed at all this, and The king condescended to have an interview with the dauphin, who of *Navarre* resolutely demanded satisfaction for the blood of the two marquesses, and that the ring-leaders should be given up to public governor of justice. *Marcel* being made acquainted, by the king of *Navarre*, with the purport of this interview, put his party under arms, mounted the walls of *Paris* with artillery, and invited the king of *Navarre* to be its governor. He accepted of the offer; and taking upon him the office, *Marcel* and his party entered into an association to get his commission authenticated by the other cities of the kingdom; and the king of *Navarre*, on his side, promised to stand by them against all persons whatsoever, the king (whom he knew to be a prisoner) excepted.

The regent continued to behave with wonderful address and moderation. By his mildness and affability, he won over to his side the *Jacquetrie*, who were still very numerous, and he was soon at the head of thirty thousand men. The

opposite faction was not idle. They opposed the regent in the field, when he was directing his march to *Paris*, and some blood was spilt between them. The regent, at last, appeared before the gates of *Paris*, where he now had a strong party, which was encreased by the miseries the citizens began to suffer, when the regent made such dispositions of his troops as cut off all supplies. The royal party, at last, prevailed so much, that the king of *Navarre* thought proper to encamp with his troops at *St. Dennis*; and he scarcely left the city, when the loyalists within it, cut off three hundred *English* who were in his service; and all their countrymen in *Paris* must have shared the same fate, had they not been advertised by *Marcel* of their danger, and escaped to the king of *Navarre's* camp.

The loyal *Parisians* declared war against the *English* at *St. Dennis*, who cut six hundred of them in pieces in their march to attack them; but the factious provost now found he must be crushed by the collision of parties, and delivered himself up so far to the king of *Navarre*, that he agreed to proclaim him king of *France* in *Paris*, in right of his mother, on the first of *August* ensuing. He accordingly, on that day, repaired to the gate to admit the king; but his design taking air, a loyalist, one *Maylard*, cleft his skull with a pole-axe; and some of his most factious attendants were dispatched, in like manner, by the other loyalists. The cause of the regent now became popular in *Paris*, into which he was admitted with the acclamations of the giddy vulgar; and the king of *Navarre*, from defending that capital, now made preparations to besiege it, and entered into fresh engagements with *Edward*. But, in order to understand the spring of the great events that followed, it is necessary we should now attend the negotiations that were carrying on in *England*.

Treaty in
England
about
John's li-
berty.

The magnanimity of *Edward* was not of that kind which is proof against every change of fortune. It often plying under his ambition, and sometimes his necessities, not to mention the fordid practice of the age in demanding exorbitant ransoms for their prisoners. There is some reason for supposing that, upon cooler reflections, he began to think that the king of *Navarre's* maternal title to the crown of *France* was preferable to his. This will appear to any one who reflects, that, if *Edward* derived any right from his mother, all the kings of *France*, since the reign of *Lewis Hutin*, must have been usurpers; because they had reigned in prejudice of the king of *Navarre*, whose right was the same with that of *Edward*, but prior in point of time.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *Edward* had become more practicable than he had formerly been as to his claim of the *French* crown. His son, the amiable prince of *Wales*, had always secretly condemned it; and he made use of a conqueror's right to prevail with his father to make *John's* residence in *England* as comfortable and honourable

as his situation could admit of. Nay, he went farther; for he was continually pressing his father to agree to a definitive treaty upon moderate terms, and to restore the royal prisoner to his dominions. *Edward*, who had some intimation of the king of *Navarre*'s true views, by certain incautious declarations he had publicly made at *Paris*, began to feel *John*'s pulse as to peace. He hinted, that he might regain his liberty and crown if he would hold the latter as a feudatory of *England*. *John* magnanimously rejected the condition, which encreased the prince of *Wales*'s esteem for his person.

He prevailed with his father to make other proposals; and it was, at last, agreed, that *Normandy*, the *Boulognese*, and the county of *Guisnes*, should be added to *Edward*'s other *French* possessions, without his doing any homage for them; and that *John* should pay the sum of five hundred thousand pounds for his ransom. This agreement was no sooner made than the breach happened between the king of *Navarre* and the *Parisians*; and very probably the propositions made by the king of *Navarre* had altered his mind; for some writers tell us, that, when part of *John*'s ransom came to *England*, *Edward* refused to accept of it, because no hostages had been sent over for the payment of the remainder.

The negotiation, however, came to the king of *Navarre*'s knowledge; and he began to consider that he could not depend upon *Edward*, or upon the *English* troops who were in his pay. He might, indeed, by their means, have succeeded in forcing the *Parisians* to a capitulation; but he was exposed to inevitable destruction, if an accommodation between *Edward* and *John* should take place. Upon the whole, he came to the wise resolution of saving himself by saving *France*; which could only be done by entering into an agreement with the regent. The cardinals of *Perigord* and *St. Vitalis* were employed as mediators. An interview succeeded between the two parties, and the accommodation was concluded, on moderate and friendly terms, on both sides, at *Vernon*. The king swore constant fidelity to the crown of *France*; and the regent promised to pardon all the king of *Navarre*'s friends, excepting a few, whom his honour obliged to punish. *Philip* of *Navarre*, the king's brother, opposed this treaty to the utmost; and when it was concluded, he upbraided his brother, to his face, of his ingratitude and treachery to *Edward*, and with his having been bewitched by the arts of the regent.

Edward had not foreseen this event, which inclined him to resume the negotiation with *John*; whose situation in *England*, notwithstanding the outward civilities and honours paid him, was very uncomfortable. He had seen many of his great lords, in a manner, exulting in his captivity. The assembly of his states, far from raising money for his ransom,

had attacked his lawful prerogative ; and his queen had so little regard paid her, though a princess of the most consummate merit, that she had been obliged to retire to *Burgundy*, where she died.

At last, in the beginning of the year 1359, the conferences were renewed ; but *John* found that *Edward* had advanced in his demands, by adding so great a number of places to those contained in the late treaty, as rendered him greatly superior to *John* in his own kindom. Among other demands, he insisted upon his receiving homage, as duke of *Normandy*, for the dutchy of *Bretagne* ; and of his being paid four millions of crowns of gold for the ransom of *John* and the other *French* lords who were prisoners in *England*. *John* agreed to all ; and, with the lord *James*, of *Bourbon*, signed and sealed the treaty, and transmitted it to *France*, there to be ratified.

The treaty for his ransom rejected by his states. We hazard little in saying, that, in agreeing to those terms, *John* meant only to manifest to *Edward* his willingness to comply with whatever he required ; and to his subjects his miserable condition, and their own danger of being given up as a province to *England*. The regent called an assembly of the states ; in which the treaty was unanimously rejected, as being of such a nature as *John* could not conclude, nor they confirm.

It has been reported by *Knighton*, an old *English* author, that some of *John*'s letters to his friends in *France* were intercepted at this time, which gave *Edward* a suspicion of his duplicity. It is certain, that he was, beyond all measure, enraged at the unanimity of the states in rejecting the treaty ; and he ordered *John*, and his son *Philip*, afterwards called *the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*, to be closely confined within the castle of *Somerton*. To add to his resentment, the *French* had employed the time spent on negotiating, in raising a powerful marine, which lay ready for invading *England* ; so that *Edward* was, in a manner, compelled to continue the truce to *Midsummer* ; but, in the mean time, fury was boiling in his breast, and he had resolved upon a deep and ample revenge.

The truce continued. The reader is not to imagine that, though we have confined the narrative of the *French* warlike operations chiefly to *Paris* and its neighbourhood, that therefore the rest of *France* enjoyed tranquility ; for all its provinces were full of wars, tumults, and insurrections, though the particulars are too minute for this history. Upon the retreat of *Philip* of *Navarre* to *Normandy*, many of the *Navarrese* garrisons in that province had declared for the *English* ; and Sir *Robert Knolles*, a celebrated *English* general, carried fire and sword into *Berry*. It is true that *Edward* did not countenance those and other hostilities committed by his subjects in the pay of his *French* allies ; but no sooner was the treaty of

of *London* rejected, than he both approved of, and rewarded, what they had done ; for he assigned over to them, by way of free-hold, all the places that they had purchased in *France* by their swords.

Never had such preparations been seen in *England* as *Edward* made on this occasion. The truce had only encouraged the disbanded soldiers, who are sometimes called companions, and sometimes late comers, to remain in *France* ; where, under pretence of entering into the service of those powers who were not comprehended in the truce, they had filled the kingdom with blood-shed and rapine, to the great diminution of the royal authority.

The regent continued to behave with amazing steadiness, *Edward* and detached the count of *Flanders* from *Edward's* interest so invades effectually, that all the *English* in that county were expelled, *France* imprisoned, or put to death. *Edward* was so passionately with a set upon the execution of the late treaty, that, as his last vast army, tentative, he sent a message to the regent ; and threatened, if it was not fulfilled, to appear before the gates of *Paris* at the head of an hundred thousand men. This menace was treated with silent disregard ; upon which, all the military force of *England* attended *Edward* to *Calais*, where he landed on the twenty-eighth of *October*. He was there joined by the duke of *Lancaster*, whom he had sent over before him, and who had begun hostilities ; so that *Edward*, when he mustered his subjects and allies, found himself at the head of an hundred thousand fighting men, commanded, under himself, by his four sons and the chief nobility of *England*, all of them heroes, and some of them the best generals in *Europe*. In a council of war it was resolved, considering the too far advanced season of the year, to march directly to *Paris*, without suffering themselves to be amused by besieging any town whatever.

This mighty body accordingly began its march, in three which be- divisions, provided with all kind of carriages for conveyance, gins its and provisions for subsistence. Notwithstanding the precau- march for tions taken by *Edward*, the depth of the roads, the rainy *Paris*, but season, and, above all, the enemy's parties, which skirted he is baf- his army, rendered his march slow and difficult. He was, fled before however, cheerfully obeyed by his subjects, who hoped to *Rheims*. be indemnified for all their labours by the plunder of *France* and its capital. *Edward*, instead of abiding by his wise resolution of proceeding directly to *Paris*, as he was passing by *Rheims*, unaccountably resolved to be crowned in that city. It was defended by its archbishop, the count of *Porcien*, and other *French* noblemen, who refused to open its gates at *Edward's* summons ; upon which he most absurdly besieged the city. As it was well provided, and made a noble resistance, the investing it introduced so many various operations against other places, that *Edward*, at last, totally deviated from his plan of procedure. His officers were, indeed, successful

successful against some petty places ; but the siege of *Rheims*, at that time of the year, proved to be an immense undertaking ; and *Edward*, after spending two months upon it, was obliged (we may say ingloriously) to abandon it.

The
French
invade
England,
but are
repulsed.

The regent persevered in his cool plan of remaining on the defensive, being sensible of the folly of opposing *Edward* in the field ; but, at the same time, his fleet sailed from the ports of *Normandy* with twenty thousand men, under the command of the count of *St. Paul*, and landed in some ports of *Sussex*, where they were guilty of many wanton barbarities ; but a squadron fitted out by the *Londoners* soon obliged them to return, with vast loss, to their harbours, where they were blocked up by the *English*. *Edward*, by this time, after losing a vast number of men, was marching towards *Paris*, through the most fertile provinces of *France* ; and, on the last day of *March*, he encamped, at *Bourg la Reine*, within two leagues of that capital. He had, indeed, been indemnified by the plunder he made, for the subsistence of his army ; but every other consideration was against him, excepting a secret correspondence he had renewed with the king of *Navarre* ; who, from a mere levity of disposition, and hatred to the *Valois* family, shut himself up in *Mante*, and declared against the regent.

Edward
appears
before *Pa-*
ris,

Edward soon found that he had committed the very mistakes his son had fallen into before the battle of *Poitiers*, but to a much greater degree, and with more apparent fatal consequences. By laying waste the country, he could not procure subsistence for his troops. He had tarnished his former glory by his not being able, during his march, to make himself master of one place of importance, though he was now lying before a city far greater, and better provided, than that which had baffled the utmost efforts of his arms. All this was represented to *Edward*, with great freedom, by the duke of *Lancaster* ; who represented likewise to him his danger of forfeiting the reputation he had acquired among his *English* subjects, and of their stopping his supplies in parliament. *Edward* said he was willing to enter upon a negotiation, but refused to depart from any article stipulated by the treaty of *London*. He drew out his army ; he braved the regent to battle ; and he made repeated attacks upon the city ; but all to no purpose ; for the regent continued within the walls, as he well knew that *Edward* must, in a few days, draw off his army for want of subsistence, which accordingly happened.

but is
forced to
retire.

The trea-
ty of *Br-*
tigny con-
cluded.

The regent persisting in his conduct, notwithstanding several advantages he had gained, still confined his men within the walls of *Paris* ; but, upon *Edward's* departure, and threatening to renew his visit in autumn, he sent the bishop of *Terouenne*, the abbot of *Clugny*, with *Simon de Langres*, to offer him reasonable terms. By this, the regent was in hopes of stopping *Edward* in the resolution he had formed of laying

laying all the country desolate till he came into *Normandy*; from whence he resolved to fall into *Bretagne*, and there to establish the *Montfort* family, but with destruction to all who opposed him. Upon the arrival of the *French* commissioners, the duke of *Lancaster* prevailed with *Edward* to see them; but his pride would not suffer him to agree to any terms but his own. Continuing his march, when he was within two leagues of *Chartres*, a most dreadful storm fell, which killed six thousand of his horses, and a thousand of his men, some of them of quality. *Edward* threw himself on his knees, and, extending his hands to the chapel of the *Virgin*, at *Chartres*, he vowed that he would give *France* a peace if he might obtain good conditions. The treaty was accordingly resumed at a village called *Bretigni*, the prince of *Wales* being the head commissioner for *Edward*. Those for *France* had been appointed by *John*; and were, the bishop of *Beauvais*; the chancellor, *Charles*, lord *Montmorenci*; lord *John de Meingre*, marshal of *France*; *M. Aynart de la Tour*, lord of *Vivoy*; *M. Ralph de Ravenul*; *M. Simon de Bucey*; *M. Stephen de Paris*, and *Peter de la Charite*, with many others of his council.

I have given an account of the storm preceding this treaty as I find it related by unquestionable contemporary writers; but I am far from imagining, with them, that it determined *Edward* to give peace to *France*. His army and affairs were then in such a situation, that no immediate intimation from heaven was necessary for determining his resolution in that point. At the same time, we are of opinion that *Edward* laid hold of the circumstance of the storm, to serve as an apology for having abated in his demands. He saw all *John's* subjects united against him, and that their detestation of him encreased in proportion to his devastations. He could have no dependance on the king of *Navarre*, whom he, in fact, considered as his rival. After the repulses he had met with at *Rheims* and *Paris*, he had no hopes of being able to keep his army, especially his foreign mercenaries, together; and he knew that his *English* parliament could never be brought to renew their subsidies for carrying on the war in *France*. *Edward*, therefore, exclusive of the storm, had many motives to agree to the peace of *Bretigni*; which was to him both honourable and advantageous.

The treaty, after the most important points were settled, took up eight days before it was reduced to form; and it is one of the fullest, and best digested, instruments we have upon record; though the negotiations had few or no precedents to follow. By it (to omit more minute particulars) *Edward* acquired, in full sovereignty, that is, without being obliged to do homage, *Poitou*, *Saintogne*, *Agenois*, *Perigord*, *Limousin*, *Quercy*, *Angomois*, *Rouvergne*, and all that he had possessed himself of in the neighbourhood of *Calais*. *Edward*, on the other hand, renounced all his family claims, not only to the crown of *France*, but to *Normandy*, *Touraine*,
H 4 and

and *Anjou*; and was to receive. for the ransom of *John* and the *French* lords, three millions of crowns of gold; amounting to about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Six hundred thousand crowns being to be paid within four months; and *John's* two sons, the counts of *Adjou* and *Poitiers*, his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, with the flower of the *French* nobility, were to be hostages for the performance. The great towns of *France* were likewise to give other hostages. The earldom of *Montfort* was to revert to that count; and the two kings were to adjust the dispute between his family and that of *Blois*.

The regent of *France*, notwithstanding the vast cessions made by this treaty, swore to the performance of it on his part, as did the prince of *Wales*; and a truce was concluded till it could be ratified by both kings at *Calais*: upon which *Edward* returned to *England*; where he landed on the eighteenth of *May*, 1360. When *Edward* laid before *John* the treaty of *Bretigni*, he appeared so highly delighted, that he said he was sorry he could not immediately ratify it; and the remainder of his abode in *England* was spent in royal entertainments; and in his being introduced, by the prince of *Wales*, to the *English* court at *Windsor*.

It is ratified.

Upon the arrival of the two kings at *Calais*, the *French* finances were found to be so much exhausted, that the six hundred thousand crowns could not be raised; and *John* was obliged to remain there for four months: after which time, four hundred thousand crowns were paid, and security was taken for the payment of the other two hundred thousand at *Lady-day* ensuing. The treaty of *Bretigni* was then ratified by both kings in the most solemn manner.

As peace was the business of the time, prince *Philip* of *Navarre* appeared on the part of the king his brother; as the duke of *Orleans* did for king *John*; and both of them swore to a sincere reconciliation between their principals.

John had been so long a captive, that he was overjoyed with his freedom, and was well disposed to have executed his part of the treaty; and when at perfect liberty, he confirmed it; though the mutual renunciations of *Edward's* claims and *John's* homages were never precisely understood or executed. Upon the whole, neither party were fully contented with the treaty even after it was executed. *Edward* was dissatisfied with himself at his giving up his claim to the crown of *France*, and the regent-dauphin at the vast cessions that had been made to *Edward*. Both parties were backward in pressing for the respective renunciations, and they lay, for some time, dormant; but it is certain that the regent-dauphin acted upon the soundest principles.

State of *France* at that time. Upon the return of *John* to *Paris*, the peers and states of *France* swore to the observance of the treaty of *Bretigni*; and the affections of the people for his person and government

ment seemed to have been heightened by the misfortunes he had suffered. He had now leisure to deliberate on the good of his kingdom, which was afflicted with two calamities: the one was the want of money; and the other, the prodigious encrease of the disbanded soldiers, by the treaty of *Bretigni*, who seemed to be independent of all parties, and resolved to cut out for themselves a livelihood by their swords.

In the same treaty, the artful regent had left the time of the renuntiation of the sovereignty of the places ceded to *Edward* undetermined; and, when *John* demanded possession of the places ceded in *Aquitain*, the counts of *Armagnac*, *Perigord*, *Foix*, and others, refused to submit to his sovereignty; as did *Rochelle*, and several other sea towns on the coast of *Poitou*. *John* sent the lord *James Bourbon*, as *Edward* did a civilian, to persuade them to submit; and promised, at the same time, to ratify all renunciations of his claims upon the crown of *France*. Though the court of *France* might have made many objections, yet *Edward*, before the end of the year, obtained possession of the dutchy of *Aquitain*, from the *Loire* to the *Pyrenean* mountains; and of the earldom of *Ponthieu*, the town of *Calais*, the territory and town of *Guifnes*, with several other places and states; the lord *John Chandois* being appointed *Edward's* governor of *Aquitain*.

France, at this time, was no sooner delivered from the miseries of the *English* war, than she was depopulated by a raging plague; which co-operated with the disbanded soldiers, or, as they were called, late-comers, in laying waste the finest provinces of the kingdom. The late treaty had been too hastily concluded; nor had *Edward* properly considered the situation of his subjects, to whom he had assigned free-holds within the estates that had been ceded to *France*. They had built houses, and improved their estates, out of which they were turned by the treaty; so that they had no means of living but by the sword. They were in number about sixteen thousand men; and they formed themselves into a regular army, pretending to act under the king of *Navarre's* authority.

As all of them were soldiers, they were an over-match for The late? the troops sent against them under lord *James* of *Bourbon*; comers who, as well as his son, was mortally wounded and defeated defeat and in fighting against them. The insurgents afterwards grow- kill *James* ing more numerous, separated into two divisions; but, tho' of *Bour-* they were the authors of prodigious calamities to *France*, *bon*. their history, after this, belongs to that of other nations.

An unaccountable incident happened about this time: One *Gouge*, a *Frenchman*, confederated with one *Verney*, an *Englishman*; and they obtained such credit with the late-comers, that *Gouge* was proclaimed king of *France*, and
Verney

Verney became master of *Codelet*, near *Avignon*; but both of them, after a short reign, were defeated.

The young duke of *Burgundy*, who had been betrothed to the daughter of the earl of *Flanders*, died about this time. *Edward* of *England* wanted to marry the widowed virgin to his fifth son, *Edmund*; but the king of *France* seized the dutchy, as being next heir to the deceased; though, when the laws of succession are considered, the king of *Navarre* had certainly a preferable right to the counties of *Champagne* and *Brie*. *John de Boulogne*, the late duke's uncle by the mother's side, claimed the counties of *Boulogne* and *Auvergne*, as the count of *Flanders* did *Burgundy* and *Artois*.

The kingdom of *France*, at this time, had, by the wars that prevailed in *Italy*, got rid of the late-comers; but not without feeling the prodigious ravages committed by them; part of whom were taken into the pay of the marquis of *Montferrat*, at the request of the pope, who was afraid of their plundering his residence at *Avignon*. The treaty of *Bretigni* still remained unfinished. The feast of *St. Andrew*, in 1361, was at hand; and no dispositions on either side were made for its execution. *Edward* complained of this, and of other infractions of the treaty; but, in the mean while, his son, the prince of *Wales*, to whom he had assigned the dutchy of *Guienne*, was preparing to live there in full splendor and sovereignty; which the *French* court complained of, because *Edward* had not yet made the renunciations stipulated by the treaty.

The *French* king demanded, that, by virtue of that treaty, *Edward* should renounce his alliance with the *Flemings*; but *Edward* answered, by requiring *John* to renounce his alliance with the *Scots*. *John* found his authority so much diminished, and his difficulties, among his own subjects, so greatly encreased, that he wished to be again a prisoner in *England*. The dauphin had got a taste of power, understood the constitution of *France*, and insisted upon his father agreeing to nothing that might be prejudicial to his succession.

John gives the dutchy of *Burgundy* to his youngest son. As *John* was now passionately fond of peace, he resolved to consult with his friend, pope *Innocent VI.* who resided at *Avignon*, and he paid him a visit; but, in the mean while, by virtue of his own prerogative, without regarding either *Edward's* or the king of *Navarre's* claims, he bestowed the dutchy of *Burgundy* upon his son *Philip*; but, to do *John* justice, he did that at the request of the *Burgundians* themselves; who, when he was upon his journey to *Avignon*, applied to him, and insisted upon their being governed by a prince of the *French* blood. *John*, it is true, had, before that time, annexed the dutchy of *Burgundy* to the crown of *France*; but, upon the application of the *Burgundians*, he transferred it to his son *Philip*; to whom, in his grant, he gave the most unbounded praises; declaring him, at the same time,

time, to be the first peer in *France*. *Philip* confirmed his title to *Burgundy* by marrying the last duke's widow.

Urban V. had now succeeded to the papacy; and, upon the application of the king of *Cyprus* for aid against the infidels, he persuaded *John* to take upon him the cross. This was a foolish and impracticable resolution; but *John*, like his predecessors, was superstitious; for he imagined that their chief misfortunes had befallen them because they had not fulfilled their vows. To give some colourable pretence for this absurd engagement, he pretended he had undertaken it in order to prevail upon the free-booters, or late-comers, to attend him to the *Holy Land*.

No sooner was *John's* resolution known, and that the pope had declared him generalissimo of the *Christian* armies, than the king of *Navarre* renewed his intrigues for *Burgundy*; of which he thought, with reason, he had been unfairly deprived. Upon *John's* return to *Paris*, he found that the spirit of discontent had entered, and indeed with great cause, into the hostages he had sent to *Calais*. No time had been stipulated for their release; and the duke of *Anjou* was so impatient of his confinement, that he broke out of it, and went to *Paris*. The *French* parliament and the dauphin refused to ratify the treaty of *Bretigni* in all its articles. The maxim of *John* was, that, if truth and honour were disclaimed by all the world, they ought to be found in the breast of a king. In consequence of this maxim, he ordered his son to return to his captivity, but the young prince declining it, *John* himself went over to *England*, to make his apology, some time before *Christmas*, 1363.

He re-
turns to
England.

John had many rational motives for this step, romantic as it appeared. He had a vast personal interest at the *English* court; he was in hopes, as he was then a soldier of *Jesus Christ*, to prevail with *Edward* to remit the hard terms of his ransom; and to convince him, that it was utterly impossible for his subjects, in their ruined situation, to fulfil them. He found *Edward* dreadfully exasperated at the duke of *Anjou* having broke his word of honour, and at the non-execution of the treaty of *Bretigni*; so that, though *John* offered him part of his ransom in ready-money, he refused to accept of it, or give the other hostages their freedom, as *John* had expected.

Notwithstanding this, *Edward*, though he considered *John* where he as no better than a prisoner, treated him with the highest marks of respect; lodged him in the *Savoy*, at that time one of the most magnificent palaces in *England*; and indulged him in his darling passion for hunting; but still declined to give him any satisfaction as to the main parts of his negotiation. *John's* spirit could not bear this state of doubt, and he fell ill of a consumptive disorder, which put an end to his life, in his residence at the *Savoy*, on the eighth of *April*, 1364.

1364, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign.

His character,

This monarch, though subject to many frailties, especially those of temerity and passion, most certainly deserved a better fate than he experienced. His subjects did not deserve to be governed by such a sovereign; and they were less sensible of his worth and virtues than his enemies the *English* were, who most sincerely bewailed his death. *Edward* attended his funeral rites, and afterwards sent his corps to be interred in *France*. He obtained the epithet of *the Good*, on account of his personal candour and openness; but he fell into most degenerate times. His detestation of profligacy induced him sometimes to indulge his natural harshness by too great severity of punishment; but that he was not cruel, appears by many incidents of his reign. After being delivered from his captivity by the treaty of *Bretigni*, he certainly ought to have applied himself to the discharge of his engagements with *Edward*, who appears to have insisted with an ungenerous punctuality, upon his fulfilling the terms of his ransom.

and issue.

His first wife was *Bona* of *Luxembourg*, daughter to the king of *Bohemia*, and sister to the emperor *Charles IV.* but she died before his accession to the crown. By her he had *Charles* the dauphin regent, whom we have so often mentioned; *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*; *John* duke of *Berry*, and *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*. By the same princess he had five daughters, *Joan*, who was married to the king of *Navarre*; *Mary*, wife to *Robert* duke of *Bar*; *Agnes*, who died in her childhood; *Margaret*, who was a nun; and *Isabel*, the wife of *John Galeazzo*, duke of *Milan*. His second wife, *Joan*, dutchess dowager of *Burgundy*, was a celebrated beauty; and *John* by her had two daughters, who died young. It is commonly said, that he was of an amorous complexion, and that he would have married *Joan*, the famous queen of *Naples*, had it not been for the notoriously bad character she bore. It was thought that his last return to *England* was owing to a love intrigue, which he carried on while he was a captive.

Charles V. surnamed the Wise.

Affairs of *Bretagne*.

THE credit of the *French* monarchy was very low when this prince came to the throne. The king of *Navarre* was in arms, and had under him the famous captal of *Buche*, one of *Edward's* best generals, and who had been highly instrumental in gaining the victory of *Poitiers*. *Bertrand de Guesclin*, was *Charles's* general, and distinguished himself by his military genius. He defeated the captal in several encounters, and at last a decisive battle was fought between them near *Cocherel*, in which *Guesclin*, was victorious,

vious, and the captal made a prisoner. *Mante* and *Meulan*, in *Normandy*, fell into *Guesclin's* hands. The king of *Navarre's* brother, *Philip*, died, and another of his brothers *Lewis de Evreux*, after losing the town of *la Charite*, was obliged to evacuate *Burgundy*. *Charles*, by his ministers, complained heavily of *Edward's* duplicity, in suffering his officers and soldiers to serve under commissions from the enemies of the crown of *France*; and it must be allowed that *Edward's* conduct in this was indefensible, and can only be alleviated by the consideration that *Charles* gave the like assistance to the enemies of *England*.

Whatever respite, truces, or treaties brought to the two crowns, the unhappy duchy of *Bretagne* knew none between the contending houses of *Montfort* and *Blois*; and the dispute was fomented by the kings of *France* and *England*. Some overtures of peace had indeed been made, and had proceeded so far that it was agreed *Rennes* and *Nantes* should belong to *Charles* of *Blois*. The countess of *Penthievre*, wife of *Charles* of *Blois*, and in whose right he claimed *Bretagne*, opposed the partition, and the project came to nothing. The prince of *Wales*, who now acted with full sovereignty in all his father's *French* dominions, made a fresh tentative, but in vain, for reconciling the rival families. The last appeal was then made to the sword. The *English* troops in the *Navarrese* pay, were by *Edward* and his son ordered to join *Montfort*, under the lord *John Chandois*, and *Guesclin* marched to the assistance of *de Blois*, with all the troops he could collect in the *Lower Normandy*. *Montfort* had by this time formed the siege of *Aurai*, a place of importance, within three leagues of *Vannes*, and had taken the town, when *Charles de Blois* marched with his army to relieve the castle. This brought on a battle, in which *de Blois* was defeated and killed, and *Guesclin* taken prisoner, chiefly through the valour and good conduct of the lord *Chandois*, the *English* general. After this battle, the castle of *Aurai*, and the city of *Vannes*, with many other places in *Bretagne*, were surrendered to *Montfort*, and numbers of the *Breton* nobility abandoned the interest of the *Blois* family.

The reverses of fortune made but little impression on *Bretagne Charles the Wise*. He continued, in his calm steady manner, to support the countess of *Penthievre*, but at the same time ordered some overtures of an accommodation to be made to the count of *Montfort*, who was then besieging *Quimpercorrentin*. *Montfort* declared that he could return no answer without consulting *Edward*, who left the matter entirely to himself, but insisted upon his being put in possession of the whole duchy of *Bretagne* without any diminution. *Montfort* upon this, could only be brought to offer to hold the duchy of *Bretagne* in homage to the crown of *France*; a concession, which was thought so important at the court of

court of *France*, that the conferences for an accommodation were renewed, and at last it was completed. Its chief articles were as follow :

“ That *John*, count of *Montfort*, should be acknowledged as lawful and sole duke of *Bretagne*. That the countess of *Penthievre*, shall, for herself and her heirs, renounce all pretensions to the same ; and agree that the count of *Montfort* should perform his homage for the said dutchy to the crown of *France*. That the county of *Penthievre* should remain to the countess, with all the lands of *Bretagne* which came by her father or mother ; as also ten thousand crowns a year to be paid out of the estates of the *Montfort* family in *France*. That the count of *Montfort* should use his most earnest instances to procure the liberty of *John* of *Bretagne*, the countess of *Penthievre*’s eldest son, who had been long as a hostage for his father in *England* ; and that the said young prince should be married to *Jane*, the count of *Montfort*’s sister, who was to have the viscounty of *Limoges* as her fortune. That the said young prince, *John* of *Bretagne*, should succeed to that dutchy, in case the count of *Montfort* should die without male issue.”

Marriage
between
the prin-
cess of
Flanders
and the
duke of
Burgundy.

Equani-
mity of
Charles.

A treaty of marriage was, at this time, on foot, between the earl of *Cambridge*, *Edward*’s fifth son, and the lady *Margaret*, daughter to the count of *Flanders*, who was then in *England*. *Charles* thought it was of the utmost importance for him to prevent this match from taking place ; and a dispensation being necessary, he managed so artfully with the pope, that it never was obtained, and the lady was given to his brother the duke of *Burgundy*. The court of *France*, notwithstanding it had failed in supporting the house of *Blois*, was now emerged from that disgrace which it had lain under in the late reign. The duke of *Bretagne*, of the *Montfort* family, paid homage to *Charles*, who seemed to receive him with great politeness and affection. *Guesclin* was set at liberty, and the duke likewise confirmed to him all the grants made in his favour by his rival *Charles de Blois*. The dutchess of *Bretagne*, daughter to *Edward III.* happening to die about this time, the duke married the daughter of the princess of *Wales* by a former husband, against the inclinations of *Charles*, who, notwithstanding, preserved a wonderful equanimity. So far was he from expressing any resentment for what had past with regard to *Bretagne*, that he took into his service the captal of *Buche*, from the high opinion he had of his merit and fidelity to *Edward*, and though a prisoner, released him without ransom. The captal waited upon the prince of *Wales* at *Bordeaux*, to acquaint him with the change of his situation, but the prince told him that he must serve either his father or *Charles*, upon which the captal returned to *Charles* a grant he had made to him of the county of *Nemours*, and returned to *Edward*’s service.

The

The kingdom of *France* beginning to enjoy a respite from war, *Charles* examined the state of his finances, which he found to be in a miserable condition. The grants that during the late reign had been made to the princes of the blood, had exhausted the royal demesnes, and *Charles* signified to his uncle the duke of *Orleans*, that he intended to resume some part of the great estate that had been given him by his brother the late king. This intention being signified to the duke, he in full parliament offered to resign the whole of what he held, into the king's hands, a proceeding which appeared so generous in the eyes of *Charles*, that he confirmed the duke in all he possessed. Well knowing that the industry of the subject is the best revenue of the king, he now applied himself incessantly to the revival of agriculture, and manufactures, and both by his example and edicts he put a stop to all kinds of luxury, especially in equipages and cloaths. While he was thus intent upon cares that were worthy a king, his kingdom was revisited by the dreadful scourges of disbanded troops. This was an evil that *Edward* had not sufficiently considered or provided against by the treaty of *Bretagne*, and the court of *France* had been guilty of the same oversight. The case of the soldiers and their officers was certainly deplorable. Both kings had been so miserably distressed for money, that they had paid their men by assigning them lands in their conquered countries, which now reverted to their former owners, and consequently those assignments were void, and the poor people rendered destitute. They had no resource but that of keeping themselves in bodies under officers of their own choosing, and laying the country every where under contribution. All those bodies had a dependence upon each other, and taking the name of grand companies they became very formidable to the crown of *France*. They ravaged the counties of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, but one party of them was so just as to put to death one of its leaders who had made an inhuman use of his power.

Charles saw with grief and indignation the progress of those necessitated robbers. As they were far better soldiers than any he could raise, he could not subdue them, nor had he money to raise or pay an army. He complained to *Edward*, who ordered such of them as were his subjects to lay down their arms, and upon their not obeying he raised an army and prepared to pass over to *France* to force them. *Charles* thought that *Edward's* return to *France* at the head of an army might be a greater misfortune than any he suffered, and begged him to desist, which *Edward* agreed to do, but he swore at the same time, that if the companies, or as they were some times called, the *malandrines*, should drive him from the throne of *France*, he would give *Charles* no assistance. While *Charles* was in this distress, the famous *Bertrand de Guesclin* offered his service

service to relieve him. *Charles* accepted of it, and *Guesclin* had an interview with some of the heads of the companies, who had been formerly his friends and associates in arms. It was no hard matter for *Guesclin* to perceive that necessity alone kept the companies together, and that they would embrace any opportunity of a more honourable way of life. *Guesclin* proposed that they should march against the *Moors* and infidels in *Spain*; to which they agreed, and thirty-five of their principal officers accepted of an invitation given them by *Charles*, and went to *Paris*, where they were magnificently entertained, and received from him two hundred thousand franks towards the expences of their march. *Chalons upon the Soame* was fixed upon as the place of their rendezvous, and *Guesclin* undertook to head them in person.

He carries
them to
Spain.

Though the proposal of the companies marching against the *Moors* in *Spain* was plausible, yet it was not the measure that either *Charles* or *Guesclin* had in view. *Peter the Cruel*, an epithet he well deserved, then reigned in *Castile*. He had married *Blanch de Bourbon*, one of the most accomplished ladies in *Europe*, and sister to the queen of *France*, but he had used her most unmercifully, and even imprisoned her, that he might gratify a passion he had for his mistress *Maria de Padilla*. Proceeding from one degree of wickedness to another, he at last poisoned his queen, and began to put the princes of his own blood to death, when one of his natural brothers, *Henry de Translamar*, put himself at the head of a party who detested the king's tyranny. He was supported by the king of *Arragon*, but being defeated by *Peter*, he was forced to take refuge in *France*, where *Charles* entered heartily into his interest, and espoused the design of dethroning the tyrant.

Some writers, from an affectation of singularity, have represented the cruelties of *Pedro* as the effects of political necessity; but they seem to have resulted from his innate sanguinary disposition. He had, against the public faith, put to death *Eleanora Delynsman*, his father's mistress, who had borne him seven sons. He ordered his brother don *Frederic* to be butchered in his presence, and he dined in the room where the murder was committed, without removing the body. He had before that murdered *Garcilasso de Vega*, and his cousin don *Juan* of *Arragon*, whose widow he poisoned, and he put his own aunt, the queen dowager of *Arragon*, to death. In short, no tyrant of antiquity exceeded him in cruelty; but we shall refer other particulars to the history of *Spain*.

Where the
prince of
Wales
takes part
with king
Pedro. *Guesclin*, in this expedition, served under *John* of *Bourbon*, who had the nominal command, and the king of *Arragon* giving the companies a free passage through his dominions, all *Pedro's* subjects, one nobleman excepted, forsook him, while *Henry* was in *Burgos* proclaimed king of *Castile*. The tyrant at this time was shut up in *Gorruna*, from whence

he implored the assistance of *Edward*, and his son the prince of *Wales*. *Edward* was in no good understanding with the pope, who, as well as *Charles*, had embraced the count of *Transtamar*'s party, nor did he chuse that *Charles* should establish a king upon the throne of *Castile*. *Pedro* had the undoubted right of blood, and pleaded many alleviations for his cruelties, particularly the excessive power of his natural brethren, who had been always rebellious and wanted to dethrone him. *Edward* gave him a favourable hearing, and the prince of *Wales*, pleased with the prospect of again shining in arms, invited *Pedro* with his family, first to *Bayonne*, and then to his court at *Bordeaux*. An attempt to restore *Pedro* to his throne was too difficult and important a matter for the prince not to consult his father, especially as several great men in his own court opposed it; but upon the return of a messenger from *England*, he declared his resolution to proceed in the expedition against the count of *Transtamar*.

The prince calling a council, agreed to pay twenty thousand florins for a free passage by the way of the *Pyrenean* mountains; because the king of *Arragon* had shut up all the other avenues to *Castile*. *Pedro*, at the same time, granted to the prince and his heirs, the province of *Biscay* in full sovereignty, together with several castles and other distinguished honours to the royal family of *England*. *Guesclin* having established, as he thought, *Henry*, on the throne of *Castile*, had returned to *France*; and *Henry*, upon this, had dismissed the companies; who left his service in great discontent. They had been promised by the pope, a considerable sum of money, of which they were disappointed; and *Knolles*, *Calverley*, and *Gournay*, who were at their head, readily embraced the proposal made them by the prince of *Wales* of entering into his service. The prince thus procured the face of an army composed of soldiers whom he knew he could depend on; but when they had advanced as far as *Montauban* to join him, they were opposed by the count of *Narbonne*, and the seneschal of *Tholouse*, who were defeated with considerable slaughter. The year was now too far gone for him to think of proceeding in his expedition till the approaching spring; and thus the prince had the double expence of keeping the companies in his pay, and of maintaining *Pedro*'s court at *Bayonne*.

About the beginning of the year 1367, the prince ordered the rendezvous of his army to be held at *Dast* in *Gascony*; but found that a treaty was far advanced between count *Henry* and the king of *Navarre*, for barring up his passage into *Castile*. Perhaps, nothing but the activity of Sir *Hugh Calverley*, who had seized several places belonging to that prince, could have prevented this negotiation from taking place; but the king was so much alarmed by what *Calverley*

had done, that in a meeting he had with the duke of *Lancaster* and the lord *Chandois*, he cordially agreed to every thing proposed by the prince.

Who re-
inthrone
Pedro.

Ingrati-
of the
latter.

The
treaty of
Bretigni
broken,

The glory which the prince gained by defeating count *Henry* in the battle of *Navarette*, and his making *Guesclin* prisoner, will be shewn in the history of *Spain*. The prince, before that battle, had written the most polite letters to *Henry*, to persuade him to yield the crown of *Castile* to its true owner don *Pedro*; but he was answered with a negative, and an assurance from *Henry*, that he would not resign his crown but with his life. *Henry*, losing the battle fled to *Arragon*, and *Guesclin* surrendered himself prisoner to the prince of *Wales*, as did many other officers of great distinction both *French* and *Spanish*. *Pedro* shewed himself unworthy of his good fortune, by refusing to give the companies the pay he had stipulated. The diseases of the season, and the climate, had killed one third of the prince's army, and the king of *Navarre*, as was generally thought, had suffered himself to be taken prisoner by the *French* that he might avoid fulfilling his engagement with the *English*. The prince pressed *Pedro* for the payment of his arrears, which he promised to discharge in twelve months, provided he would evacuate his dominions; which the prince was obliged to do. Before his departure, he suffered all his *French* and *Spanish* prisoners to be ransomed at an easy rate, excepting *Guesclin*, who was highly carressed by the *English* officers, and was distinguished by a compliment from the prince, that he was too brave, and therefore too dangerous, an enemy, to be set at liberty. As to count *Henry*, he took refuge with the duke of *Anjou*, whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to the *English*, and who being governor of *Languedoc*, resided near the prince of *Wales's* *French* possessions. Assembling some *Bretons*, he invaded *Guienne*, which the prince of *Wales* complained of as a breach of the treaty of *Bretigni*. *Charles* sincerely desired peace, but was not displeased at the *English* being embarrassed, and for some time winked at the duke of *Anjou's* protecting the count, till hearing that the prince of *Wales* was in full march homewards, he ordered the count of *Auxerre*, who was raising troops for count *Henry's* service, to be put under arrest. This did not deter count *Henry* from renewing his inroads into *Guienne*, which however, he was soon obliged to abandon, that he might make another attempt to mount the throne of *Castile*. He was received with open arms by the king of *Arragon*, and *Pedro* was now as much detested for his ingratitude to the prince, as he had been before for his cruelty. Upon the prince's return to *Guienne*, he saw his coffers empty, and he was without the means of discharging the arrears that were due to the companies, who were still on foot, but grew so outrageous for their pay, that they laid the prince's own subjects under military contribution,

tribution; and the great lords of *Guienne*, and the other fiefs belonging to the prince, being apprehensive that he would be obliged to exact of them some extra feudal imposts, secretly applied to *Charles*, between whom and *Edward* the necessary renuntiations required by the treaty of *Bretigni* had never yet passed.

Charles knew that the expence of the prince of *Wales's* Necessity-court was above what his revenues, great as they were, could supply; but he acted so as to give the prince no cause of complaint. It was not long before what the prince's great lords apprehended proved true. Though the leaders of the companies had prevailed upon their followers to withdraw out of the prince's territories, yet they could not subsist without robbing the subjects of *Charles*, who sent *Oliver de Clisson* with a body of troops to protect them. In the mean while, the prince's necessities grew so clamorous, that, by the advice of his chancellor the bishop of *Rodez*, he called an assembly of the states of *Aquitain*, from whom he demanded a tax called a feuage, consisting of a franc upon each chimney within the principality, and to be continued for five years. The deputies of the towns willingly agreed to pay it, but the great feudatories, who were the count of *Armagnac*, the lord of *Albretti*, the lords of *Perigord*, *Conde*, *Cominge*, *Carmain*, *de la Barde*, and others, opposed it, as being extra-feudal, and against their privileges which the prince had sworn to maintain. There is some reason for imagining that the prince's demand had been suggested to him by his *French* ministers, in order to ruin his interest in *Aquitain*. His lords desired leave for time to consult their tenants about raising the tax; but having procured it they left *Niort*, where the assembly was held, and repaired immediately to the court of *France*; where they entered an appeal to *Charles*, as lord of the fee, against the proceedings of the prince of *Wales*.

This was what *Charles* had long foreseen, and secretly wished for; and the lord *Chandois*, with the rest of the prince's honest *English* ministers, were so far from approving of the taxation, that they left his court. The reason why *Charles* had so artfully put off the renuntiations was now evident to the prince, and must be so to our readers; because, if they had been executed, the *Aquitain* lords could have no pretext for applying to him as their lord paramount. He affected, however, great coolness towards their suit; he then promised to revise the treaty of *Bretigni*, and seemed to lament that the prince of *Wales* had been so inconsiderate as to invade their privileges. The prince all this while was pushed on by his *French* counsellors to his ruin. He levied the tax, though it was directly against the privileges of his feudatories. *Guesclin* was still his prisoner, and he took occasion one day to hint to the prince, that his fate was hard, to be detained a captive because he was

feared: The prince considered this as a tacit reproach upon himself, and knowing *Guesclin* to be poor, because he had been always generous, he hastily told him, that he might have his liberty if he could procure him two hundred thousand florins for his ransom. *Guesclin* took the prince at his word; and so popular was he in *France*, that, to the surprize and disappointment of the prince, he paid the money at *Bordeaux* on the day appointed, and once more took arms under the count of *Transtamar*, who had renewed the war against *Pedro*.

Appeal of the *Gascon* barons. The appeal of the *Aquitain*, or *Gascon*, lords, was still pending at the court of *France*, and *Charles* appeared still to be backward to receive it, while the duke of *Berry*, and the count of *St. Paul* remained hostages in *England*, which was not long, as both of them found means to come over to *France* in the beginning of the summer of 1368. *Charles* then ordered the treaty of *Bretigni* to be thoroughly examined in his council, where it was declared to be void and of no effect; first, because *Edward* had not joined the *French* king in suppressing the companies or malandrines; and secondly, because he had not performed the necessary renuntiations. Notwithstanding this, *Charles* still avoided coming to any extremity by summoning the prince of *Wales* to appear before his parliament at *Paris*, before he formed new alliances with the count of *Transtamar*, who was now king of *Castile*, the earl of *Flanders*, and some of the *German* princes, besides entering into secret correspondencies with several of the prince's towns in *Aquitain*. He then regularly summoned the prince to appear before his chamber of peers at *Paris*, to answer to the complaint of his subjects of *Aquitain*.

The prince summoned to appear at *Paris*.

Charles now foresaw that a war with *England* was inevitable. The treaty which had been concluded between him and the new king of *Castile*, had in it the following remarkable clause, "That if any of the blood royal of *England*, or if king *Peter* should fall into the hands of the admirals of the two nations, as they were sailing in company, that the said captive or captives should be detained prisoners, and not released but by the joint consent of both powers." *Charles*, even after this treaty was formed, was, by his ministers at the court of *England*, making the most ample protestations of his friendship and pacific intentions towards *Edward*; but in the mean time, he not only continued to strengthen himself with *German* alliances, but took into his pay such of the companies, as still remained on foot. *Edward*, at last, was undeceived as to *Charles*'s intentions, and offered to execute the necessary renuntiations; but was told that it was too late, because, by the many breaches he had made in the treaty of *Bretigni*, the sovereignty of *Aquitain*, and the other states ceded thereby to him, reverted to the crown of *France*. *Edward* then threatened to revive his claim

claim upon that kingdom; but he was defired by *Charles* to do his worst.

In the beginning of the year 1369, and not before, the prince of *Wales* received his summons to appear at *Paris*; which he promised in a rage, to the messengers, to do at the head of sixty thousand men; but he was ill supported by his father, who was still in hopes to compromise matters by negotiation; and he was likewise without money, and almost without any friends but the lord *Chandois*, who had generously returned to his assistance in his distress, the capital of *Buche*, and one or two more of his military officers. Which he resents.

Charles, in the mean while, proceeded with the greatest deliberation and solemnity. It does not appear that he pretended the prince of *Wales* had forfeited his possession of the fief of *Aquitain*, unless his barons should make good their charge against him; and for that purpose *Charles* summoned an assembly of his states at *Paris*, before whom he laid all the complaints of the *Aquitain* lords against the prince, and likewise all that had passed between him and the court of *England*. The assembly appeared to be overjoyed at his proceeding, and his resolution of re-annexing *Aquitain* to his crown. They voted to stand by him with their lives and fortunes; and, in the mean while, assisted him with a large subsidy. His proceeding upon this occasion was the more popular, as he took no step without the consent and advice of his states, and relying on their promises, he immediately declared war against *Edward*. Caution of Charles.

The first hostility was committed by the earl of *Perigord*, in revenge of the prince of *Wales* having ordered the messengers, who summoned him, to be arrested; but all the prince could do was to reinforce the garrison of *Montauban*, and to stand upon the defensive till he could receive supplies from *England*. Before those could come, *Charles* had laid his schemes so well, that the town of *Abbeville* was surprized by the count of *St. Paul*, and all the county of *Ponthieu*, with the *English* chancery there, fell without the stroke of a sword into the hands of the *French*. *Edward* was defied by a common domestic of *Charles*, who pretended that the arrest of his messengers by the prince, excused him from sending one of higher quality; and by the advice of the *English* parliament *Edward* resumed the titles and arms of *France*, and received from them a great subsidy. Hostilities commenced.

It happened unfortunately for the *English* interest and glory, that the brave prince of *Wales* was at this time, languishing under a mortal disorder, and unable to mount his horse. The new king of *Castile* punctually performed his treaty with *Charles*, and the *French* and *Castilian* fleets joining, they made up a formidable armament. Both *Edward* and the prince of *Wales* had hitherto flattered themselves that they had interest enough to prevail with the companies to re-enter into their service; but they were deceived.

ceived. The duke of *Berry* over-ran the country of *Poitou*, as the duke of *Anjou* did *Gascony*, while the prince of *Wales* could do little more than be a silent spectator of their ravages. *Edward*, exasperated by those hostilities, thought at first of taking a bloody revenge upon the *French* hostages that were still in his hands; but a little reflection soon disarmed him of that thought. He had been so amused by the pacific declarations of *Charles*, that his marine was gone to decay, and the *Castilian* and *French* fleets were masters of the *English* channel; so that it was a matter of great danger and difficulty to send troops, who must land in the bay of *Biscay*, to the assistance of the prince of *Wales*. The duke of *Bretagne* consented that the earls of *Cambridge*, and *Pembroke*, whom *Edward* had appointed to command the *English* auxiliaries, should land at *St. Maloes*, and march through his territories, which they accordingly did, and joined the prince about the same time that he received reinforcements under Sir *Hugh Calverley*, and the lord *Chandois*.

The *English* interest there ruined.

The *English* interest in *Aquitain* was however, by this time, ruined. The important city of *Cahors*, by the preaching of the archbishop of *Tholouse*, had declared for the *French*, and all the inferior clergy declaimed from their pulpits against the *English*, who were, by the same archbishop, driven out of fifty towns in the neighbourhood of *Cahors*. The earl of *Perigord* took *Roanville*, and put its *English* garrison to the sword; and the duke of *Berry* met with no opposition in *Auvergne*, and *Limosin*. In *Picardy*, the *French* were repulsed from the siege of *Andres* in the neighbourhood of *Calais*; but the loss of *la Roche de Pozay* by the *English*, obliged the prince of *Wales* to weaken the garrison of *Montauban*, that he might strengthen that of *Poitiers*.

Writings on both sides.

Charles, all this while, affected to depend upon the justice of his cause, and employed the best pens in *Europe*, particularly two *Boulognese* divines, *John de Lyana*, and *Richard de Salicette*, to justify his title to the crown of *France*, and to answer all the allegations that had been published against his conduct on the part of *Edward*. *Charles* did not stop at writing, for he and his queen, and court, appeared every day publicly in the most extraordinary acts of devotion, imploring the divine assistance upon his arms; this had an incredible effect upon the minds of all his subjects; nor could all the valour of *Chandois*, *Audley*, *Calverley*, *Knowles*, and other brave *English* officers, compensate for the general defection of the *French* from the *English* interest.

Exploits of the *English* in *France*.

The lord of *Chauvigny*, having deserted to *Charles*, the lord *Audley* fell into his estates, and gave his tenants no quarter. He took *Breuse*, and put the garrison to the sword, while Sir *Robert Knowles*, who had been rewarded by a noble estate in *Bretagne*, for his service to the *Montfort* family, received a commission from the prince of *Wales* at *Angoulême*,

lesme, and reduced great part of the county of *Perigord*. The earls of *Cambridge*, and *Pembroke*, besieged and took *Bourdeilles*; and, by the command of the prince of *Wales*, the lord *Chandois*, and Sir *Robert Knolles*, having joined their forces, made an attempt upon *Roche sur Yon*. Some of the *English* companies had been prevailed upon to enter into the prince's service, and they had taken prisoner *Isabella*, mother to the queen of *France*, and the duke of *Bourbon*, in the castle of *Belleperche*, in the *Bourbonnois*. The place was soon after invested by the duke of *Bourbon*, and abandoned by the *English* garrison, who carried off with them the dutchess. The duke exclaimed against this proceeding, and the prince was forced to excuse it, not having sufficient authority over the companies to oblige them to set her at liberty. The castle of *Roche sur Yon*, was by this time taken, or bought, by the earl of *Cambridge*; for which the duke of *Anjou* ordered the governor to be sewed up in a sack and thrown into the sea. But all those petty advantages were of little or no service to the *English*, against the prevailing fortune of *Charles*.

His policy and deep laid schemes unfolded themselves *Charles* more and more every day; but his genius was entirely attempts confined to his own dominions, and to the dexterity with to invade which he united his subjects against the *English*. His fleet *England*, and that of *Castile* continued still in possession of the *English* channel; and repairing in person to *Rouen*, he ordered a great body of troops to be embarked from the coasts of *Picardy*, on pretence of an expedition to *Portugal*; but in reality to invade *England*. When he opened his true design to his council, the wisest heads endeavoured to dissuade him from his resolution, as his intention was no secret in *England*, where *Edward* was making prodigious preparations to receive his army; the duke of *Burgundy* having the command of the expedition. *Edward's* subjects were fired at the thoughts of a *French* invasion, and it is more than probable, that had the *French* made their descent, they must have been destroyed. It is certain, however, that part of their fleet landed and burnt *Portsmouth*; but the alacrity of the *English* soon took from *Charles* all thoughts of invading *England*.

A strong squadron was in a short time fitted out by *Ed-* Duke of *ward*, and the command of it was given to *John of Ghent*, *Lancaster* duke of *Lancaster*; but *Charles* no sooner heard of its being lands in at sea than he ordered his troops to be disembarked. The *France*. duke, attended by a gallant train of *English* noblemen, landed at *Calais*, when he took upon him the command of the *English* troops there, and in that neighbourhood.

Charles ordered the duke of *Burgundy* to oppose him with an army of observation, for he gave him the most positive orders not to hazard a battle; which the duke of *Burgundy* avoided in a most masterly manner. The duke of *Lancaster*,

on the other hand, omitted nothing that could provoke him to fight, by penetrating into the country, and daily sending an immense quantity of plunder to *Calais*. The duke of *Burgundy*, at last, passed the *Somme*, and encamped at *Monstreville*, in a situation which could not be forced. He was followed by the *English*, who were far inferior to him in numbers; but the duke persisted in not fighting. The *French* nobility in his army were so much scandalized at his inactivity, that the duke wrote to his brother for leave to fight; but, instead of that, *Charles* ordered him to decamp; which he did with so much generalship, that the duke of *Lancaster*, perceiving himself to be outwitted, was forced to return to *Calais*; while the duke of *Burgundy* resigned the command of his army to the constable *de Fiennes* and the count of *St. Paul*. After this, the duke of *Lancaster* ravaged the country of *Eu* and *de Caux*, in order to cover a design he had formed of burning the *French* fleet in *Harfleur*: but this project was disappointed by its taking air, and the earl of *St. Paul* throwing himself, with some troops, into the place; upon which the duke of *Lancaster* put an end to the campaign in that quarter.

The lord
Chandois
killed.

The lord *Chandois* was now seneschal of *Aquitain*, and proposed an irruption into the *Anjouvine*, in conjunction with the earl of *Pembroke*, who haughtily refused to serve under him; but no sooner was *Chandois* returned to *Poitiers* than the earl undertook the same expedition, and for some time proceeded without resistance. His success encreasing his security, he was surprized by a body of *French* troops under *Robert de Sancere*, in an open town called *Fuernon*, where all his men, but two hundred, were cut off, and he was on the point of being sacrificed, when *Chandois* hearing of his danger ran to his assistance, and bravely delivered him. The earl's danger taught him caution, and being joined by Sir *Hugh Calverley*, they made a second irruption into the *Anjouvine*, where they took and garrisoned two important places, *Pont de Cè*, and the abbey of *St. Maur*. The *French*, about the same time, took *St. Salvine*, which lying within the government of the lord *Chandois*, he attempted to retake it, but his foot happening to slip in the attack, he was thrust into the brain and killed. His death was the greatest misfortune that could have happened to the *English* in *France*. He had educated the prince of *Wales*, and had taught him humanity as well as arms. His judgment in war was equal to his valour, and in peace his councils were always found to be wise and honest. But we are now to attend the court of *France*.

The king
of *Na-*
varre
leagues
with *Ed-*
ward.

The dutchy of *Burgundy* was still in dispute between the king of *Navarre* and that duke, who married the daughter of the count of *Flanders*. *Charles* had declared loudly in favour of his brother, and was now so popular, that the king of *Navarre* despairing to succeed in the way of negotiation,

nation, renewed his engagements with *Edward*, to whom he paid a visit in *England*. Upon his return, the squadron which carried him was defeated by the *French* fleet; and tho' he had admitted *English* troops into his *Norman* garrisons, yet he was obliged to remain neutral for some time. *Edward* was, then, treating with the dukes of *Fuliers* and *Gueldres*, and other *German* princes, whom he brought over to his interest, and would have prevailed with several more, had not *Charles* augmented their subsidies, and prevailed with the seneschal of *Hainault*, to keep them firm in their alliance. *Charles*, imagined that by his brother's marriage with the princess of *Flanders*, his interest among the *Flemings* was not to be shaken; but he was deceived, and while he thought that *Edward* was taking the most effectual means of irreconcilably exasperating the *Flemings*, the event shewed that he was securing them in his party.

Edward, instead of treating with them, or endeavouring to win them over, ordered all their ships to be seized by the *English* wherever they could be found; which intimidated the *Flemings* (who were great gainers by their trade with *England*, and had an affection for the *English*) so much, that they obliged their count, (or as he is now called duke) to consent to a suspension of arms; and upon *Edward's* again opening their intercourse with *England*, to enter into a treaty of neutrality between him and *Charles*.

The
Flemings
favour the
English.

Edward's interest in *France* continued still to decline, and in 1370, the lord of *Pamiers*, and some other persons of quality, were put to death for their correspondence with the *French* court. *Edward's* son-in-law, the lord *de Coucy*, whom *Edward* had created earl of *Bedford*, had a great estate in *France*, and to avoid a disagreeable situation between the two kings, he this year removed with his family to *Italy*. In *May* the court of *France* published its sentence of re-annexation of the duchy of *Aquitain* to the crown, for the reasons we have already specified, and it was followed by a solemn requisition of all the *Aquitain* lords to repair to court and do homage to *Charles*. *Edward* had long foreseen this blow, and gave commissions to Sir *Robert Knolles*, Sir *Thomas Grandison*, Sir *Alan Buxhul*, and other chiefs of the companies, to lay *France* waste, Sir *Robert Knolles* having the command. Their army, which was unprovided of every thing necessary for a siege, rendezvoused at *Calais*; from whence they marched towards *Artois*, but without seeing an enemy, (*Charles* having ordered his soldiers to confine themselves within the walls of their towns) or of having any other satisfaction than that of either destroying an open defenceless county, or of raising contributions upon its inhabitants. Without entering into more disagreeable particulars, *Knolles* continued his ravages to the gates of *Paris*, where *Charles* lay with an army composed of the flower of the *French* troops and nobility.

The
in *Aquitain*
the lords do
homage
to *Charles*.

The
English
march to
the gates
of *Paris*.

Being still faithful to his maxim of not fighting, he saw from his palace the smoke of the buildings burnt by the *English*, but without making an effort to take the field; and, as he had predicted, the *English* having spent their fury fell back upon *Anjou*.

Continuation of the war in *Aquitain*.

The *Gascon* nobility had now no safety but in uniting to support the interest of *Charles* in *Aquitain*, where *de Guesclin* was ordered to command under the dukes of *Berry* and *Anjou*. The prince of *Wales* continued still to be afflicted with a dropsy, which prevented his taking the field; and the castle of *Aguillon*, reckoned the strongest in *France*, which had baffled the attempts of the duke of *Burgundy* at the head of a hundred thousand men, was taken by a *French* army of twelve thousand, after a siege of no more than four weeks. At the same time, the duke of *Bourbon*, and the count of *Alençon*, besieged *Limoges*. The prince of *Wales* saw their progress, with grief and vexation, but being joined by some *English* troops under his brother the duke of *Lancaster*, he ordered himself to be carried in a litter to *Cognac upon the Charente*, where he had appointed his rendezvous, intending to march from thence to the relief of *Limoges*; but before his arrival it was taken by *Guesclin*. Notwithstanding this, the prince of *Wales* resolved, before his return, to do some thing worthy his great name, which was still terrible to the *French*, and swore, by, the greatest of all his oaths, the soul of his father, that he would retake *Limoges*, or die before its walls. The efforts of the *English* were so vigorous, that they forced their entrance into the place, where they they put all to the sword without regard to age, sex, or condition; an inexcusable severity, especially in so humane a conqueror, though, probably, he thought that the place had been betrayed to the *French* by its inhabitants. Three *French* noblemen made so brave a defence that they obtained quarter, and gained the friendship of the prince, who did not put a stop to the slaughter; till above four thousand people were put to the sword. This was the last warlike exploit performed by the brave *Black Prince*, who now sent his troops into winter quarters.

Guesclin made constable of *France*.

Guesclin had signalized himself so greatly, that *Charles*, who was an excellent judge of mankind, created him constable of *France*; an honour which he for some time refused on account of the meanness of his birth, and the vast power it gave him of commanding even the princes of the blood. Instead of going into winter quarters, he fell into the territories of the duke of *Bretagne*, for his attachment to the *English*; and understanding that the *English* commanders under *Knolles* had split among themselves, he attacked and defeated them separately before they could reunite; but *Knolles* and his division found means to retire to *Bretagne*, where they were forced to shut themselves up in fortresses. *De Guesclin*, upon his return to *Paris*, laid before

before his master, *Charles*, the necessity of detaching the king of *Navarre* from *Edward*. Those two princes had entered together into a treaty, by which *Edward* promised the duchy of *Burgundy* to the king of *Navarre*, with such other advantages and concessions, as, if they had been carried into execution, would have rendered him as powerful in *France*, as *Charles* was, or he himself had ever been. This treaty, however, was not to be ratified unless the prince of *Wales* should give his consent to the same; which, as appears by a letter from *Edward* to the king *Navarre*, published by Mr. *Rymer*, and dated the twenty-second of *January* 1371, he refused to do; on which the treaty came to nothing.

By the mediation of the archbishop of *Rouen*, *Charles* and the king of *Navarre* had an interview, in which the latter gave up, for the city and county of *Montpelier*, the cities of *Mante*, and *Meulan*, together with the earldom of *Longueville*. At the same time, he gave his two sons to *Charles* as hostages for the performance of the treaty, which was concluded in *June*. *Charles* having now little to apprehend from the *English*, published several ordinances for abolishing the animosities that prevailed among his great lords; while the prince of *Wales*, as the only chance he had for his life, prepared to return to his native air in *England*, and taking a solemn leave of the *French* barons, who still continued attached to his person, he landed this year at *Southampton*, leaving the duke of *Lancaster* to command for him in *Aquitain*. Upon his departure for *England*, the *French* made themselves masters of several important places, and *Charles* every where employed agents in remonstrating to the *Poitevine* lords their danger and folly in continuing longer attached to the *English*. The lord *Thomas Percy*, however, and several of the *English* officers there, performed many brave actions, and took the castle of *Montcontour*; but *Guesclin*, with the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* under him, more than repaired all the losses the *French* met with in this campaign.

The credit of *Charles* was so great at this time, with his subjects, that they granted him hearth-money, and subjected themselves to the same taxes that had been raised for the ransom of his father. The war was so widely spread, that even these were insufficient for supporting it; for which reason, he squeezed the officers of his finances, and borrowed considerable sums, both from the clergy, and the lawyers of his dominions. It was about this time, that *Charles* entered into an alliance with *Robert II.* who had been high steward of *Scotland*, but had now succeeded, in right of his mother, to that crown. This was always a favourite connection with the kings of *France*; and *St. Lewis* had so high an opinion of the fidelity of the *Scots*, that he trusted the safety of his person to twenty-four of that nation, which

Negotiations for peace.

Liberality of the French to Charles.

which was the original of the *Scotch* guards in *France*; but that number was by *Charles* encreased to an hundred, an institution which remained long in force, and is still nominally kept up. About the same time, the cardinal bishop of *Beauvais*, resigned the post of chancellor of *France*, as being incompatible with the places he held under the pope; but it was given to his brother.

The duke of *Lancaster* was now a widower, and kept his court at *Bordeaux*. The mediation of the pope, who employed the cardinal of *Beauvais*, and the archbishop of *Canterbury*, to negotiate a peace, had proved ineffectual. The two princesses of *Castile*, whom their deceased father had given to the prince of *Wales* as hostages for his good faith, remained still at *Aire* in *Gascony*, and were celebrated for their beauty and accomplishments. As *Henry* of *Castile* had been always one of *Charles's* best friends, and chief supports, the duke of *Lancaster* and his brother, thought they could not do their father better service than by marrying the two princesses, which they accordingly did; the duke of *Lancaster* espousing the eldest, *Constantia*, as the earl did her sister, *Isabella*. The meaning of those double marriages was plain to all *Europe*, and they served only to attach *Henry* more firmly than ever to the king of *France*. They renewed their alliances both offensive and defensive; and *Henry*, after settling all matters in dispute between himself and the kings of *Navarre*, and *Portugal*, fitted out a powerful squadron of ships, (some of which carried cannon) with an intention to fall upon the coasts of *Poitou*, and *Xantoigne*. The duke of *Lancaster* and his brother, with their brides, were now in *England*, and the capital of *Buche* commanded in *Aquitain*.

In the beginning of the year 1372, the conferences for peace were renewed at *London*, but came to nothing; and the preparations of *Edward* for war were greater than ever. He ordered two armies to be raised; the command of one was given to the duke of *Lancaster*, who was to invade *France* by the way of *Calais* and *Picardy*, while the earl of *Pembroke* was to act at the head of another in *Aquitain*.

Charles was always excellently well served with intelligence at the *English* court, and gaining an exact knowledge of *Edward's* plans, he persuaded the *Castilian* admiral, who was then lying off *Rochele*, to wait for that division of the *English* fleet which carried the earl of *Pembroke*. That nobleman accordingly fell in with the *Castilians*, whose ships were so much superior to those of the *English*, that they gained a complete victory. The bravest of the *English* knights and soldiers were killed. The earl of *Pembroke*, and Sir *Guiscard de Langle*, a favourite with *Edward*, were taken prisoners; the *English* fleet was in a manner entirely destroyed, and the *Castilians* returned victorious to their own coasts, after giving *Edward* the severest blow he had ever

ever experienced. *Charles* expecting every day another landing under the duke of *Lancaster*, was very uneasy when the *Castilian* fleet left his coasts, and the *Rochellers* would certainly have declared for him, had they not been overawed by the captal of *Buche*, who threw himself into that city. He ordered his constable *de Guesclin*, however, to reduce all that part of *Poitou*, and *Xantoigne*, where the *English* had yet any possessions.

The descendant of a *Welch* prince, as he pretended, whose name was *Owen*, had for some time borne a considerable command in the *French* armies; and *Charles* had entrusted him with the command of a fleet, carrying four thousand men, with whom he made a descent upon the isle of *Guernsey*. He was opposed by one *Ross Edwards*, governor of the island; but *Owen* killed four hundred of his men, and besieged the remainder in *Cornet* castle. The place proving stronger than was expected, and the *Castilian* fleet at the same time leaving the coast of *France*, *Charles* ordered *Owen* to return with his ships to the harbour of *Harfleur*, and himself to sail after the *Castilians*, to persuade them to sail back to guard the *French* coasts. *Owen* executed his commission with great dispatch and address, and *Henry* of *Castile* accordingly ordered his ships to return as *Charles* had directed. In the mean while, the consternation of the *English* at the defeat of their fleet was inexpressible, and the arms of *Charles* continued to give them new defeats, and make fresh acquisitions from them in *France*. All his generals had united their troops, nor could the activity of the captal of *Buche* prevent *St. Severe*, and many other places, from falling into the constable's hands, and at last *Poitiers* itself was given up to him by a *French* party within its walls. By this time, the *Castilian* fleet had blocked up the harbour of *Rochelle*, but desisted from farther hostilities, as some of the principal inhabitants gave the *Castilian* admiral, don *Roderigo*, assurances, that they would take the first opportunity to declare for *Charles*.

The constable had sent a detachment of his army to besiege *Soubize* in *Xantoigne*, which was defended by a lady. The captal of *Buche* marched to her relief and defeated the besiegers; but was himself defeated and taken prisoner by *Owen*, who hearing of his design, had marched from *Harfleur*. His captivity was an irretrievable loss to the *English* interest in *France*; and though immense sums were offered for his ransom, yet he died, about five years after, in prison at *Paris*. After this, *St. John d'Argeli*, *Tailebourg*, *Angoulesme*, *Xainte*, all of them places of great importance, with others of less, were surrendered to the *French*; but the greatest loss the *English* sustained at this time, was that of *Rochelle*. That city had submitted to *Edward* with the utmost reluctance; the inhabitants claimed many antient privileges, and were at very little pains to conceal their aversion to the *English* government;

government, but they were bridled by an *English* garrison in their citadel, which was, in the absence of Sir *John Deyeux*, its governor, commanded by one *Maufel*, who could not read. They produced an old deed, which they pretended to be an order from *Edward*, that the garrison and the townsmen in arms should be reviewed in the town next day. *Maufel* fell into the snare, and when he had marched out of the citadel he found his return to it stopt up by a strong party of the inhabitants, who had been placed in ambush, while another party attacked in front. As the garrison was small he was overpowered and taken prisoner, while the few *English* that had been left in the castle were obliged to surrender it.

Noble
spirit of
the *Rochellers*.

The *Rochellers* shewed themselves worthy of liberty. They took possession of the citadel, and acquainted the princes of the blood and the court, of their success; but insisted upon their obtaining three conditions before they surrendered either their town or citadel to the king. First, that the citadel should be demolished; secondly, that they should be allowed a coinage, with the same privileges as that of *Paris*; and lastly, that *Rochelle* should never again, upon any pretext, be dismembered from the crown of *France*. The princes and the constable thought proper to refer the *Rochellers* to *Charles*, and a deputation of twelve of their number repairing to court, he granted all their demands. A number of forts dependant upon *Rochelle* followed its fate, and were surrendered to the *French*, who at last prepared to besiege *Thouars*, one of the strongest places remaining to the *English* in *France*, and the town in which the *Poitevine* nobility, who remained still faithful to *Edward*, had shut themselves up with their riches till they could be succoured from *England*. They were so vigorously pressed by the *French* that they agreed to deliver up both *Thouars*, and all their castles, if they were not relieved before *Michaelmas*, but, till then, a suspension of arms was to take place; and they were at liberty to acquaint *Edward* with their situation.

Thouars
reduced
by the
French.

Their messengers found *Edward* busied in preparations for retaking *Rochelle* in person, which had retarded the duke of *Lancaster*, who was still in *England*. The armament equipped by *Edward*, both for the sea and land service, was immense; and the fame of it had revived the hopes of the *English* party in *France* so greatly, that they had again taken the field, in hopes of being supported by *Edward*. He accordingly put to sea; but was, by contrary winds, forced to put back in the beginning of *October*, and to disembark his troops.

The capitulation for *Thouars* was now expired. The *English* army in *Poitou* offered to march to the relief of the garrison; but received for answer, that, by the terms of their agreement, they did not think themselves at liberty to
admit

admit of any relief but from *Edward* or one of his sons. This answer sufficiently indicated, that they had been all along in a correspondence with the *French*; they submitted accordingly; and their example was followed by many others.

Edward finding himself disappointed in his attempt to invade *France* in person, laid a plan for enabling the duke of *Bretagne*, who owed his all to the friendship of *England*, to make head against the progress of the *French*. *Charles* had a strong party amongst the *Breton* nobility; and the constable, as well as *Oliver de Clisson*, who was now the most inveterate enemy the *English* had in *France*, was a native of that province. They chose being feudatories to *France* rather than *England*; and they told their duke, in plain terms, that, if he intended to declare for *Edward*, preferably to *Charles*, he was to expect no assistance or support from them.

The duke, impelled by his hatred of the *Valois* family, and the suggestions of three *English* officers, *Knolles*, *Nevil*, of *Bre-* and *Milbourn*, who were at his court, disregarded this declaration. He was summoned by *Charles* to attend him with all his force, and to pay him his homage. He pleaded the stipulation in the treaty of *Bretigni*, by which he was to enjoy a neutrality; but he was answered, that that treaty had been, by the states of *France*, declared to be void. The appeal was now made to the sword; and the nobility prevailed with all the places where they had interest, to declare for *Charles*. *Edward* sent some troops and shipping, under the earl of *Salisbury*, to the duke's assistance; but the constable, *Guesclin*, besieged and took *Siveray* and *Niort* itself; and, in a short time, reduced all that part of *Aquitain* as far as the banks of the *Garonne*; and then went to *Paris*. It was not long before he was ordered to march with a fresh army to support the *Breton* barons, who had now taken the field against their duke; and, being joined by a great body of *Normans*, made a vast progress in that country.

When we read the original histories of *France* at that time, we meet with the names of so many towns and castles besieged, reduced, or revolted, that we are apt to think that the whole land was covered with fortifications. The truth is, that, besides the nature of the feudal constitution, which required every lord of a fief to have a castle, or strong place, upon his estate, the *French* had many additional inducements for multiplying such places of protection. The long wars between them and the *Normans*; the vast disorders that prevailed all over the country while they were engaged in the ruinous crusades; the state of war they were obliged to live in upon the return of those crusaders, needy and naked, home; and, above all, the ravages and insults of the companies, or disbanded soldiers, which were of long standing, rendered it unsafe for any gentleman to live in a house that

was not, in some degree, fortified. Add to this, the dissensions among private families, so incident to feudal tenures. We are not, however, to imagine the numerous forts and castles that figure in the *French* history of those days, to have been all of them places of considerable strength. Most of them, as upon the borders between *England* and *Scotland*, were built to resist flying parties; and they never failed to yield to the first summons of a regular army; so that they always followed the fortune of the field. Such are the reasons why we have omitted the mention of a great number of sieges and places to be found in the *French* historians of this time.

Poitou lost to the *English*. *Poitou* was now entirely lost to the *English*; and *Charles* gave it to his brother, the duke of *Berry*. The duke of *Bretagne* was again summoned to appear before *Charles's* court; but neglecting to obey, he was declared to have forfeited all right to his duchy; and the army, now commanded by *Guesclin*, was ordered to execute the sentence. The duke, unable to resist it in the field, fortified his strongest places in the best manner he could, with the assistance of *English* officers and soldiers, left the defence of his country to Sir *Robert Knolles*, and went over to *England*, where he found great preparations going forward to assist him.

Edward had a fleet at sea under the earl of *Salisbury*, who burnt several *Spanish* vessels in the ports of *Bretagne*, and alarmed all that coast. On the other hand, the cities of *Rennes*, *Dinant*, and *Vannes*, opened their gates to the constable. The garrison of *Luzemont* was put to the sword for the resistance it made; as were, for the same reason, all the *English* in *Hennebonne*; their two brave commanders excepted, Sir *Thomas Wyche* and Sir *Thomas Frier*. Sir *John Langley*, the governor, was the only *Englishman* who had quarter given him when *Conquet* was taken.

Progress of *Guesclin*. At last, *Guesclin* (whose rapid successes were, in a great measure, owing to a vast train of artillery he carried with him) formed the siege of *Brest*; which, because of the *English* superiority at sea, he turned into a blockade. At the same time, he invested *Roch sur Yon*, *Becherel*, *St. Saviour*, and *Derval*. These were prodigious operations; and the whole was a proof of the constable's vast military genius. *Knolles*, who defended *Brest*, had intelligence that it would be relieved; and concluded a treaty with the constable for giving it up, if the blockade was not raised in forty days; upon which, *Knolles* threw himself into the castle of *Derval*, which belonged to his private estate.

His duplicity. We can suppose no cause, but the rooted hatred of the *French* to the *English*, for the former carrying on so inter-necional a war as they did, at this time, against the latter. *Clisson* made it a rule to give no quarter to the *English*; and even *Guesclin*, open and gallant as he is represented to have been,

been, behaved with an infamous duplicity towards them. *Knolles* had given hostages for the performance of his capitulation concerning *Brest*; one condition of which was, that the army coming to relieve it should offer battle to the constable; which the earl of *Salisbury*, having landed his men, actually did; and demanded the *English* hostages to be set at liberty. *Guesclin* declined giving battle, and evaded the other demand, by saying that the *French* would fight the *English* at *Nantes*, where the capitulation was made. *Salisbury* re-inforced the garrison of *Brest*, and the constable was mean enough to commit the *English* hostages to close prison. The siege of *Derval* went on. Its governor, Sir *Hugh Bright*, had given hostages for surrendering it if not relieved in two months. The duke of *Anjou*, who commanded the siege, demanded the performance of the capitulation. *Knolles* replied, that his deputy had no power to make it. The duke ordered the heads of the three *English* hostages, two knights, and an esquire, to be struck off. Three *French* gentlemen were treated in the same manner by *Knolles*, and their heads thrown into the duke's camp; upon which he raised the siege.

Edward was, all this while, continuing his preparations to retrieve his affairs in *France*. His son, the incomparable prince of *Wales*, was then on his death-bed; but another of his sons, the duke of *Lancaster*, who, in his wife's right, now assumed the title of king of *Castile*, and *Leon*, emulated the *Black Prince's* glories; but without possessing either his virtues or his genius. An army of fifty (some say only thirty, but many of them men at arms) thousand men was raised in *England*, under the command of the duke of *Lancaster*; who, with the duke of *Bretagne*, landed at *Calais*. *Charles* had foreseen this invasion, and provided for it upon his own maxims of not fighting. He kept about his person a body of four thousand men at arms, and a considerable force of infantry. He sent three armies into the field: one under the constable, with orders to cover *Champagne*; and the other two under the dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, who were to attend the motions of the *English* army, cut off their provisions and stragglers, and straiten their quarters, but with express orders not to venture a battle. The duke of *Bretagne* naturally pressed the duke of *Lancaster* to begin his operations by relieving his dutchy; but which he *John* of *Ghent*, madly resolved to proceed to *Guienne*. He accordingly begun his march to a country so thoroughly ruined by his enemies, that before they reached *Bordeaux*, he lost all his horses, and four fifths of his troops, without having any satisfaction, but that of braving the whole military force of *France* in the field; for *Charles* had taken his measures so justly, that the *English* could not master one place of strength. *Charles* beheld the madness of the *English* with silent contempt, and is said to have defrayed great part of the expence of this campaign by a tax he

The duke of *Lancaster* again invades *France* with a great army,

loses.

raised upon the *Jews* for suffering them to continue ten years longer in his dominions. He lost, at this time, his two capital ministers, the cardinal of *Beauvais*, and his brother the chancellor, who were succeeded by the bishop of *Amiens*, and *Peter d'Argemont*; but notwithstanding his good fortune, his country, as indeed *Italy*, and *England*, was now desolated by the plague and famine.

Guienne
and *Gas-*
cony lost
by the
English.

This, together with the great subsidies granted to *Edward* by his *English* parliament, might be the chief reasons, why *Charles* did not seem averse to the pope's indefatigable exhortations for a peace between the two crowns. Those conferences began at *Bordeaux*, and were continued at *Bourges*, but with no great effect, while the duke of *Anjou* kept the field, and obtained several advantages in *Higher Gascony*, and the earldom of *Foix*. In the mean while, a truce was concluded under the mediation of the pope, which was to last from the tenth of *April* 1374, to the last of *August* that year. Before the expiration of the truce the duke of *Anjou* had brought the count of *Foix* to declare for his father; and before the end of the year, the *English* were stripped of all they held in *Guienne* and *Gascony*, excepting *Boyonne* and *Bordeaux*, and a few other places of no consequence. The duke of *Lancaster* having left a considerable part of his army with the duke of *Bretagne*, to whose territories the late truce had not extended, who having in the winter received fresh reinforcements under the earl of *Cambridge* from *England*, had recovered great part of his dutchy. He took the castles of *St. Mahi*, and *St. Paul de Leon*, where the *English* put all the *French* to the sword; and he was upon the point of taking *Cliffon* and *Quimperlay*, when he received advice from the duke of *Lancaster* of a new truce having been agreed on for a year, in which his dutchy of *Bretagne* was included, and requiring that duke to give over hostilities. As his chief support lay among the *English*, he was obliged to comply; but in fact, the duke of *Lancaster* privately was his enemy. Soon after the conclusion of the truce, negotiations were set on foot for a definitive treaty; but it ended in a truce, which was extremely prejudicial to the *English*.

A truce.

State of
Charles's
affairs.

This short respite of a truce was of infinite service to *France*, by leaving *Charles* at liberty to regulate the internal affairs of his kingdom. He then passed the famous edict, which he caused to be registered in parliament, and thereby declared to be a perpetual and fundamental law of his kingdom, by which the majority of all his successors to the crown of *France* was fixed to their entering their fourteenth year. The death of the duke of *Orleans*, added considerably to his finances, by the crown being his heir; and though *Charles* lived, as to his own person, below the magnificence of a private lord, yet he was generous and magnificent towards all who served him well, either in the field

of the cabinet, but especially to the constable *Guesclîn*. Notwithstanding this, he had always by him immense sums of ready money, to supply the means of carrying on the war.

When he heard of the death of the prince of *Wales*, he ordered a solemn service to be performed for his soul; and being sensible that many of the *French* were personally attached to him, he wisely published an amnesty, or pardon, for all that had happened, inviting them back to their allegiance to his crown. The pope, in the mean while, did all he could to convert the truce, which was to continue till *June 1376*, into a definitive treaty, which might have been easily done, had not *Charles* been secretly averse to all terms of peace, from the profound desire he had to reannex *Calais*, and the other places which *Edward* still held in *Picardy*, to the crown of *France*. It was with this view, that though he had great reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of the *Stuart* family in *Scotland*, he received their ambassadors with distinguished honours, and by promising to pay the remainder of their king's (*David's*) ransom, he prevailed upon them to agree to renounce all the truces they had made with *England*, exclusive of *France*; promising at the same time, to continue his usual subsidies to the *Scots*, and to prevail with the pope to absolve them from their oaths. When these infamous proposals, agreed to by the *Scotch* deputies, were transmitted to king *Robert*, he had the virtue to reject them; but he concluded another treaty with *Charles* of a more warrantable nature, by which the two kings agreed that the pope could not dispense with the obligations they lay under to each other, and that the subjects of neither should serve the *English* in their wars with *France* or *Scotland*; a stipulation which proved of infinite service to the *French*. *Charles*, about the same time, renewed his alliances with the king of *Castile*, who continued to be still the most formidable naval power in *Europe*, and no sooner did the truce with *England* expire, than their joint fleet made a descent upon *England*, and burnt the town of *Rye*.

By this time, the war had been renewed with various success in *France*; but *Edward III.* as well as his son the brave prince of *Wales*, was now dead. *Charles* did not know of *Edward's* death till some weeks after it happened, and then too only by such of his troops as had returned from their expedition into *England*. This, with the expiration of the truce, occasioned the war to rage with more fury than ever. The *English* marine was in no condition to withstand the united fleets of *France* and *Castile*, who burnt the towns of *Hastings*, *Portsmouth*, *Dartmouth*, and *Plymouth*, and reduced all the isle of *Wight*, excepting the castle of *Carisbroke*. During those operations by sea, the duke of *Burgundy*, at the head of one army, entered *Picardy*, and reduced the town of *Ardres*, while the duke of *Anjou* defeated

Sir *Thomas Felton*, who was governor of *Aquitain* under *Richard*, the young king of *England*, and with the assistance of the constable took *Bergerac*, the only place of great importance that remained to the *English* in *Gascony*; but the councils of young *Richard* were now so miserably divided, that his patrimony in *France* was given up as a prey to *Charles* and his generals.

Vol. VIII. In this prosperous state of *Charles's* affairs, the emperor
p. 42. *Charles IV.* and his son *Wenceslaus*, king of the *Romans*,
The em- paid him a visit at *Paris*, the motives for which we have
peror of already fully taken notice of, and which confirmed to the
Germany dauphin, the vicariate of the empire, and the old kingdom
visits of *Arles*. The king of *Navarre*, at this time, appears, by
Charles. his inconstancy and treachery to all parties, to have been neglected by all. He was accused of conspiring with certain *Normans*, who were executed, to poison *Charles*, who seized upon all his possessions in *Normandy*, and the lordship of *Montpelier*. Neither the *French* nor the *English* historians, perhaps, have done sufficient justice to the memory of that prince; because, as we have already mentioned, his claim upon the crown of *France*, was undoubtedly preferable to that of *Edward*, and to that of *Charles* likewise, had it not been for the new invented, or as others call it, the revived, scheme of the *salic laws*. In the year 1377, *Charles* lost his queen, whom he sincerely lamented.

Vol. X. We have already taken notice of the adoption of *Lewis*
p. 155. of *Anjou*, brother to *Charles*, by *Jane*, queen of *Naples*; and the concern which the *French* cardinals had in the election of pope *Clement VII.* which gave rise to a long schism in the church.

Who loses the Bre- *Charles* being tolerably easy on the side of *England*,
tons. and fully instructed as to the differences reigning at that court, proceeded now to execute his favourite plan of reannexing the dutchy of *Bretagne* to his crown. This plan, however practicable it appeared to be, was highly detrimental to his affairs. The *Breton* noblemen, had never pushed their opposition to their duke farther than to oblige him to pay his homage to the king of *France* rather than of *England*; but they had no idea of any project of reannexation, and they entertained still a personal affection for their duke. In short, it was then seen, that it was chiefly to their hatred for *England* that they had ranged themselves under the banners of *Charles*. Such were the sentiments even of his faithful constable *Guesclin*, to whom *Charles* owed almost every thing, and this created between them so great a coldness, that *Guesclin* was on the point of throwing up his command, and retiring to *Castile*; and though *Charles* found means to divert him, he declared he never would serve him farther in his quarrel against his country. It appears, as if *Charles*, who managed so many great wars and important concerns without leaving his

his cabinet, was not perfectly acquainted with the dispositions of the *Bretons*. He had cashiered them from his army, and they entered into the service of their duke, and the *English*, which gave a turn to the war.

Sir *Hugh Calverley*, the *English* governor of *Calais*, burnt *Boulogne*, and twenty-six *French* ships in its port, and obtained several other considerable advantages in *Picardy*. The war renewed. The lord *Thomas Piercy*, took twenty-two ships belonging to the *Spaniards*, and the *Flemings*, who had joined them; and a citizen of *London*, alderman *Philpot*, though only a private adventurer, had still greater success against the *French* and *Spaniards* by sea.

The king of *Navarre* had put the *English* in possession of *The Cherbourg*, the only place of consequence that remained to *English* him in *Normandy*; but they were roughly handled by the ravage *Spanish* shipping before they landed. The duke of *Lancaster* was now at the head of the *English* affairs, and the *French* coasts. thought that he could not succeed in the claim he had upon *Castile* so effectually, as by continuing the war vigorously with *France*. He soon formed a marine superior to that of the latter. He passed over in person to *France*, burnt a *Spanish* who *French* fleet in the harbour of *St. Malo*, and besieged the town, but, through the vigilance of the constable he could not take it, though he is said to have had four hundred cannon in his train; and he was obliged to reembark his troops. The duke of *Berry* had besieged *Cherbourg*, but was beaten with great loss, by Sir *Robert Rouse*, its governor, and took *Oliver de Guesclin*, brother to the constable, prisoner. Those sprinklings of success encouraged the *Flemings* to declare for *England*, and the duke of *Bretagne* sold *Brest* to the *English*. The latter, from their sea-ports, ravaged the coast of *Normandy*, and the *English* ministry thinking that the sea was the element upon which they could act with the greatest success, applied now to the restoration of their marine, with such assiduity, that they did incredible damage to the commerce both of *France* and *Spain*.

Charles could not be easy while *Brest* was in the hands of the *English*; but the reannexation of the duchy of *Bretagne* to his crown was so glaring a violation of the rights of the *Blois* family, (whose property it indisputably was, supposing the *Montfort's* to have forfeited it,) that his difficulties daily increased on that side. Their success in the inland parts. Sir *Hugh Calverley*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, who were then joint admirals of *England*, were victorious on the *French* coasts, where they destroyed many ships; and *Dinant*, *Rennes*, and *Vannes*, surrendered to the duke of *Bretagne*, upon his return from *England* to his own duchy. It happened, luckily for *Charles*, that the duke of *Lancaster* was so intent upon his *Castile* claim, (not to mention their former differences) that he did not so vigorously support the duke of *Bretagne* as he might have done.

done. This gave *Charles* leisure to buy off the earl of *Juliers* from the *English* interest, and to renew, upon very advantageous terms, his *Castilian* league, with *John*, the son of *Henry* of *Transtamar*, who was now dead. By this new treaty, *Charles* was to pay twelve hundred francs a month for the use of twenty large *Castilian* ships, who were to be entirely under his direction, though commanded by *Castilian* officers, and to be employed against the *English*.

Death of *Guesclin*. The successes of the *English* in *Picardy*, *Auvergne*, and the *Limousin*, still continuing, *Charles*, who had no notion of resentment of any kind, but what was dictated by interest, began to relish the advice given by *Guesclin*, to make the duke of *Bretagne* his friend; notwithstanding the recent attempt to reannex his estates to the crown, and the deep rooted inveteracy between them. The war with the *English* still continued to rage, and the brave constable *de Guesclin* died by the fatigue he had contracted in besieging *Chateaufneuf*, which was to have been surrendered to him the day of his death, and the deputies accordingly laid its keys at the feet of his corpse.

New invasion of France by the *English*. In 1380, the court of *England*, to break off all connections between the duke of *Bretagne* and the king of *France*, again landed a large army at *Calais*, commanded by the earl of *Buckingham*, their king's uncle, and the flower of the *English* nobility. They were attended by an army of observation under the duke of *Burgundy*; who was, as usual, bound up by *Charles* from fighting, but their numbers were greatly diminished by their fatigue and sickness in marching to besiege *Nantes*, the only city of importance that now held out for *Charles* in *Bretagne*. He saw the inutility of prosecuting his designs upon that duchy; but, by promises to the *Breton* lords that he would restore the duke and them to all their rights and privileges, provided they would shake off their dependence upon the *English*, he prevailed with them not to join the latter; and the earl of *Buckingham* was obliged to raise the siege and march into winter quarters.

Death, character and issue of *Charles*. *Charles* began now to perceive the approach of death by the stopping of an issue he had in his arm, and dedicated to the future good government of his kingdom the hours that he could spare from his devotions. His son being a minor, he sent for the dukes of *Berry*, *Burgundy*, and *Bourbon*, (his eldest brother the duke of *Anjou*, being then in *Italy*;) and desired they would marry the young king to a *German* princess, that he might strengthen his interest in the empire; that they would give the constables sword to *Oliver de Clifton*; and that they would take the first opportunity of easing the people of their enormous load of taxes. After this, he prepared, with great resignation, for his death, which happened on the sixteenth of *September* 1380, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

Some writers attribute his death to poison, which had been given to him twenty years before by the king of *Navarre*. No man had ever a more mechanical turn than *Charles* had for business of every kind. His operations were sure, slow and silent, and he seemed to be without passion of any sort, though at the same time, no man knew better how to punish when opportunity presented. He courted advice, and heard with great attention the different opinions of his counsellors, whom he usually dismissed without forming any resolution; but he always was determined by his own judgment. He had some maxims uncommon to princes of his calm, frugal cast; for though he was privately parsimonious, he was liberal even to excess to those who served him well, and used to say, that to be parsimonious was the true way to be cheated. He always paid in ready money, of which he still took care to have great plenty at hand. Some writers are of opinion that he pushed his practice of amassing treasure to unwarrantable lengths; and we are told, that, on the very day of his death he remitted several of the taxes he had laid upon his subjects.

In the general dispatch of his affairs he seemed to have few ideas but those of interest; but by an unusual turn of mind, he was the greatest patron and encourager of learning of any prince of his time. Books were the most agreeable present that could be made him; and *Christina* of *Pisa*, who knew him well, and lived at his court, tells us he had a competent knowledge of *Latin* and the rules of grammar. At the time of his accession to the throne, all the books of the royal library of *France* did not exceed twenty; but he increased them to nine hundred, and they were lodged in three chambers within the castle of the *Louvre*, where he generally resided. But besides this library, we are told, that he had others in different castles, though there is some reason for suspecting that most of the books in these belonged to the grand collection in the *Louvre*, and were placed there only for the king's convenience. These were chiefly composed of *Latin*, and *French* translations of the bible, missals, breviaries, psalters, and other books of devotion, all which were magnificently bound and illuminated, according to the custom of the times, before printing was known in *Europe*. Translations into *Latin* or *French*, of *Arabian* authors, physicians particularly, formed another division of this library, and the translators were employed and paid by the king himself; but its most valuable part is said to have consisted of history, particularly that of *France*. *Charles* was so true a *Frenchman*, that though he could read and understand *Latin*, yet he ordered *Titus Livius*, *Valerius*, *Maximus*, *Augustine de Civitate Dei*, and some other favourite works to be translated into *French*, because he never would read them in their original; and there is still in the *French* king's library a magnificent translation of *Titus Livius*, which

which had been executed by his order, if not by himself; and in the reign of *Henry V.* or *VI.* of *England*, had been carried to *England* by the regent duke of *Bedford*; but had been recovered by the count of *Angoulesme*, who bought it at *London* in the year 1441.

Charles V. by patience and perseverance, did greater things, than any prince of his time, by enterprize, and yet he was subject to the weakneses of the age. Hearing of an *Italian*, one *Thomas* of *Bologna*, father to the famous *Christina* of *Pisa*, he invited him to *France*, and engaged him, at a large expence, to reside about his person in quality of his astrologer. His fixed appointments amounted to a hundred francs a month, a vast sum in those times. The presents made him by the king amounted to at least the same sum, and he had a promise of five hundred livres a year for himself and his posterity. *Charles* was of opinion, that the *French* monarchy would decay as soon as the kings and great men of *France* should neglect or discourage learning. His way of living was perfectly regular; his appearance of irresolution, and of his not being determined, often imposed upon his enemies, and his courtiers frequently solicited him to enter into measures, which, without their knowledge, he had already executed. Though he seldom headed his armies of enterprize in person, yet their successes were generally owing to the great care he took in providing them with magazines, and all kind of resources in case of a defeat. His wife *Joan*, daughter of *Philip*, duke of *Bourbon*, was a princess of great accomplishments, both in body and mind; and *Charles* had accustomed her to the affairs of the cabinet, the better to qualify her to be regent to his successor in case of a minority. By her he had two sons, *Charles* who succeeded him, five daughters, who died young, and *Catharine*, who was married to the duke of *Montpensier*, son to the duke of *Berry*, but had no issue.

Charles VI.

The duke
of *Anjou*
appointed
regent of
France.

THE duke of *Anjou*, eldest brother to *Charles V.* was busy about his promised succession in *Naples*, when he heard of his brother's death; and the parliament appointed him regent of the kingdom during the minority of the young king, who was no more than twelve years of age; but his education was committed to the care of his two uncles, the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*. So jealous were the *French*, at this time, of their feudal rights, that the duke of *Burgundy*, as being the first peer of *France*, took place at the council board of his elder brother, the duke of *Anjou*, whose elevation to the regency was looked upon with an evil eye by the duke of *Berry*. After the coronation

coronation had been performed at *Rheims*, the constable's sword was delivered to *Oliver de Clisson*, and the new administration set out with the popular measure of suppressing the most heavy of the taxes. The office of regent was not then well defined by the *French* constitution, and the duke of *Anjou* seized the immense treasures, jewels, and plate of the late king, to enable him to execute his ambitious views upon the crown of *Naples*. The dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* acted with equal rapaciousness in their several departments; and the regent hearing of an old servant of the late king who knew of some of his hidden treasures, obliged the man, with an executioner's axe over his head, to discover where they were hid between two walls.

Never were two governments more dissimilar to each other than that of the late king and the regency. All the servants of *Charles V.* were now disgraced; the chancellor of his retired from court; the bishop of *Amiens*, who was immensely rich, fled to *Avignon*; and the duke of *Burgundy*, who took the lead in the king's education, soothed him in all his natural propensity to youthful gaiety and dissipation. The duke of *Berry* demanded the government of *Languedoc*, of which he had been deprived, because of his oppressions, by the late king, who gave it to the count of *Foix*. Being backed by the duke of *Anjou*, the duke of *Berry* prevailed; but the people refused to submit to his government, and he was beaten by the count of *Foix*, who not knowing whether what he had done might not be construed into rebellion by the parliament, retired to his own estate, and made up matters with the duke of *Berry*. The monstrous expences of the duke of *Anjou* to support his *Neapolitan* claims, made him tax the people to such a degree, that the commonalty in *Paris* broke out into an insurrection. Being armed chiefly with mallets, they were thence called *maillotins*, and at first they were guilty of such inhumanities, that the king and his council retired from *Paris*. The better sort of the citizens, however, being well armed, easily suppressed the mob; notwithstanding which, the duke of *Anjou* made them responsible for the outrages of their inferiors, and obliged them to pay a hundred thousand livres, by way of fine, before they could obtain their pardon.

The death of *Charles V.* occasioned a great turn to the prejudice of the *English* in *France*. The duke of *Bretagne* had not the same invincible personal hatred for *Charles VI.* as he had for his father; and he was secretly convinced that the advice of his nobility, who wanted him to prefer a *French* to an *English* subjection, was the best he could follow; but being a man of honour, he lived in good terms with the earl of *Buckingham*, who wintered in *Bretagne*; and the duke only sought for an opportunity of abandoning the *English* without seeming to break his faith. The *Breton* nobility saved

saved him that trouble. They sent a splendid deputation to the earl, to acquaint him, that, notwithstanding the high esteem their duke and they had for the *English* nation, they were unanimously resolved that his army should not continue longer in their country than the first conveniency that should offer itself for their departure. The earl dissembled his thoughts, dismissed the deputies with the utmost politeness, and had the address to procure an interview with the duke at *Rennes*, where he was upon the point of persuading him to renew all his engagements with the *English*, till he was dissuaded from it by *Robert Beaumanoir*, who confirmed him in his former resolution. In the mean while, his nobility made his and their peace with the court of *France*. The chief terms were, that the duke should publicly, on his knees, ask pardon of that king, and that both he and his barons should swear never to join either the king of *England*, or *Navarre*, against the crown and kingdom of *France*; and that the duke should immediately pay homage to the king for that dutchy. The clergy and nobility of *Bretagne* were likewise obliged to swear, that, if the duke should violate his engagements, they would join the king against him. It was with difficulty that, in *April* 1381, the earl of *Buckingham* obtained transports and a convoy to him and his troops back to *England*.

Vol. X. About this time, the duke of *Anjou* had, with the late
p. 156. king's money, raised a prodigious army, with which he in-
Death of vaded *Naples*, and he was crowned king of *Sicily* at *Avignon*,
the duke by pope *Clement*, upon the murder of the late queen *Jean*.
of *Anjou*. We have already mentioned the duke's death there with-
out succeeding in his enterprize; and the return of the
miserable remains of his army to *France*. The duke of
Burgundy succeeded him in his authority at the *French*
court.

Charles The *Flemings* were then in arms against the duke's father-
subdues in-law, the count of *Flanders*, and the truce with *England*
the re- being prolonged, the duke of *Burgundy* entered with great
volted zeal, into the interest of his father-in-law, whose heir he
Flemings, expected to be in right of his wife. The *Flemings* had
chosen *Arteville*, son to the famous brewer of that name,
for their head, and he conducted their affairs with great
abilities and success. He drove the count's party almost
out of *Flanders*; and perceiving a great *French* army
with its king at their head, he sent deputies over to *England*
to solicit the protection of *Richard II.* but they could not
prevail with that weak prince, and his ministry, to enter
into the quarrel. His indecision proved fatal to the revolted
Flemings. The duke of *Burgundy*, who commanded one of
the finest armies *France* had ever raised, while *Arteville* was
besieging *Ouednard*, passed the *Lys* and seized upon *Ipres*.
Before *Arteville* had accepted of the command of the *Flem-*
ings, he had made them promise that they should not listen

to any terms of accommodation, and he had issued orders against giving quarter to any *Frenchman*, only, if possible, to take little king *Charles*, that he might be educated at *Ghent*, and learn to speak good *Flemish*. The duke of *Burgundy*, however, soon made such a progress, that the *Ghentois* recalled *Arteville* from the siege of *Oudenard*, and it was resolved to fight the *French*. The battle happened at *Roseberque*. The *Flemings* were defeated with the loss of twenty-five thousand men, among whom was their leader. The duke of *Burgundy* reestablished his father-in-law, and made use of the orders issued by *Arteville* against the *French*, to justify the most barbarous inhumanities which he exercised upon the *Flemings*.

During this *Flemish* expedition, the people of *Paris*, and partly stung by oppression, and partly through a seditious disposition, had been guilty of insults upon the royal authority, which the duke of *Burgundy*, now at the head of a victorious army, resolved severely to punish. The *Parisians*, apprehensive of this, welcomed their king in his approach to his capital in a body of thirty thousand men. This affected display of their power made no impression on the duke of *Burgundy*. The king entered *Paris* in triumph, and proceeded against its inhabitants as if they had been rebels; their gates were thrown down, their barricades demolished, three hundred of their principals were thrown into chains, and, for a fortnight, no day passed without signal executions; all the citizens being obliged to give up their arms. But the court wanted money as well as blood. The surviving burghesses were obliged to pay exorbitant sums for their pardon, though the king had deprived their city of its privileges. The discontented spirit of the *Parisians* extended itself to *Orleans*, *Rouen*, and many other great towns in *France*, who were punished by large fines; but all that was raised was so disproportioned to the rapaciousness of the court, that the army was disbanded without being paid.

The court of *England*, though it had unaccountably neglected to support the *Flemings* while they were victorious, imagined the *French* would make use of their late successes to besiege *Calais*, and the parliament voted an expedition against *Flanders*, (where *Ghent* still held out for the revolvers) and that the warlike bishop of *Norwich* should command it; and, after relieving *Flanders*, he was to march against *France*. The bishop accordingly landed at *Calais*, took possession of *Dunkirk*, with other places, and defeated the count of *Flanders*, who opposed him with thirty thousand men. After this, the bishop besieged *Ipres*, but his army being composed of mere rabble, and the place being defended by the best of the *French* troops, he abandoned his enterprize, left his arms and artillery in the hands of the enemy, and retreated with the main body of his army to

to *Dunkirk*; while some companies of mutineers fortified *Bourbourg*, which was immediately invested by the *French* king; who declared, that, if the besieged did not surrender, he would give them no quarter. The duke of *Bretagne* served with twelve thousand men under *Charles*, who treated him with such gross indignities, that, to clear his honour, he demanded to lead on the next attack in person, which he did with the greatest intrepidity, but was repulsed by the *English*. The flower of the *French* army was employed in the next attack, but was repulsed with still greater loss than the duke of *Bretagne* had sustained. At last, *Charles*, at the duke's repeated intercession, granted the garrison a capitulation, and they had leave to march to *Calais* with their horses, arms, and the rich booty they had made in *France*.

The truce
with Eng-
land pro-
longed.

The duke of *Bretagne* was severely censured by the court for their escape, and the *French* army marched against the bishop of *Norwich*, who was then at *Gravelin*; and who, finding that his soldiers were neither disposed to defend the place, nor his court to send him reinforcements, dismantled it, and returned with his army to *England*. This irruption renewed the war between the *French* and *English* in *France*, where the marquis of *Sancerre* expelled the latter from the *Limousin*, and their commerce suffered deeply from the *Norman* and *Castilian* squadrons. A truce, which was concluded for six months, put, at that time, an end to hostilities between the two nations. The duke of *Lancaster* and the earl of *Buckingham* were met in *Picardy* by the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*; and some conferences passed concerning a treaty, but all they could do was to conclude a truce, which was to last till the first of *May* next year, 1385, and was to comprehend the *Scots*, and the duke of *Lancaster*, as king of *Castile*.

Death
of the
count of
Flanders.

This year was distinguished by the death of the count of *Flanders*, to whose succession the duke of *Burgundy* was heir, and he became thereby the richest, and consequently, the most powerful prince, upon the continent of *Europe*. The *Ghentois* still held out, and, at their request, *Richard*, as lord paramount of their country, sent Sir *John Bouchier* to command them. The duke of *Burgundy* looked upon this as an act of hostility, and persuaded his nephew to agree to a scheme of invading *England*. The admiral *Vienne*, to favour this invasion, was sent with fifty thousand pounds in gold to *Scotland*, to be distributed among the chief of that nobility, together with a considerable force for invading *England* by the north, at the time the descent was to be made on the south. The admiral acquitted himself perfectly well of his commission; but the unfavourable turn which affairs took against the duke of *Burgundy* in *Flanders*, made him employ the armaments that had been made for the descent to his own use. He persuaded *Charles*, once more, to march against the town of *Dam*, which had declared

against

Expedi-
tion of the
French
from Scot-
land to
England.

against the duke, and had joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of *Sluys* for burning the whole *French* fleet; and which was discovered only by the remorse of one of the conspirators. *Dam* was stormed by the *French* army, the garrison was put to the sword, all but a few who escaped to *Ghent*; but in the mean while, all farther thoughts of a descent upon *England* were laid aside. This did not discourage admiral *Vienne*, who still remained in *Scotland*, from making a strong impression upon *England* on the side of *Northumberland*, through the assistance of three thousand men lent him by *Robert* king of *Scotland*. His progress was such, that he intended to have pushed on into *Wales*, and to have joined the malecontents there, had not the *Scots* been obliged to return to the defence of their own country against the *English*.

Charles king of *France* was now seventeen years of age. Marriage He was healthful, vigorous, and had the finest person of of *Charles* any youth in his dominions, so that his ministry thought it to *Isabella* was high time he should marry. A daughter of the duke of *Ba-* of *Lancaster*, king of *Castile*, was proposed, as being a salu- varia. tary match for making up the differences between the two kingdoms; but the last advice of his father prevailed, and a *German* princess was picked on, *Isabella*, daughter to the duke of *Bavaria*. *Charles* insisted upon seeing her before he married her. The princess, attended by her mother, gave him the meeting at *Amiens*, where *Charles* became immediately so enamoured of her person, that the marriage was concluded.

It was about this time, that *Lewis* II. of *Anjou*, was pro- Vol. X. claimed by the pope king of the *Two Sicilies*, and *Charles* P. 157. taking his mother and brother into his protection, sent an army to reinstate him in the possession of *Provence*, which belonged to the *Anjouvine* family. The duke of *Burgundy* had now married his son to the heiress of *Albert* of *Brabant*, by whom his family had a prospect of succeeding to the counties of *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and *Holland*. His own authority was now perfectly re-established in the *Low Countries*, where even the *Ghentois* had submitted, and he resumed the project of a descent upon *England* with uncommon vigour and preparations. He proposed putting sixty thousand men, equally divided into infantry, cavalry, and cross-bows, on board twelve hundred vessels, and that their landing should be covered from the artillery of the *English* by a huge floating machine, which was to sail along with the fleet.

In the year 1386, the three chief places the *English* still A grand held in *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, *Brest*, *Cherbourg*, and *Calais*, descent were invested by the *French*; the first by the constable *Clisson*, upon *Eng-* in person. The duke of *Lancaster* had, about this time, set land. sail from *England*, and in his voyage he landed some troops under the lord *Fitz Walter*, who obliged the constable to raise

raise the siege of *Brest*, and then the duke proceeded on his expedition. The news of his landing in *Castile* being made public, redoubled the duke of *Burgundy's* zeal for forwarding the armament against *England*, which, as he represented to *Charles*, was now disfurnished of its best and bravest troops. The force for the invasion was increased, and the vast wooden machine was so contrived that, upon the landing of the army, it might be taken to pieces and formed into booths for the protection of the soldiers in case of a winter's campaign. The duke of *Berry*, equally proud, covetous, and ambitious, began to be jealous of the duke of *Burgundy's* interest with *Charles*, and offended at himself having so little influence in public matters, and therefore he proceeded so slowly in raising his part of the troops, that the season was far spent before any embarkation was made. At last, about the middle of *September* the fleet set sail, amounting to about thirteen hundred ships; but it was dispersed by a storm, and great part of the shipping stranded upon the coast of *Flanders*, where the wooden machine was beat to pieces. The storm abating, a council of war was held, when it appeared that their provisions were beginning to spoil, and it was resolved, as the season was so far advanced, to postpone the expedition. The duke of *Burgundy* made even an advantage of this miscarriage, by obtaining from the king of *France* a gift of the port of *Sluys*, and the remains of the wooden machine which were driven ashore.

The disappointment of the descent from *France*, which had struck terror into the city of *London* itself, threatened to be attended with fatal consequences to the government of *Charles*. The ministry took great care to conceal from the king the true cause of its miscarriage, by contriving for him all manner of diversions; and all that the army, before it was disbanded, could do, was to prevent a general insurrection of the people, who were exasperated by their oppressions and taxes.

The duke of *Bretagne* throws the constable of *France* into irons. In the beginning of the year 1387, the *English* fleet under the earl of *Arundel*, insulted that of the *French* in their harbours; and after a sharp engagement took a hundred and twenty-six ships, richly laden, belonging to the *Castilians* and *Flemings*. The duke of *Bretagne* was now suspected more than ever by the *French* ministry, particularly the constable, *Clisson*, for being entirely in the interest of the *English*; and the constable, as a kind of check upon him, had prevailed with the *French* court to pay twenty-five thousand francs for the ransom of the son of *Charles de Blois*, who remained still a hostage in *England*, and to whom *Clisson* gave his daughter in marriage; though *de Blois* still continued to carry the arms of *Bretagne*. The duke resented this usurpation, as he thought it, and his displeasure must have been increased, if the manuscript proceeds against

against the king of *Navarre* (still extant) is true, that the constable had made love to the duke's wife, *Mary of England*. The constable, and the admiral of *France*, were at that time, secretly preparing for a descent upon *England*, to be shipped from the ports of *Bretagne* and *Normandy*. The duke, in the mean while, invited *Clisson* to an entertainment at *Vannes*, where he put him in irons, and threw him into a dungeon; upon which, the designed invasion of *England* came to nothing. It appears as if the duke of *Bretagne*'s resentment against the constable had been personal as well as political, for he was diverted from murdering him only by the prudence of those to whom he gave the orders. At last, he set him at liberty, upon paying a great ransom, and surrendering into the duke's hands all his fortresses.

Clisson had served his master too faithfully to be considered *Charles* in the light he deserved at such a court as that of *Charles*. declares. The dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* received his complaints himself with great coldness, and all the satisfaction he obtained his own was the restitution of his forts by the duke of *Bretagne*. master, All the arts of his uncles could not keep *Charles* longer and no-ignorant of their management. The duke of *Burgundy* minates had endeavoured to divert him by an expedition against the a new duke of *Guelders*, who soon submitted; but upon his re-council. turn to *Paris*, he called a council at *Rheims*, consisting of persons of the greatest distinction in his court and kingdom. There, in a formal speech, he acquainted them, that he intended to take into his own hands the management of his kingdom, and to nominate a new council. This declaration was applauded by the cardinal bishop of *Laon*, who soon after died, as was thought of poison, administered to him through the practices of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*. Those princes were disgraced by *Charles* in no other shape than by his omitting them in the nomination of his new council, which, besides the duke of *Bourbon*, the constable, and the chancellor, consisted only of a few of his father's most faithful ministers.

No sooner did this great event take place, than *Charles* His signal appeared to be quite a new man, and one of the most amiable virtues. able princes that ever had filled the throne of *France*. He was affable, sensible and compassionate; he listened to the complaints of his subjects; he entered into measures for relieving them; he put his parliament and household upon a new and better footing; he abolished the taxes that were most grievous to his people; he restored his capital to its privileges and immunities, nor could envy or malevolence make the least impression upon his generous, unsuspecting temper; and he declared, on all occasions, that he would rather believe well of a bad man than hazard the suspecting a good man of ill. Those virtues were attended by so unaffected a gracefulness of person and behaviour, and so winning

winning a condescension to every rank of people, that he entirely gained the hearts of his subjects, and no prince, for some time, ever better deserved the epithet they gave him, that of *the Wellbeloved*. After his marriage, he indulged his natural love for magnificence so far as to permit his queen to make a public entry into his capital, and to be crowned with great solemnity; after which he attended the coronation of his cousin *Lewis* of *Anjou*, who, as we have already seen, was by pope *Clement* proclaimed king of the *Two Sicilies*, at *Avignon*. Returning from thence he examined the state of his subjects in *Languedoc*, which he did so humanely and impartially, that he took from the duke of *Berry* the government of that province. During this progress, the count *de Foix*, who died soon after, had an interview with *Charles*, and was so struck with his amiable qualifications that he made him his heir; but *Charles* generously resigned his right to the count's nephew. About the same time, his brother *Lewis*, duke of *Touraine*, afterwards duke of *Orleans*, married *Valentina*, daughter to the duke of *Milan*, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to marry the heiress of the *Hungarian* crown.

Practices
of the
dukes of
Burgundy
and *Berry*.

Charles now began to discover a spirit of enterprize, and from the heat of youth, proposed some romantic projects, which were discouraged by his wiser ministers; but he assisted the *Genoese*, and his other allies, and the crown of *France* suffered no diminution of its honour. The dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, being now, by their dismissal, in the opposition to their court, influenced the duke of *Bretagne* to delay the execution of the late treaty, so far as related to the duke of *Pentievre*, son-in-law of the constable, who, on that account, in the year 1390, invaded the dutchy of *Bretagne*. Those dissensions presented to the *English* a fair opportunity of retrieving their affairs in *France*; but their domestic situation would not admit of any attempts of that kind; and all that the duke of *Lancaster*, who came this year over to *France*, could do, was to procure a continuation of the truce for another year.

Assassina-
tion of
Cliffon.

By the death of the dutchess of *Orleans*, the king had an opportunity of bestowing upon the duke of *Touraine* that dutchy, though the inhabitants, who had seen the tyranny of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, were extremely unwilling to have a prince of the blood for their master. The constable *Cliffon*, who was an honest, though rough and vindictive, man, acted, at this time, as the first, if not the sole minister to *Charles*, to the great mortification of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, who employed one *Peter Craon*, a man who had been trusted by and betrayed all parties, and who, for his malversations, had been exiled by *Charles* to his own estate, to assassinate the constable, which he attempted, as the latter was returning from court in the night time, by his assassins, who gave him fifty wounds, and

left him for dead, though he recovered almost miraculously. *Craon* finding he was discovered to be the author of this infamous attempt, fled to the duke of *Bretagne's* court, where he was protected; but such of the assassins as were discovered and seized were executed by order of *Charles*.

The protection given by the duke of *Bretagne* to *Craon*, *Charles* was, by the constable and his two friends, *la Riviere*, and falls into *de Noviant*, represented as an undoubted proof that the duke was privy to the assassination. The duke disclaimed this charge, and even denied that he knew where *Craon* was; while the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* joined in their remonstrances against the king's continuing the preparations he had begun for reducing the duke by force of arms. No representation availed, and *Charles* ordered a general rendezvous of his army to be held at *Mans*; but *Charles*, by this time, from being the most amiable prince of his age, had fallen into a state of insanity, which had been visible to his attendants for some time, though they durst not discover it. It is generally thought that it was the effect of a slow fever, in which he refused to submit to any regimen; and it was thereby converted into lunacy. This is enough to account for the fatal consequences that ensued, without having recourse to the extraordinary, and, in some circumstances, contradictory, incidents, that are said to have followed.

We are told, that *Charles*, in his march from *Mans*, being dosing, or rather delirious, on horseback, was accosted by a miserable looking wretch, who took hold of his horse's bridle, desired him to stop, because he was betrayed; and then darted into a wood. An accident that soon after happened, of one of his attendants dropping his spear upon the helmet of another, and thereby occasioning a tinkling noise; or, as others say, by one of his gentlemen dropping his sword out of his scabbard, completed the disorder of *Charles's* brain. He drew his sword, killed the gentleman who had been the unfortunate author of the accident, with three others; and being, perhaps, the strongest man in his dominions, it was with difficulty his phrenzy was overpowered, and he himself carried back to *Mans*. For two days he lay there in a lethargy, and upon his very imperfect recovery, the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* resumed the administration of affairs, to the exclusion of the duke of *Orleans*, the king's brother, compelled the constable to retire to his estate, and committed the other ministers to the bastile and other prisons.

The two dukes knew how unpopular they were in *France*, and sought to strengthen themselves by entering into a good correspondence with the court of *England*, and the duke of *Bretagne*. They had impeached the ministers, and procured them to be condemned; but before the time appointed for their execution, *Charles* had a lucid interval,

and saved their lives; but his uncles, in a manner, forced them into exile.

Great ascendancy of the dutchess of Orleans over him. The duke of *Orleans*, brother to the king, and consequently first prince of the blood, was, upon pretence of his youth, denied all share of the government; but his dutchess, daughter of the duke of *Milan*, and grand-daughter to king *John*, by his daughter who had been married to *Galeazzo Visconti*, had, by her wit, beauty, and address, got an ascendancy over the king, which she retained even in his hours of lunacy, when he was insensible to all his other relations. This rendered her the reigning favourite of the nation; but procured her the hatred of the dutchess of *Burgundy*; and the mutual dislike between the wives communicating itself to their husbands, gave rise to that fatal difference that ever after subsisted between the houses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*. It must be acknowledged, that nothing could be more flagitious, debauched, or luxurious than the court of *France* was at this time, or more ignorant, and divided within itself. As a proof of its ignorance, the dutchess of *Orleans* was publicly accused of having bewitched the king, as her husband had done the queen. The king's misfortune seemed only to open to them a more extensive range for pleasure and diversion. An accident which happened at one of their festal exhibitions, occasioned the king to relapse into his disorder more dangerously than ever.

His lunacy increased by a fatal accident. A masque ball was given by the queen, and the king was one of six, who, in the character of savages, were covered with tow, forming the appearance of hair, that was stuck on by rosin, and consequently very combustible. No body knew who the maskers were, but the graceful appearance of the king made the dutchess of *Berry* inquisitive who he was, and the dance was stopt. On this, the duke of *Orleans* sportingly, being ignorant of the materials of his covering, thrust a lighted torch against one of the maskers. The flame in an instant was communicated to them all, and being chained together the king must have perished had not one of the maskers cried out to save him, and the dutchess of *Berry* then calling to mind his person, stifled the flame, that had seized him, with her robes. Four of the maskers were burnt, and a fifth disentangling himself, was saved by jumping into a cistern of water. It was no wonder if so deplorable an accident increased the king's disease, and settled it into periodical returns of lunacy, which were indicated by heaviness and restlessness the night before they attacked him. The effects, however, were various, for they broke out in the different shapes of childishness, fury, cruelty, melancholy, and other frantic passions; and while he was under their influence he knew none but the dutchess of *Orleans*. It is not amiss here to observe, that the assiduity of the court to amuse the king at this time, introduced the diversion of cards and card playing, for the invention could

could not be older, because we find no mention of them more early than this, in any of the prohibitions or ecclesiastical laws against gaming.

The dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* knew they were disagreeable to the nation, and therefore they endeavoured to render their government popular. They confined their own and the court expences to the revenues of the royal demesnes, and thereby eased the people of their taxes. They published edicts to check the growth of immorality; they revived the use of manly exercises among the common people, and they paid an unusual deference to the constitution of the parliament, the sessions of which were now become fixt according to the excellent regulations introduced by *Charles*.

Negotiations with *England*.

We have, in another place, related the concern which the court of *France* took in the religious differences of the times; but affairs still continued to be unsettled between

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France and *England*. Many negotiations had been begun and broken off; and we find that on the twenty-second of *February* 1393, a safe conduct was made out at *London* for the dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, with six hundred persons in their retinue, to treat of peace with the dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester*.

The king of *Navarre*, about this time, was treating with *Richard* concerning the restoration of *Cherbourg*, formerly mortgaged by his predecessor to *Edward* for a sum of money, which he offered to repay. The money was acceptable to *Richard*; the *Navarrese* claim was judged to be good, and the place was delivered up. Soon after, a general truce was concluded between *France* and *England*, by sea and land, for four years. This was introductory to negotiations for a definitive treaty; but in the mean while, *Richard's* queen died, and the *Gascon* deputies from *Bordeaux* petitioned him to resume the grant which he had made to the duke of *Lancaster* of all that remained to him in the dutchy of *Guienne*; which that duke accordingly resigned. *Richard* had as yet no son to succeed him, and the dukes of *Lancaster* and *Burgundy* were earnest for his matching into the royal family of *France*. A negotiation of that kind was accordingly set on foot, but was violently opposed by the dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans*, as the king had but one daughter, who was not only not marriageable, but had been engaged to the duke of *Bretagne's* son.

Charles, in his lucid intervals, and the chancellor of *France*, seconded the duke of *Burgundy* in pushing on the match; and they called in to their assistance, a travelling enthusiast, who took the name of *Robert the Hermit*, and pretended to have a commission from heaven for concluding the marriage. By this man's assistance, all objections to it were removed, and among other articles of the treaty,

How carried on,

eight hundred thousand francs were to be paid as the lady's fortune; *Richard* renounced all claim upon the crown of *France*, and a truce for twenty-five years was agreed upon between the two kingdoms. This negotiation chiefly employed both courts till the year 1396, when *Richard* made most magnificent preparations for going to *France* in person to marry his queen, and to have an interview with *Charles*. His secret intention in this was to engage that court to support him in case of need against his turbulent subjects, especially the duke of *Gloucester*, who violently opposed all *French* connections. To induce the court of *France* to this, *Richard* agreed to restore the town of *Brest*, which, like *Cherbourg*, had been mortgaged to his grandfather, upon the payment of a hundred and twenty thousand francs of gold by the duke of *Bretagne*. But this restitution, though agreeable to equity and good faith, was violently exclaimed against by the antigallican party in *England*. *Charles the Noble* was then king of *Navarre*; and the *French* king gave him the dutchy of *Nemours* in exchange for *Cherbourg*, and the other estates he held in *Normandy*. *Richard* had, at this time, so much credit with the court of *France*, that he even procured the pardon of *Craon*, who returned to his own country and proved a remarkable penitent, and sold his estate, which was very considerable, to make restitution to all he had injured.

The kings
of *France*
declared
to be
lords of
Genoa.

This year, the *Genoese*, after being torn in pieces by domestic factions, put themselves under the protection of *France*; and cardinal *Flisco*, who had the temporary government of that city, sent an embassy to *Charles*, with the offer of the sovereignty of that republic. The *French* court, some time before that, had ordered some troops to make a descent upon the *Western Riviera*, and had formed a strong party among the *Genoese* nobility. Articles were accordingly drawn up, by which the kings of *France* were declared lords of *Genoa*; but the subjects of the republic were to be governed by their own laws; nor had the *French* kings any power to tax them.

Rebellion
of the
count of
Perigord.

This new concluded alliance between *Charles* and *Richard*, gave *France* an opportunity of displaying her importance; but while her influence was gaining ground through all the courts of *Europe*, a domestic insurrection disturbed her tranquility. The count of *Perigord* had claims upon several estates in *France*; all which, in violation of the royal authority, and arrets of parliament, which had passed against him, he seized by force of arms. A body of troops were sent against him under a marshal of *France*, who beat him, and brought him prisoner to *Paris*, where he was condemned to lose his head; but his life was saved by the duke of *Orleans*, who, notwithstanding, took possession of all his vast estate, which had been forfeited to the crown.

The

The court of *France*, about the same time, had an opportunity of displaying, at once, its valour and generosity. *Sigismund* king of *Hungary*, tho' he had not lived in good of the correspondence with *France*, was so hardly pressed by *Bajazet*, French the *Turkish* sultan, that he sent an humble request to *Charles*, against begging his assistance against the infidels. The *French* the *Turks*. nobly forgot all occasions of offence, and an army was set on foot, consisting of the chief nobility of *France*, who served at their own expence. Among them was the duke of *Nevers*, eldest son of the duke of *Burgundy*, the count *de Eu*, constable of *France*, *John de Vienne*, admiral, the count *de la Marche*, the famous marshal *Boucicaut*, with many other noblemen and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand, and a more complete and better appointed army was scarcely ever known to take the field.

To what we have already related of the fate of this expedition, we are to add, that *Froissard*, a *French* author of Vol. VIII. credit, who lived at the time, accuses *John Galeazzo*, duke p. 65. of *Milan*, of keeping up a close correspondence with *Bajazet*, and betraying to him all the secrets of the *Christians*. The same writer tells us, that *Galeazzo's* chief quarrel with the *French* was on account of the treatment his daughter met with at that court on the charge of bewitching the king.

It is generally admitted, that *Sigismund*, after being joined Their with the *French*, who were distinguished by the profligacy great loss of their manners, was at the head of a hundred and thirty at the thousand men, and it was owing to the impetuosity of the battle of duke of *Nevers*, who commanded under him, and the other *Nicopolis*. *French* nobility, who claimed the post of honour, and began the charge too early, that the *Christians* were defeated at *Nicopolis*, in the greatest and most bloody battle they had ever fought with the infidels. Almost all the *French* were cut in pieces, excepting the count of *Nevers*, the marshal *Boucicaut*, and two or three other great noblemen, whom the barbarians saved on account of their ransoms. The count *de Eu* died in prison, and the admiral *Vienne*, was killed on the spot. The sword of constable was bestowed on the marshal *de Sancerre*; but nothing could equal the odium which the *French* incurred, by their insolent behaviour in the battle, over all the *Christian* world. The duke of *Nevers* was ransomed by his father (who was thought not to have been displeased with that opportunity of renewing the taxations of the public) as were the marshal *Boucicaut*, and the other prisoners, immense sums being paid for all their ransoms.

Europe was, about the year 1397, in a most extraordinary State of situation. *Wenceslaus*, emperor of *Germany*, had been deposed *Europe* at and confined for being a madman. The king of *France* was this time. actually lunatic, and *Richard II.* of *England*, was more insane than either, by the badness and wickedness of the measures

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measures he pursued in his government. *Wenceslaus*, though deposed from the empire, was still king of *Bohemia*, and had an interview with *Charles* at *Amiens*, concerning the means of putting an end to the schism of the church. In consequence of this interview, though *Charles* was then under a fit of lunacy, both competitors for the popedom were required to resign their pretensions; but neither of them complying, marshal *Boucicaut* besieged pope *Benedict* in his palace at *Avignon*, where he made him a prisoner, and his confinement continued for near five years.

The injustice and tyranny of *Richard* king of *England*, had sent the earl of *Hereford*, who, by the death of his father *John* of *Ghent*, became duke of *Lancaster*, into exile, and he fixed his residence at the court of *France*, where he held a correspondence with all the discontented of *England*. The duke kept his design a profound secret from the *French* minister, but paid a visit to his friend, the duke of *Bretagne*, and passed over from *Vannes*, with only fourscore persons in his retinue, to *England*, where he soon seated himself on the throne by means that are foreign to this part of our history.

Integrity
of *Cliffon*.

After *Oliver de Cliffon*, the late constable, had been disgraced at the *French* court, he retired to his own estate in *Bretagne*, where he defended himself so bravely against the attacks of that duke, that the latter desired a conference with him, and sent his son to *Cliffon*, as a hostage for his safety. *Cliffon* agreed to the conference; but carried the young prince with him, and restored him to the arms of his father. This act of magnanimity struck the duke; *Cliffon* became his friend and favourite ever after, and, at the time of his death, which happened in 1398, he left him guardian to his children. This confidence was the more extraordinary, as *Cliffon's* son was still the husband of the countess of *Penthievre*, the heiress of the *Blois* family. When age and diseases had confined *Cliffon* to his bed, that lady proposed to him the dispatching out of the world all the late duke's children; but *Cliffon* reaching at a javelin, which he threw at her, she ran down stairs with such precipitation, that she broke her thigh, and was lame ever after. Her father-in-law nobly discharged the trust the duke had reposed in him, by the education he gave to his eldest ward, who succeeded to his father's dukedom.

German
affairs.

Robert, count palatine of the *Rhine*, being chosen emperor in place of *Wenceslaus*, the latter, who had recovered some degree of sanity, applied to the *French* court, where he was befriended by the duke of *Orleans*, who bought from him the dutchy of *Luxembourg*; after which, though he had raised some troops to restore *Wenceslaus*, he dismissed them, and persuaded that prince to content himself with the possession of *Bohemia*. *Boucicaut*, who had signalized himself in defending *Constantinople* against the infidels, was now returned

returned to *France*, and was followed by *Paleologus*, emperor of *Constantinople*, in person, who came to the *French* court to solicit assistance against *Bajazet*.

We have already mentioned the defeat and captivity of Vol. VII. that prince, and it is not improbable, that, after *Tamerlane* p. 438. had subdued *Bajazet*, he might, as the *French* writers tell us, have formed a kind of friendship with *Charles* VI. of *France*. It does not appear that this prince was then in any capacity of doing business; but his crown received a great addition of strength by the submission of *Armand de Greilly*, brother to the famous captal of *Buche*, who abandoned the *English* interest after they had murdered *Richard*.

The duke of *Orleans* was now known to be equally and of as avaricious as ambitious, and having, during the absence of the court the duke of *Burgundy*, while he was visiting his family *France*. estates, prevailed upon the king, in one of his lucid intervals, to create him lieutenant-general and governor of the realm, as often as his disorder should disable him from the administration of affairs; he imposed a new tax upon the people, and obliged even ecclesiastics to pay it, though the nation was then labouring under a vast scarcity of bread, and all provisions. Upon the return of the duke of *Burgundy* to *Paris*, he openly impeached the conduct of the duke of *Orleans* in parliament, and their heats were on the point of producing a civil war, when the duke of *Bourbon* persuaded them both to retire from court till the king, upon the next return of his senses, could determine the differences between them, by the advice of his council; whose sense *Charles* accordingly took, and found it to be in favour of the duke of *Burgundy*, who was, at this time, popular, on account of the services he performed to the crown.

Henry IV. was then king of *England*; and upon his ac- A war
cession to the throne he had endeavoured to apologize to the with *Eng-*
court of *France* for his conduct; but his messengers, upon land
their landing in *France*, were ordered not to proceed, and threaten-
their herald was imprisoned. *Henry* was uneasy at the ed.
thoughts of a *French* war, and had confined the late *Richard's*
virgin wife, as a pledge for her father's behaviour. *Charles*
being then in his senses, resented this, by fomenting a re-
bellion in *Henry's English*, as well as *French*, dominions. But
though the *Gascons* shewed some dispositions to the revolt,
they were easily quieted by *Henry's* lieutenant, the earl of
Worcester. The conspirators in *England*, who had set the
young queen at liberty, were likewise subdued and punished,
and *Henry* again obtained the custody of her person; but
prized the friendship of *Charles* so much, that he promised
to send her over to her father, with her jewels, equipages,
and attendants; upon which the truce with *England* was
confirmed on the twenty-ninth of *January* 1400. Next year
some coldness sprung up between the two courts, on ac-
count

count of *Charles* giving his eldest son the title of duke of *Guienne*; and *Henry* refused to refund the young queen's portion, on account of some arrears of king *John's* ransom, which remained still due from the crown of *France*; and thus matters continued in a state of suspense between peace and war.

Henry In 1402, king *Henry* married the dutchess dowager of
marri-s *Bretagne*, who was daughter to the king of *Navarre*, and
the dutch- mother to the young duke and his two brothers, but was
ess of disappointed in the interested views he had in making the
Bretagne. match; for she committed the care of her sons to the duke
of *Burgundy*, who performed a signal service to the *French*
crown by carrying them to *Paris*, where they received their
education. The *Bretons* disliked the marriage of their
dutchess so much, that their privateers infested the coasts of
England, and open hostilities went on between the two
nations, though their sovereigns pretended to be at peace.
In *France*, *Henry* lost the castles of *St. Peter*, *St. Mary*, and
Newcastle, and mutual recriminations passed between him
and the duke of *Orleans*, who upbraided *Henry* as being an
usurper and a murderer, while *Henry* charged him with be-
ing ambitious and a necromancer. Their quarrel began by
the duke invading *Guienne*, and his reproaching *Henry* for
the ill treatment which he pretended his niece *Isabella* had
received from him while she was in *England*; and by his
patronizing the earl of *St. Paul*, who adored the memory
of *Richard*, and was therefore *Henry's* determined enemy.
Mutual challenges passed between them in the most scur-
rilous terms, and *Henry* carried his complaints to the court
of *France* both against the duke and the earl. Nothing but
the jarring interests of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans*
could have prevented the *English*, at this time, from being
entirely expelled from *France*.

Hostilities Upon the death of the constable *Sancerre*, that sword was,
began by *Charles*, delivered to the young lord of *Albret*, though
with *Eng-* *Boucicaut* was then the best of the *French* generals. He was at
land, but that time governor of *Genoa*, where he put to death some
with no insurgents against the *French* government, and at first acted
success. with great severity; but in time the *Genoise* were so recon-
ciled to his person, that they petitioned *Charles* to continue
him in his command. The influence of the duke of *Orleans*
over the king, and in all public affairs, was now strengthen-
ed, by an indecent intimacy he had cultivated with the
queen, and which enabled him to gratify his avarice to the
utmost. He was constantly opposed by the duke of *Bur-*
gundy, who professed himself a patriot. After many nego-
tiations, a seeming reconciliation was effected between
them, and it was resolved that each should put himself at
the head of a great army; that *Orleans* should command in
Guienne, where he was to besiege *Bordeaux*, and the duke
of *Burgundy* in *Picardy*, where he was to besiege *Calais*.
They

They were encouraged to this by the late progress of the *French* arms under the earl of *St. Paul*, and other generals in those provinces. Accordingly, both of them took the field, and both were unsuccessful. The duke of *Orleans*, after losing six thousand of his troops in some ineffectual operations, returned to *Paris*; and the duke of *Burgundy* complaining that he was ill supplied with money, abandoned the siege of *Calais*; but the truth is, both of them hastened back to court to support their several interests there.

On the twenty-seventh of *April* 1404, *Philip* duke of *Burgundy*, surnamed *the Hardy*, died at *Hall*, in *Hainault*, as he was going to take possession of the dutchy of *Brabant*, in the name of his second son. Notwithstanding the vast revenues he enjoyed, he spent them by the magnificence of his living; his personal estate was divided among his creditors, and he was succeeded, as duke of *Burgundy*, by his eldest son, *John* count of *Nevers*. The queen and the duke of *Orleans* looked upon his death as the most fortunate event that could have happened to them; and his son having neither his popularity nor experience, they found it not very difficult to exclude him from all share of the government. Their unpopularity, however, was such, that the queen secretly sent great sums of money to *Germany*, as a provision in case she was obliged to leave *France*; and the duke thought of nothing but amassing a vast estate that might protect him against his enemies, without even paying his debts.

Charles all this while continued in a miserable situation Distress of both in body and mind. Sometimes perceiving his frenzy *Charles* recurring upon him, he would call out to his attendants to and his take his dagger from his side, because he would die rather family. than hurt the meanest of his subjects. While the queen and the duke of *Orleans* were maintaining splendid courts, the king and his children were kept without the means of a decent subsistence. The goodness of that unhappy prince's heart, however, never left him when he had the use of his reason. In one of his intervals he sent for the governess of one of his children, and finding all he had heard of the mean condition in which they were kept to be true; he gave her a gold cup out of which he drank, to provide them food, saying, with a sigh, that state was ridiculous when necessaries were wanting. Being then sensible of the wrongs that had been done him, and his family, he ordered the princes of the blood to be summoned to his council. The dukes of *Burgundy*, *Berry*, and *Bourbon*, with the kings of *Navarre*, and *Sicily*, accordingly attended, and all of them condemned the conduct of the queen, and the duke of *Orleans*. The duke retired to *Melun*; but was persuaded by the duke of *Burgundy* to return, and, after a great many bickerings,

bickerings, it was agreed, that during the king's illness, or absence, as it was called, the care of the government should be committed to a council of state. This compromise did not long continue, and the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* renewed their family animosities with more heat than ever. Though both of them had grossly insulted the duke of *Berry*, their uncle, yet he effected a reconciliation between them, and both of them swore, at the altar, an eternal friendship and unity for the future. Three days after this solemn act had passed, the duke of *Orleans* was, in the evening, called to attend the king, and as he was riding on his mule to the *Hotel de St. Pol*, where *Charles* resided, he was surrounded by assassins, one of whom, with a pole-axe, cut off his hand, and upon his calling out that he was the duke of *Orleans*, another cleft his skull, and left him dead. One of the four servants who attended him was likewise murdered in endeavouring to save his master.

The assassins having escaped, the author of the murder was unknown, and the duke of *Burgundy* assisted openly at the funeral of the deceased. The council of state, after this, sent for the provost of *Paris* to know what progress he had made in the discovery of the murderers; upon which, he demanded liberty to search the houses of the members of the council. The duke of *Burgundy* was, by the king of the *Two Sicilies*, observed to turn pale at this request. He confessed to that king and the duke of *Berry*, that the assassination had been committed by his order, and he hastily left the assembly with only five attendants; and though the admiral offered to pursue and take him, he was restrained by the council. The duke of *Bourbon*, who seems to have been the only man of virtue about the court, ashamed of so flagitious a pusillanimity, left *Paris*, and retired to a private life, while the duke of *Burgundy* openly justified the murder, and raised forces. He was too powerful to submit to make any apology for what he had done. He raised troops to support himself against all the pursuits of justice, and rejected the applications of the other princes of the blood, who were shamefully forward in offering their assistance to compromise matters, to sue for the pardon which he thought he could command. He marched to *Lorraine* at the head of his army, obliged the king to give him an audience, but offered no other vindication of his conduct but that of blackening the memory of the late duke of *Orleans*, which he did by the mouth of one *Dr. John Petit*. His force was superior to all that the king and the other princes of the blood could raise. They withdrew with indignation and grief; and the duke, who was now in possession of the king's person, not only obtained a full and free pardon, but the removal of the admiral and other great officers whom he disliked.

The

The opposition of the people of *Liege* to *John* of *Bavaria*, Vol. IX. who had been recommended by pope *Gregory* for their p. 49. bishop, obliged the duke of *Burgundy* to leave *Paris*; upon which the queen of *France*, and the princes of the blood, returned to court, and upon the appearance of the dutchess dowager, and the young duke of *Orleans*, a formal process was instituted against the duke of *Burgundy*, by which his pardon was declared to be of no effect, and he himself a traitor to his country.

The duke of *Burgundy* having subdued all opposition in and carried the bishopric of *Liege*, returned with his victorious army towards *Paris*. The queen and the princes of the blood before him. being in no condition to give him battle, retired to *Tours*, and carried along with them the person of the king. The duke of *Burgundy* then entered into a negotiation with the court; but the latter insisted on his making a public submission to the king, and upon his not coming near his person for some years. The duke rejected those terms with great haughtiness, and proceeded with his army to *Paris*, from whence he sent offers of a general submission to the king, and of his desire to live in friendship with the family of *Orleans*, and that, too, expressed by the mouth of another person. The duke of *Burgundy* was so powerful, and had so many friends both at *Paris* and at court, where the dutchess dowager, his chief prosecutor, now died of grief, that those terms, inadequate as they were to his offence, were accepted of. The friends of both sides sealed their reconciliation with oaths and other engagements; and the young duke of *Orleans* having lately married the virgin queen dowager of *England*, his brother, the duke of *Vertus*, was married to the duke of *Burgundy's* daughter, with an immense fortune; and the court returned to *Paris*.

The duke of *Burgundy* had all this while, in imitation of A powerful his father, professed to act upon the most patriotic principles, and the queen being somewhat too unguarded with federacy regard to the licentiousness of the soldiery, he had gained formed a vast number of friends in *Paris*, and all over *France*. The against murdered duke of *Orleans* was, notwithstanding all his him. faults and vices, thought to be the finest gentleman that kingdom ever had produced, and yet the public would have pardoned his murder had the duke of *Burgundy* expressed a proper sense of his guilt by repentance and acknowledgments. The haughty, imperious, manner of his proceeding soon lost him many friends. The people looked upon majesty as being in distress, and pitied it. All the amiable qualities of the late duke of *Orleans* were remembered; his vices were forgotten; and in a short time the duke of *Burgundy* had little to trust to but his army, and his forming new intrigues for the support of his interest. Upon his return with the court to *Paris*, he applied to the duke of *Berry*, and the king of *Navarre*, who had each of them great

great reasons of complaint against the court, and brought them over to his party.

He puts
Montague
to death.

The queen, ever since the death of the duke of *Orleans*, had been directed by the lord of *Montague*, a vain and unpopular, but immensely rich, man. He had been made master of the king's household, and had of late acted as first minister of state, particularly in the financing branch. The queen perceiving how well the duke of *Burgundy* had succeeded with the princes of the blood, withdrew to *Melun*, and carried the king along with her; and the duke of *Burgundy* laid hold of that opportunity to establish a popular commission to reform the abuses of the treasury. In the course of this affair, great discoveries were pretended to have been made against *Montague*, and he was put to the rack, where he said all that was dictated to him by his accusers. Even that could not save his life, and he was beheaded; but not before he had recanted all that he had confessed, and justified the memory of the late duke of *Orleans*. His death was considered by all the impartial part of the *French*, as a shocking act of tyranny, and the sentence of his condemnation was afterwards reversed; but it is remarkable, that though his daughters were married to some of the greatest subjects of *France*, though one of his brothers was archbishop of *Sens*, and chancellor of the kingdom, and another archbishop of *Paris*, yet the reversal of his sentence was owing to the gratitude of a convent he had founded, the members of which sold their plate to defray the expence.

Degene-
racy of
the *French*
court.

As if every spark of virtue, both public and private, had been extinguished at the court of *France*, the spoils of *Montague's* fortune went far towards reconciling the parties there to each other. Though his chief crime was his attachment to the queen, yet both she, and her brother the duke of *Bavaria*, shared in the plunder, and a new reconciliation between her and the duke of *Burdundy* took place. The reconciled parties endeavoured to strengthen this coalition by some popular acts. The *Parisians* were restored to their full privileges; but they declined to be entrusted with the power of re-establishing the militia, for the abuse of which they had already so severely smarted. Plans of public œconomy were resumed, a reduction upon pensions, and other useless expences of government, took place, and the administration made preparations for renewing the war with *England*.

The duke of *Burgundy*, thinking now that he had nothing to apprehend from his enemies at home, gave way to that measure, especially as he wanted to drive the *English* from the neighbourhood of *Artois*. *Henry of England*, had the address to draw off the duke of *Bretagne*, between whom and the family of *Penibievre* differences were again broken out; but he was alarmed when he heard that a war with *England* was the price of the duke of *Burgundy's* new cemented alliances,

alliances, and that his preparations were in such forwardness at *St. Omer*, that he was ready to besiege *Calais*. This The intention was defeated by *Henry*, for he engaged a *French* French prisoner, a native of *St. Omer*, to burn the magazines there, magazines which he effectually did. About this time, an *English* fleet, at *St.* on board of which was lord *Nevil*, seneschal of *Guienne*, *Omer* was taken by *French* privateers and carried into *Harfleur*; burnt, by and the duke of *Bretagne* found himself so unpopular by his which the introducing *English* troops for his support, that he petition- siege of ed *Henry* to recall them, and arbitrators were chosen to *Calais* is make up all differences between him and the count of *Pen- prevent-thievre*. The severity of *Boucicaut*'s government, had, about ed. this time, so exasperated the *Genoese*, that they had taken up arms, and massacred all the *French* they met with, and chose the marquis of *Montferrat* for their governor, during the absence of *Boucicaut*, at *Milan*; so that the *French* interest was now entirely ruined in *Genoa*.

So many untowardly events disgusted the *French* at the The duke of *Burgundy*, whom they considered as their author; duke of so that he found it necessary to procure an additional *Burgundy* strength to his administration. A great council was held in gains the presence of the king, in which it was resolved, that during guardian- his majesty's indisposition, all acts of government should be ship of the carried on in the dauphin's name, who was yet too young dauphin. for the management of affairs in person; but he had been contracted to the duke of *Burgundy*'s daughter. The disposal of the guardianship of the dauphin became now a capital object; and the duke of *Berry*, whose opinion the king first asked, recommended the duke of *Burgundy* for that trust, to which he was accordingly appointed. This was a The con- prodigious disappointment to the duke of *Berry*, who little federates expected that the other members would agree to such an against encrease of the duke of *Burgundy*'s power, already too for- him take midable; and he withdrew from *Paris*. He was followed the field. by the duke of *Orleans*, whose wife, the queen dowager of *England*, was lately dead, and by the duke of *Bourbon*; and it was resolved to check the duke of *Burgundy*'s power, and to revive the process against him for murdering the duke of *Orleans*. The duke of *Bretagne* being sounded, joined the same party out of hatred to the duke of *Burgundy*; as did the kings of *Navarre*, and the *Two Sicilies*, with the counts of *Alençon*, *Armagnac*, and *Clermont*; but this confederacy suffered an irreparable loss by the death of the duke of *Bourbon*, which happened at this time. He seems to have been the only great man in *France* who retained his virtue and integrity to the last; and, by protecting a lord of *Beaujeu* against a count of *Savoy*, he added to his patrimonial estates *Dombes*, and *Beaujolois*.

Every thing now portended a civil war to *France*; but A short the duke of *Burgundy* had the advantage, by being in posses- accommo- sion of the persons of the king and the dauphin. He issued dation orders effected,

orders in the king's name, prohibiting all his subjects to take arms without his authority; and *Charles*, with his own hand, invited the duke of *Berry* to appear unattended at court. He offered to comply, but with the express condition that the duke of *Burgundy* should likewise dismiss his army, which he was so far from doing, that finding the *Parisians* refractory to his measures, he poured his troops into the capital, and having seized *Melun*, and the strong passes near *Paris*, he obliged the queen to throw herself into the arms of the *Parisians*, though eight thousand of his soldiers were quartered in their city. *Charles*, at this time, had the use of his reason, and seeing his kingdom in danger of being deluged by blood, he exerted himself so far as to employ his queen as a mediator between both parties, which the duke of *Burgundy*, (who could not subdue the spirit of the *Parisians*) agreed to; but in the mean time, he strengthened himself by an alliance with the king of *England*, who prevailed upon the duke of *Bretagne* to declare for a neutrality. The duke of *Berry* was advanced with the confederate army as far as *Chastres*, when the royal authority prevailed with both parties to agree to a treaty at *Bicestre*, which was accordingly signed; and it imported, that all parties should desist from their intentions, dismiss their armies, and that the king, who continued still in his senses, should appoint a new administration.

and broken off.

The public foresaw that this accommodation would be of no long continuance. A new administration was, indeed, appointed; its members affected to act upon the most disinterested principles; and the duke of *Burgundy* had retired to his own estates, where he was always sure of commanding a strong army. The duke of *Orleans* refused to execute the terms of the late treaty, and the duke of *Berry* declared he would have no farther concern in public affairs; upon which, the duke of *Orleans* becoming head of the confederate princes, insisted upon having satisfaction for his father's murder, and omitted no means by which he could strengthen his party. The duke of *Burgundy*, now secure, by his late alliance with *England*, complained of this to *Charles*; and the duke of *Berry*, and the queen resumed her office of mediation. The duke of *Burgundy* insisted upon the duke of *Berry* being removed from his government of *Paris*, which he accordingly was, and the count of *St. Paul* substituted in his place. The duke of *Orleans*, full of heat, knew the queen to be in her heart an irreconcilable enemy to his opponent, and he not only refused to submit to any terms of arbitration, but sent a challenge to the duke of *Burgundy*, attended by a declaration of war drawn up in the most bitter terms. The duke of *Burgundy* behaved with so much moderation upon this, that he regained some degree of popularity, especially when

when it was known that he had prevailed with the court of *England* to renew the truce between the two nations.

No hopes of an accommodation now remaining, the *Paris* Divisions declared themselves on the side of the *Burgundians*; and the *Armagnacs*, (for so the other party was called,) were ordered to leave *Paris* under pain of death. The count of the *Paris*, *St. Paul*, the new governor, was entirely in the duke of *Burgundy*'s interest, and formed a guard of five hundred of the most hardy ruffians he could find about *Paris*, who were employed in hanging, murdering, or burning, all the *Armagnacs* who fell in their way. In a few days *Paris* became one great slaughter house. The *Armagnacs*, so called from the count of that name, who was father to the duke of *Orleans*'s new wife, wore, by way of distinction, a white scarf, with a *St. George*'s cross; and the *Burgundians*, who were sometimes called *Cabochines*, from one *Caboché*, wore a red scarf with a *St. Andrew*'s cross. The duke of *Orleans* still continuing to advance towards *Paris*, while the duke of *Burgundy* remained in *Flanders* waiting for the *English* auxiliaries stipulated by the late treaty, the dauphin invited the duke of *Burgundy* to march to the protection of the king, and the royal family. The arrival of the *English* auxiliaries which happened at this time, shook the credit of the duke of *Burgundy* with all parties; but the violence of the duke of *Orleans* soon re-established it; and the duke of *Burgundy* gained a clear majority in the king's council. Upon receiving the invitation of the dauphin, he was instantly at the head of sixty thousand regular, well appointed, troops. By his letters he reconciled the council to his *English* auxiliaries, and accused the duke of *Orleans* and his faction of an intention to depose the king and usurp his throne.

But though the duke of *Burgundy* was thus secure of his interest in *France*, and though his party had murdered all of *Burgundy* who durst oppose them in *Paris*, his own army, which was composed of different nations, was by no means united. His *Flemings* and *Picards* had quarrelled about the plunder of *Ham*, a town which he had taken on his march, and both of them insisted upon the liberty of returning home, because the time of their service was now expired. Their defection saved the duke of *Orleans*, who had placed his last refuge in the event of a battle, and had with that view advanced as far as *Montdidier*; while the duke of *Burgundy* having now only the small band of his *English* auxiliaries to trust to, could only throw a reinforcement of troops into *Paris*, and then returned to *Artois*; upon his departure, the duke of *Orleans* took *St. Dennis*, and *St. Cloud*, and even formed the blockade of *Paris*. *Montague*, the archbishop of *Sens*, whom we have already mentioned, having come to the knowledge of the connections between *Henry* and the duke of *Burgundy*, represented them, by the writings he published,

published, as tending to overthrow the independency of *France*, which the duke had sold to *Henry*; and those papers, with the ravages committed at the gates of *Paris* by the *Armagnac* party, turned the tide of popularity once more against the *Burgundians*. That duke seeing himself in danger of ruin, applied himself to the *English* auxiliaries, who, under all the disadvantages that can be well imagined in an enemy's country, generously followed him, where his own subjects had abandoned him, and he entered *Paris*, to the great joy of his party there. Next day the *English* took the posts of *Montmartre*, and *La Chapelle*, (which gave the *Burgundians* a vast idea of their valour) and afterwards forced the post of *St. Cloud*, the most important of any the duke of *Orleans* had, with so prodigious a slaughter, that he withdrew his army to *Pont Argis*, and left his baggage to be plundered by the *English*; and thus, the duke of *Burgundy*, once more, got possession of the court and capital of *France*. He bought from the *English* their prisoners, with an intention to put them to death, but the duke of *Orleans* threatened to make reprisals upon the count *de la Marche*, and a great body of *Burgundians* whom he had surprized.

Charles
takes the
field in
person.

About the seventeenth of *January* 1412, *Charles*, who had been frantic all the while the blockade of *Paris* lasted, recovered his senses so well, that he put himself at the head of his troops to march against the dukes of *Orleans* and *Berry*, who had again joined the *Armagnacs*. The duke of *Burgundy* prevailed with him to give the sword of constable to the count of *St. Paul*, the most determined enemy the *Lancaster* family had in *France*. He had required his *English* auxiliaries to put their *French* prisoners to death, but they disdained his command; and he thought himself now so secure, that he neglected paying them their arrears. This coming to the ears of the *Armagnacs*, they offered *Henry* restitution of the dutchy of *Aquitain*, if he would befriend them. *Henry* did not discourage their advances, and managed so between both parties, by enjoining his subjects to observe a strict neutrality, that he was actually, for some time, master of the fate of *France*. The duke of *Burgundy*, who was treating with *Henry* at the same time, came to the knowledge of the offers that had been made by his adversaries, and discovered them to *Charles*, who was so exasperated at the *Armagnacs*, that he ordered the oriflamme to be taken from the church of *St. Dennis*, and carried before him, as a signal for all his subjects to follow him, and to fall upon the *English* possessions. This determined *Henry* upon the party he was to take, and on the eighteenth of *May* he finished his agreement with the dukes of *Orleans*, and *Berry*, and the other confederated princes. This treaty was of a very extraordinary nature, and very inconsistent with their subjection to *Charles*, though several of its articles contained *Orleans* salvos for their allegiance. *Henry* was thereby to be put in

Treaty
between
the king
of *Eng-
land* and
the duke
of *Orleans*

full

full possession of *Aquitain*; the princes engaged to serve him with all their castles, treasures and estates, and entered into the like engagements for their friends, and dependents, who they said consisted of the chief nobility, clergy, and merchants of *France*. But the following is the most remarkable article of this treaty, for it provides, "That the princes shall offer their sons, daughters, nephews, and all their relations, or others, over whom they have any influence, to be placed in marriage according to the king of *England's* direction."

Henry, on the other hand promised to defend the said princes as his faithful vassals and subjects (meaning we suppose) because many of them had possessions in *Aquitain*; and he farther engaged not to make peace with the duke of *Burgundy*, or any of that party, without their participation. The troops he promised to furnish consisted of one thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers, which, with their followers, who attended them to the field, amounted to a force of above eight thousand men, all of them commanded by *Henry's* son, the duke of *Clarence*, who was attended by the duke of *York*, the lord high admiral of *England*. *Henry* appears to have had this expedition greatly at heart, for he made vast additions to it before its departure.

The confederate princes having some dependence on a party they had formed in the duke of *Burgundy's* army, had shut themselves up in *Bourges*, where they were besieged by the king. In a desperate sally, they had almost made themselves master of his person, by the intelligence they had with some of his domestics, but being disappointed, the siege went on with amazing vigour, and the place was defended with equal obstinacy. The duke of *Orleans* was not within *Bourges*; but the duke of *Berry*, who had effected a kind of neutrality, had credit enough, to set on foot a negotiation, which was soon concluded, and the princes within *Bourges* engaged not only to return to their allegiance, but to renounce their connections with *England*. The *French* loved their king, and notwithstanding all the divisions among the princes of the blood, the nation was passionately fond of peace, especially as their dissensions were now introducing an enemy, who might soon become their master. The treaty of *Bourges* therefore being sealed, acceded to by the duke of *Orleans* and ratified, filled the nation with inexpressible transports of joy; and in a few days no remains of its late distraction appeared, but instead of that, all true *Frenchmen* united to expel the *English*; all marks of distinction were abolished, and all differences done away under the most solemn oaths.

While the treaty of *Bourges* was negotiating, the *English* and troops were in full march to raise the siege; but were bandon amazed when they heard that they had been abandoned by the *English*. The late reconciliation had opened all the secrets of the negotiation with *England* and the duke of

Burgundy; and to give the *English* troops a diversion, he had ordered his *Flemish* subjects to invade *Guienne*, which they flatly refused to do on account of their attachment to *England*. The duke of *Clarence* landed in *Normandy*, heard of the defection of the princes, entered upon hostilities with the *French*, but his men being disappointed of their pay by the duke of *Orleans*, raised it by military execution upon the inhabitants, and they lived at free quarter upon that duke's estate. The dauphin called out for moderation, and refused to assist in driving the *English* out by force.

An assembly of the states was held, at which the duke of *Orleans* assisted, and the general sense of the nation was, that the confederate princes who had invited in the *English*, should pay them. They were unable. The nation was both enervated and exhausted; the peace of *Bourges* awakened it to a sense of all its miseries, and the late unanimity was again converted into bitter discontent; but in the mean time, *Henry IV.* died, and was succeeded by his son, *Henry V.* who seemed to be born for the destruction of *France*.

Reforma-
tion of the
French
govern-
ment.

The assembly of the states appears, at this time, to have been sitting, and the public finances as well as spirit being at the lowest ebb, the dauphin laid hold of the helm of government, which the other princes did not now think worthy of contending for. As œconomy is the most popular of all principles under a new administration, the state of the finances was examined. *D'Essards*, who had managed them ever since the death of *Montague*, was accused of having embezzled two millions of crowns, for which he not only produced the duke of *Burgundy's* receipts, but informed the other princes of a design which that duke had of destroying the dukes of *Berry*, *Orleans*, and *Bourbon*. The dauphin gave *D'Essards* an order to secure the city of *Paris*, and this order was countersigned by the duke of *Burgundy*, who had intelligence that his destruction was resolved upon. *D'Essards* took possession of the bastile, but the duke, by this time, had leisure to prepare and muster his party, and they besieged the bastile with a fury that indicated the destruction of the government.

Insolence
of the
*Burgun-
dians*.

The dauphin found the duke of *Burgundy* too powerful in *Paris* to be subdued, and he applied to him to quell the popular commotions. The duke affected great concern, though it was visible that two of his partizans, *Simon de Caboché*, and *John de Troye*, were the immediate authors of the disturbances, together with some *Flemish* deputies, the duke's subjects, who were then at *Paris*. *D'Essards* was persuaded by the duke to give up the bastile, but, contrary to the promise of pardon given him, he lost his head upon the scaffold, bewailing the share he had in the death of his predecessor *Montague*. After his execution the rabble put no bounds to their fury. They broke into the dauphin's

dauphin's palace, put some of his domestics to death, seized upon the duke of *Bar*, obliged the king, who happened to be then in his senses, to go to the parliament, and there register edicts of their own drawing; and forced the dauphin, with the dukes of *Berry*, and *Guienne*, to wear white hoods, which happened then to be the livery of their party.

The more those rebels were gratified, their insolence en- who are
creased. They deposed the chancellor of *France*; they driven out
filled up the great places with their own creatures; and of *Paris*:
Helion de Jaquéville, whom they chose for their leader, hearing some music in the dauphin's apartments, broke into them, put his attendants in danger of their lives, and insulted himself; while the duke of *Burgundy*, who was present, carried his dissimulation so far as to whisper to him not to seem to be afraid. These violences however, were not abetted by all the people of *Paris*, where the king and dauphin had a strong party. The dauphin privately wrote to the dukes of *Orleans* and *Bretagne*, and they with other princes had a meeting at *Verneuil*, where they agreed to march to the king's relief with an army. This resolution was no sooner published, than it appeared that the *Burgundians* or *Cabochines*, formed but an inconsiderable party of the *Parisians*. The loyalists drove them to their quarters, where many of them were killed, and the survivors escaped to *Flanders*. The dukes of *Bavaria* and *Bar*, who were prisoners, were set at liberty; and the duke of *Burgundy* having failed in a design that he had formed for carrying off the king's person, found he could no longer dissemble, and fled to *Flanders* likewise.

All this while, the *English*, with the duke of *Clarence* at Hostilities
their head, remained in *Guienne*; and the duke of *Orleans* between
had been obliged to give up his brother to the duke of *Angoulême*, as a hostage for the payment of their arrears. This, France
however, did not prevent frequent returns of hostilities and Eng-
between the two nations; and *Henry*, who was well ac- land.
quainted with the divisions and distresses of *France*, threatened to renew the claim of *Edward III.* to the crown of *France* in his own person, if the treaty of *Bretigni*, the breaches of which he complained of, and indeed with great reason, was not punctually executed; at the same time, he sent his brother, the duke of *York*, to *Paris*, to demand the king's daughter, the princess *Catharine*, in marriage.

By the retreat of the duke of *Burgundy* to *Flanders*, the The duke
French government had, at this time, recovered some kind of *Bar-*
of consistency. *Paris*, the bastille, and the *louvre*, were gundy
in possession of the dukes of *Berry*, *Bavaria*, and *Bar*. The marches
demand of the princess *Catharine* by the duke of *York*; was against
considered as a favourable omen of *Henry* having given over *Paris*, but
all thoughts of matching into the *Burgundy* family; while is forced
that duke found himself so universally detested, that he sent to retreat
deputies with apologies for his conduct to *Paris*; but they had

had a strict charge to have an eye upon the state of the court; and privately to assure his friends, that he was raising an army for the deliverance of the king and the dauphin, who, as he pretended, had applied to him to free them from the thralldom they were suffering under the princes. In this last assertion, he was so confident, that the best friends of the royal family, and even the princes of the blood themselves were startled; so that after he had raised a great army, he marched without resistance to the very gates of *Paris*, which he summoned to surrender in the name of the king and the dauphin. The king was then in one of his fits of lunacy, and the queen convoked a grand council, at which some of the chief *Parisians* assisted, to deliberate upon an answer to the manifesto that had been published by the duke of *Burgundy*, affirming that the king and the dauphin had invited him to their relief. There seems to have been some ground for this charge against the dauphin, whose conduct was condemned by the principal members of the assembly. He was obliged to write letters to the duke of *Burgundy*, requiring him to lay down his arms, and publicly to disavow all correspondence and connection with him. For once *Charles* and his administration acted with steadiness. They procured an ample condemnation of the tract that had been written by *Dr. Petit*, justifying the murder of the duke of *Orleans*. The princes of the blood took their turns in their rounds about the works of the city, the defence of which was committed to the count of *Armagnac*; and both the king, who was now recovered, and the dauphin, acted with surprizing spirit and resolution. The count of *Armagnac* treated the duke of *Burgundy's* summons to surrender with the utmost contempt, and such measures were taken as prevented the duke's party within the city from rising in his favour.

The
French
king takes
the field
against
him.

This was a prodigious disappointment to the duke, who having thrown garrisons into *Compeigne*, *Soissons*, and *St. Dennis*, returned to *Flanders*. Upon his retreat, the royal party let loose all their rage against him. *Charles* published a manifesto relating to all the circumstances of his brother's murder, declaring him a traitor, and requiring the assistance of all his good subjects to bring him to justice. He then took the field at the head of a very fine army, reduced *Compeigne*, and *Soissons*, where he ordered two of the duke's favourites to be publicly executed as traitors; and he was advancing towards *Artois*, when the duke's brother and sister threw themselves at his feet, as mediators for their brother. The behaviour of *Charles* on this occasion was unexceptionable. He declared himself ready to grant the duke a pardon if he sued for it in a proper manner; and he wrote to the states of *Flanders*, demanding to know, whether they intended to abet their duke in his rebellion.

Their

Their answer was, "That the duke might pursue what course he pleased, but that they were stedfastly resolved to continue loyal subjects to the crown of *France*." This unwillingness in the states of *Flanders*, was the true cause of the duke of *Burgundy's* submission; and though he was then treating with the king of *England* for support, he was obliged to accept of peace upon the king's terms. The dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, with the archbishop of *Sens*, made some difficulty in signing the treaty; but they were at last compelled to do it by the king, and the dauphin, who passionately desired to see an end of the civil commotions of *France*.

The behaviour of the duke of *York*, while he was in *Negotiation* at *Paris*, made the *French* court suspect that he had something farther in view than to demand the princess *Catharine* for his brother; and this was confirmed by a ten years truce entered into between the king of *England* and the duke of *Bretagne*, and another truce between *Henry* and the crown of *Castile*. *Henry*, who was now determined on a war with *France*, secretly resolved to support the duke of *Burgundy*; but being little prepared for so great an enterprize, he amused the *French* ambassadors with negotiations for a peace. The archbishop of *Bourges*, and the constable *d'Albert*, with other noblemen, were then ambassadors at his court; but though they readily agreed to his receiving the princess *Catharine* in marriage with a great fortune, he insisted upon the immediate execution of the treaty of *Bretigni* being made the basis of the negotiation; and all that the ambassadors could do, was to prolong the late truce to the twenty-second of *February* 1415.

Upon the meeting of the *English* parliament, though *Henry* had just before sent a most splendid embassy to *France*, the members addressed him for a war with that kingdom. The advantages the *French* ministry gained over the duke of *Burgundy*, had not prevented the *English* ambassadors from insisting not only upon the execution of the treaty of *Bretigni*, but adding a vast tract of territory between the *Somme* and *Graveline*, with half the county of *Provence*, to *Henry's* *French* dominions; and likewise that he should receive with the princess *Catharine* two millions of crowns. The *French* offered him all that part of *Aquitain* that he possessed, the counties of *Agenois*, *Perigord*, *Bigorre*, *Xantoigne*, *Rovergne*, with a great number of other provinces and towns, provided he would remit the arrears due for king *John's* ransom; and accept of six hundred thousand crowns as the portion of the princess. Though those terms were rejected, yet *Henry* continued the negotiation that he might gain time; and after many fruitless conferences, the *English* ambassadors returned by the way of *Harfleur*; and a new embassy was sent from *France* to *England*, with the archbishop of *Bourges*, a hot violent man, at its head. By this time, *Henry* had completed.

completed his preparations for invading *France*; but he received the new ambassadors with vast magnificence at *Winchester*. The *English* ministry finding they had nothing new to propose, treated them with such contempt, that the archbishop of *Bourges* fell into a kind of frenzy, and forgetting what was due to *Henry* or himself, he reproached him as an usurper; upon which, all negotiations breaking off, *Henry* sent a defiance to *Charles*, by *Cantelope*, king at arms, which was answered by a tun of tennis balls sent him by the dauphin; to which *Henry* made the memorable reply, "That he would play such balls against *Paris* as all her battlements could not rebound."

Henry
invades
France,
and takes
Harfleur.

No time was now lost in each party entering upon hostilities in *Picardy*, where the earl of *Warwick* was governor of *Calais*; and *Henry*, in *August*, 1415, landed at *Caux*, in *Normandy*, and besieged *Harfleur*. His army consisted of thirty-six thousand men; and he was opposed by another under the constable d'Albret; who had orders, by no means, to hazard a general action. *Harfleur* was so vigorously battered by *Henry's* heavy artillery, for thirty days, that, after various attempts to relieve it, it capitulated to surrender, if not relieved by a certain time. According to some authors, *Henry* took the place sword in hand, cut in pieces all the garrison but a few, and gave the town up to be plundered by his soldiers. So barbarous a proceeding, however, is very unlike the general tenor of *Henry's* government at this time; for he affected to treat the *French* as his natural born subjects; and he obliged his troops to observe a very strict discipline: but it is certain that he planted *Harfleur*, after taking it, with an *English* colony.

The taking of *Harfleur* struck *France* with consternation; and it was resolved to act no longer on the defensive, as *Henry* now openly proclaimed himself a competitor for the crown. All the princes of the blood took the field under the constable, who was joined by a detachment of the duke of *Burgundy's* troops; twelve thousand *Bretons*; and, according to some accounts, by fifty thousand *Lorrainers*. In short, troops poured in so fast from every hand, that the constable and the princes refused to enlist any more; and sent back six thousand *Parisians* who came to offer their service to the king.

His mi-
serable
situation,

Henry was, at this time, in a most melancholy situation: he had lost the flower of his troops, by a bloody flux, before *Harfleur*; occasioned by their drinking new wines and the rainy season setting in: he therefore resolved to return to *Calais* by land. This was judged to be almost impracticable, but insisted upon by *Henry*, who left three thousand men in *Harfleur*, and set out on his march for *Calais* with about twenty thousand men in three divisions. The march, as had been foreseen, was extremely difficult and dangerous; but, though the *French* had thrown all the impediments they could

could in his way, he passed the *Somme*, and arrived at *Blagny*; where he perceived the *French* army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, drawn up between him and *Calais*, near the village of *Agincourt*; and his handful of troops, in a manner, surrounded on all sides.

The *French* were so sure of conquest, that the most forward of them had already, in their own minds, disposed of the royal prisoners who were to fall into their hands; while the constable, and the most experienced of their generals, gave their opinion against fighting; because, by continuing to straighten *Henry's* army, and cutting off his provisions, they thought it must surrender of course. The constable took the sense of a council of war, where it was carried for fighting by a vast majority; but having received strict orders from the king, who was at *Rouen*, attended by the dauphin and the duke of *Berry*, not to hazard a battle, he transmitted the resolutions of the council thither; where they were confirmed, and he had positive orders to fight. Upon this the constable made such a disposition of his army, that it was impossible for *Henry* to proceed without a battle. In other respects, his conduct was injudicious; for the field he chose was so narrow, that he could extend his front line but a very little way beyond that of *Henry*; who undoubtedly thought himself ruined, as the front of the *French* was supported by two other lines, each of which was more than double all the *English* army. He offered to restore *Harfleur*, and to pay the expences of the war, if he was suffered to proceed to *Calais*; but, contrary to the advice of the soundest heads among the *French*, the terms were rejected, and there was now no appeal but to the sword. The constable made use of some discretionary orders he had received for delaying the engagement as long as he was able; and nothing could have so effectually befriended *Henry* as the ardour of the dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alençon* for fighting, because the bloody flux continued to make great havoc in his army.

Authors differ widely as to the number of the *French* army; some making them sixty thousand men, and others the double that number: but the difference is easily reconciled, when we reflect that the *French* took into their account of soldiers only such as were completely armed; which was not the case with their common infantry, who were generally brought into the field rather for parade than use; and it is allowed, that, of the twenty-two thousand men which the *English* army consisted of, above one third were ill of the bloody flux. The constable received fresh orders, countermanding his venturing a battle; and *Henry* found himself under a necessity of being the aggressor, by attacking the *French*. The *French* lords were so eager for glory and conquest, that, regardless of all discipline, they posted themselves in the front line; so that the second and third lines remained almost without officers. *Henry* depended upon his archers,

archers, who were posted, under the duke of *York*, to the right of his main body, which was commanded by himself, as the rear line was by the duke of *Exeter*, his flanks being secured by two woods. The *French*, as *Henry* had foreseen, depended on their cavalry; and the *English* archers, who were to begin the attack, were provided with sharp stakes, in the nature of *chevaux de frize*, to prevent the approach of the horses. At the same time he ambushed a body of his best archers and cavalry in the woods on his flank. He then marched, with the greatest alacrity, to the attack. It was begun by a deadly discharge of *English* arrows; which did such execution, that the front line of the *French* was driven back on their second line; and the disorder of both was increased by the *English* archers breaking in upon them with their swords and battle-axes. The duke of *Alençon*, who commanded the second line of the *French*, soon repaired their disorder; and the battle becoming general, he killed the duke of *York* with his own hand, and fought for some time singly with *Henry*, who killed two of his domestics, and would have given him quarter, upon his calling out that he was the duke of *Alençon*, had not the *English*, enraged at their king's danger, dispatched him on the spot. His death was attended by a total rout of the first and second lines of the *French*, the third line retiring from the field.

While *Henry* was driving before him the body of reserve, part of the first and second lines formed themselves; and, being joined by the numerous scullions and retainers of the *French* camp, they began to plunder that of the *English*. *Henry* thought, or pretended to think, that this was done by a fresh body of *French*, and that he must fight a new battle. He therefore ordered all his prisoners, who were now more numerous than his own army, to be massacred on the spot, and was obeyed.

Loss on both sides. In this battle of *Agincourt*, the loss of the *French* fell chiefly upon their princes, nobles, and gentlemen of distinction; eight thousand of whom were killed, with not above two thousand of an inferior rank. Among the dead were the constable *d'Albret*, and *Chatillon*, admiral of *France*; the dukes of *Alençon*, *Brabant*, and *Bar*; the duke of *Lorraine's* brother, the archbishop of *Sens*, and an hundred and twenty lords carrying banners. The dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the marshal *Boucicaut*, with many other persons of the highest distinction, were taken prisoners, with two thousand knights and about fourteen thousand common men, notwithstanding the slaughter of the other prisoners.

The loss of the *English* consisted of about seventeen hundred men killed; among whom were the duke of *York*, the young duke of *Suffolk*, and a brave *Welsh* knight, one *David Gam*.

The consternation of the *French* court, which still remained at *Rouen*, and of the *Parisians*, was great, in proportion

portion as their hopes had been sanguine, when the news of this defeat reached them ; but *Henry* was far from thinking that this victory put him out of danger. The duke of *Bretagne* was still in the field with an army superior to that of the *English*, and had been joined by all the *French* who escaped from the battle. As *Henry* expected every moment to be attacked, he obliged his men to destroy great part of their plunder ; but so dispirited were the *French* by their defeat, that he reached *Calais* without loss.

By this time, *Charles* was returned to *Paris*, and received, from the duke of *Burgundy*, a deputation, demanding an audience, he himself advancing to the capital with a large body of horse. The deputies were roughly treated by the dauphin, who sent them back with a command to the duke of *Burgundy*, that he should disband his men. Soon after their departure, the dauphin, who was married to the duke of *Burgundy's* daughter, and was now nineteen years of age, died of a dysentery ; occasioned, as some thought, by poison, administered to him by his father-in-law ; or, as others think, by his own vices ; being tall and robust, and immoderately given to wine and women.

Upon the death of the constable *d'Albret*, the queen pre- Vol. IX.
 vailed on her husband to appoint, for his successor, the count P. 54.
 of *Armagnac*, who was indisputably one of the wisest men, The count
 and best generals, that *France* had ever produced. During of *Armagnac*
 the dejection of the *French* court, the emperor, *Sigismund*, made
 paid a visit to *Charles*; and was suffered, as emperor, to pre- constable
 side in the parliament of *Paris*, and even to create knights : of *France*.
 privileges which were denied him when he came to *England*.
 He thought of obliging *Henry* to make peace with the *French*
 king, but was treated with great contempt ; upon which, he
 offered to assist him in his claim upon the crown of *France*,
 if *Henry* would promise to restore to the empire the fiefs
 it had lost : but this proposal met with equal neglect ; tho'
Henry was far from declining to renew, under his mediation,
 the conferences for peace. These went so far, that a project
 for a three years truce was actually agreed upon between
Henry and *Sigismund*, when advice came that the *French*,
 notwithstanding all they had suffered by the battle of *Agincourt*,
 had recommenced hostilities against the *English* in the
Caux; and that, having taken into their pay a number of
Genoese and *Flemish* ships and sailors, they had not only
 blockaded *Harfleur*, but were ravaging the coasts of *England*.
 Those accounts broke off all negotiations for peace, and
 gave the emperor a very indifferent notion of the *French*
 faith. The truth is, the abilities of the constable, *Armagnac*,
 had given a new face to the affairs of *France*. He had
 purged the city and university of *Paris* of the *Burgundian*
 faction, and entirely broken the measures which that duke
 had formed against the court. The blockade of *Harfleur*
 still continued ; but the *French* fleet was defeated by that of
England;

England, which *Henry* had fitted out with amazing expedition, and that too with so great loss, that the duke of *Bedford* easily relieved *Harfleur*, and the constable thought proper to raise the blockade.

Behaviour
of the
French
prisoners
in *Eng-*
land.

Before *Sigismund* left *England*, it is certain that he entered into some engagements with *Henry*, who hoped to make him serviceable to him in his designs upon *France*; but we hear of no subsidies he received, and of no acts of sovereignty that he exercised in *England*. *Henry's* project was deeper laid, for it was to make sure of the duke of *Burgundy*. In order to have an interview with him, he went over to *Calais*; where he concluded a short truce with the court of *France*, to last from the ninth of *October* to the second of *February* following. The duke then, with some difficulty, was persuaded to return to *Calais*, where he soon finished his negotiation with *Henry*. The terms were of the most extraordinary nature. The duke recognized *Henry's* title to the *French* crown, and promised all the assistance he could give him to make it good. He acknowledged that he owed *Henry* homage; but he desired to be excused from paying it at that time, or till *Henry* should possess himself of a considerable part of *France*. He likewise stipulated, in the mean while, for leave to perform some slight shew of allegiance to king *Charles*.

This negotiation, though carefully concealed by both parties, was suspected by the *French* court; and it is certain that the duke of *Bourbon*, one of the illustrious *French* prisoners at *London*, offered even to acknowledge *Henry's* right to the same crown, if he would give him liberty to return to *France*; which *Henry* granted, but found the duke was only trifling. Upon this, he ordered his fleet to be assembled; and he landed in *Normandy* with about twenty-six thousand fighting men, all of them well-armed and well appointed.

Successes
of *Henry*.

He soon reduced the strong castles of *Tonque* and *Dambieres*, and directed his march against *Caen*; which he besieged, and took, after meeting with a gallant resistance; but he made a most barbarous use of his success, by putting a great number of the inhabitants to death in cold blood, for no reason but their loyalty to their native prince. The success of *Henry*, after taking *Caen*, was prodigious, in the reduction of fortifications in *Normandy*; and, before the end of the year 1418, he besieged and took *Falaise*, one of the strongest places in *France*. He then divided his army into three bodies, intending to complete the conquest of *Normandy*; which, by the daily reinforcements he received, he effected, all to the city of *Rouen*. In the capitulations granted by *Henry*, the gunners who served against the *English* were exempted from quarter; but the truth is, great part of his success was owing to the distracted state of affairs at the court of *France*.

John,

John, duke of *Touraine*, succeeded his elder brother as dauphin of *France*. This young prince, who was about eighteen, had married *Jaqueline*, daughter and heir to the count of *Hainault*; and, by his persuasion, he had embraced the duke of *Burgundy's* party. That prince likewise dying, the third son of *Charles*, the count of *Ponthieu*, became dauphin of *France*. This prince, though no more than sixteen years of age, had spirit and understanding far above those of his deceased brothers. Being informed that his mother had now abandoned herself to the most criminal intrigues, and that she had no regard either for her husband or the kingdom, but as they served her interest, he attached himself to the constable *Armagnac*; and the loyalists looked upon him as the head of their party. The constable, notwithstanding all his obligations to the queen, could not bear with her rapaciousness and indecency. She had prevailed with her weak husband to pass an instrument, by which she was intrusted with the government; and she had amassed immense sums; which, with her jewels, which were likewise of great value, she had, for the greater security, lodged in the churches of *Paris* and its neighbourhood. The dauphin and the constable had intelligence of this, and seized the money for the public use, which exasperated her so much, that she retired to *Vincennes*; where her course of life was more profligate and abandoned than ever.

The constable informed *Charles* of his dishonour, and he repaired to *Vincennes*; where meeting with the lord of *Boisbourdon*, one of the queen's gallants, coming out of her apartment, he ordered him to be seized, put to the torture, with the sewn up in a sack, and thrown into the sea. As to the queen, she and her daughter, *Catharine*, were sent to *Blois*, and from thence to *Tours*, without being permitted to see the king.

The duke of *Burgundy* did not fail to improve, to his own purposes, those events, which were equally destructive and disgraceful to *France*. He published manifestoes, offering his services to the king and royal family, for delivering them from the thralldom they were under. He had all the success he could desire. A declared breach being now made between the queen and the dauphin, it was natural for her, unprincipled and abandoned as she was, to call in the assistance of that power which could turn the balance in her favour; and she entered into a private correspondence with the duke of *Burgundy*. That prince had, at this time, by continuing his fair professions, especially by promising to abolish the most grievous taxes, made a most surprising progress. *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, and several other considerable places, had declared themselves in his favour. His manifestoes had rendered the dauphin and the constable unpopular, by representing them as the jailors and tyrants of the king; and he marched for *Paris*.

Paris itself; of which he might have gained possession, had not the negotiation he entered into with the queen, contrary to that invincible hatred they had before entertained for each other, prevailed upon him to march to *Troyes*, to which city she had escaped from *Tours*. He found her there exercising all acts of royal dignity, in consequence of the powers she had formally obtained from the king for that purpose. She had given the sword of constable to the duke of *Lorraine*, and she had a chancellor in parliament of her own creating.

and re-
conciles
herself to
the duke
of *Bur-*
gundy.

Such was the situation of *France*, when *Henry V.* resolved, in good earnest, to place himself on its throne. Few nations had ever been more ripe for destruction than *France* was at this time. It could not properly be said to have any object of allegiance, the king being no more than a name, whose authority was contended for by different parties. The duke of *Burgundy's* faction and that of the queen, were now the same; and he had formally recognized *Henry V.* of *England* as lawful king of *France*. The princes of the blood, who were prisoners in *England*, had promised to do the same; but *Henry* saw plainly that all of them acted from convenience, and through resentment; and that he could depend only on his own sword. He was still in *Normandy*, the greatest part of which he had reduced. He had given orders for closely imprisoning the duke of *Bourbon*, and the other *French* princes, prisoners in *England*, because they had failed in their engagements to him; and he was, at this time, so pressed for money, as to be obliged to pawn even his regal jewels; so that nothing less than the crown of *France* could indemnify him for his expences.

Henry be-
sieges
Rouen,

Cardinal *Ursins*, on the part of pope *Martin V.* was then mediating a peace between the two kingdoms, and between the two governing parties in *France*; but without effect, in regard to *Henry*, who never relaxed in his warlike operations; for he was then besieging *Pont del Arche*, which he soon took; and nothing now remained but the conquest of *Rouen*, to put him in possession of both the *Normandies*, and consequently of all *France*. This was a serious consideration, and favoured the cardinal's negotiation between the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy*. The city had declared itself highly in his favour. It contained an hundred thousand fighting men of its own inhabitants; and its garrison consisted of four thousand of the best troops in *France*, and under the best generals. After *Henry* had invested it, he reduced the inhabitants to such extremities, that they sent a priest to *Paris*, to represent, before the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy*, their distress.

and nego-
tiates with
all parties.

Henry dreaded a coalition between those two parties, and he entered into a negotiation with both. He was fully convinced that the duke of *Burgundy* had now abandoned all thoughts of his engagements with him as king of *France*;
and

and, without giving up any part of his conquests, or relinquishing his claim upon the estates that had been ceded by the treaty of *Bretigni*, he proposed to deliver the king out of the duke of *Burgundy's* hands, provided the dauphin would assist him in conquering *Flanders*. This proposition was thought so extravagant, that the dauphin's commissioners refused to produce their powers; and his negotiation with the duke of *Burgundy* terminated as fruitlessly.

Both parties at the court of *France* were now sensible that *Henry* was their common enemy, and they were inclinable to unite with each other against him; especially as the city of *Rouen* continued to make a noble defence. The king, queen, and duke of *Burgundy*, had advanced, to its relief, as far as *Beauvais*; but found it impracticable to raise the siege. Fifty thousand of the inhabitants, by this time, had perished by hunger and diseases; and *Henry's* rigour had made them resolve on the desperate effort of making a general sally, and dying or conquering. *Henry* heard of this resolution, and relaxed in his terms, but obliged them to surrender at mercy. He made an ungenerous use of his conquest, by plundering the place, and striking off the head of the brave *Blanchard*, who defended it. He now wore the ducal robes of *Normandy*, and acted, in every respect, as its sovereign. He received the keys of *Caudebec*, *Monstrueil*, *Dieppe*, *Fescamp*, *Arques*, *Neufchâtel*, *Denicourt*, *Eux*, *Monchaulx*, *Vernon*, *Mantes*, *Gournay*, *Honnefleu*, *Ponteau de Mer*, *Tancarville*, *Vallemont*, *Neufville*, and *St. Germain sur Cailly*.

His farther successes.

So disastrous a train of events assisted the negotiations of the pope's legates; and it was at last agreed, that the royal power should be exercised jointly by the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy*. The constable, who was well acquainted with the duke of *Burgundy's* engagements to *Henry*, opposed this accommodation, and the chancellor refused to put the seals to it; but it was carried, and peace was proclaimed between the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy*.

The very night after this proclamation had been made, the gate of *St. Germain* was betrayed to the *Burgundian* faction; who immediately massacred the constable *Armagnac*, the archbishops of *Rheims* and *Tours*, five prelates, the abbot of *St. Dennis*, and forty magistrates, with many of the inferior rank, in the most barbarous manner. The dauphin, probably, would have undergone the same fate, had it not been for *Tannequin du Châtel*, governor of the bastille, who hurried him away in his shirt in the night time. For some days after this surprisal, the public executioner was the sovereign of *Paris*. The common people, indeed, declared themselves for the duke of *Burgundy*; but it was only that they might have a pretext first to murder, and then to plunder. Even after the queen and that duke, whose interests were again united, had made a triumphal entry into *Paris*, the hangman patrolled the streets in his robes, attended by the

A peace between the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy*.

the mob, and cut off the heads of all whom they pointed out for destruction; after which they rifled their houses. He had even the insolence to shake the duke of *Burgundy* by the hand, and treat him as his companion. In a few days, however, the duke, having reinforced his party in *Paris*, ordered this executioner to be hanged; and having reduced the city to some order, he and the queen joined in inviting the dauphin back to that capital.

The negotiations continued. The dauphin turned a deaf ear to this invitation, which induced the duke of *Burgundy* to renew his negotiation with *Henry*, who was fully sensible that he had then in his hands the ballance of power in *France*, especially as the dauphin likewise applied to him for an interview. A medley of negotiations then succeeded; in which all parties were insincere, and each endeavoured to outwit the other. *Henry* was courted equally by the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy*, who outbid each other in their offers for his friendship. The duke employed the queen as his agent with *Henry*, and she carried along with her her beautiful daughter *Catharine*, who, next to the crown of *France*, was the object of *Henry's* affections.

The dauphin strengthened himself with allies. The duke had, at this time, the advantage of being possessed of the king's person; and the queen had the address, upon the dauphin refusing to attend, to conclude a short truce with *Henry*, without comprehending the dauphin. At last, the duke of *Bretagne* was employed to offer *Henry*, on the part of *France*, all the demands he had hitherto made; which consisted of the cession of all the territories stipulated by the treaty of *Bretigni*, of all his own conquests in *France*, and of the princess *Catharine* in marriage. *Henry* was so infatuated as to reject those terms, unless he held all the ceded countries in absolute sovereignty: a demand which, he knew, was not in the power even of the *French* king to agree to. Receiving a negative from the queen, who saw that the charms of the princess had made an impression on *Henry's* heart, he swore, at the breaking up of the interview at *Meulan*, that, if his demands were not complied with, he would drive *Charles* from his throne, and the duke of *Burgundy* out of the kingdom.

The dauphin was, all this time, secretly strengthening his party. The king of *Castile* lent him both men and ships, and the *Scots* sent him seven thousand auxiliaries, who afterwards did him most excellent service. The duke of *Burgundy* losing all hopes of accommodation with *Henry*, now offered to submit himself to the dauphin; and a reconciliation accordingly took place at *Pouilly*: but *Henry*, in the mean time, took *Pontoise*; by which he had a ready access to the capital itself. The court retired from thence to *Troyes*, and *Henry* brought the vanguard of the *English* army to the gates of *Paris*. He must have taken that city; had not the success of the dauphin's army in *Normandy*, and the

the wretched condition of his own army, obliged him to recall the duke of *Clarence*, and to form the siege of *Gisors*, and other places, which were still at his back. His progress, as usual, was rapid; and, at last, he took *Meulan*, and defeated the marshal *de Reux*, and *Douglas*, the Scotch general.

The reconciliation between the duke of *Burgundy* and the dauphin never had been cordial; and it appears, undeniably, that the former had still a correspondence with *Henry*; which the dauphin discovered, and therefore resolved to take the duke off by assassination. For this purpose, it was agreed that they should have an interview at *Montereau*. The duke had a mistress, madam *Giac*, who had been very instrumental in bringing about the accommodation between him and the dauphin, with whom she held a private correspondence; and she even persuaded the duke, who was passionately fond of her, to go to *Montereau*. The meeting was upon a bridge, and each distrusting the other, was attended with ten followers. The duke made his obeisance to the dauphin upon his knee; and, in that posture, *Tanneguy du Chastel* cut him across the face with a pole-axe, and the dauphin's other attendants sheathed their swords in his body and those of his followers, of whom one *Montague* alone escaped by vaulting over the barriers.

We shall not amuse the reader with the various manners in which this detestable fact, which was committed on the tenth of *September*, 1419, is related. It is, even to this day, uncertain whether the dauphin was present, and whether the whole was not contrived and executed by *Tanneguy du Chastel*, to revenge the murder of his old master the duke of *Orleans*. The *Burgundians*, whom their duke had left at the extremity of the bridge, endeavoured to force their way into the castle of *Montereau*, but were repulsed. The king, queen, chancellor, the constable, the marshals, the presidents, parliaments and cities of *France*, agreed in demanding justice upon the dauphin (who disclaimed having any hand in the assassination) and in requiring that measures might be taken for setting him aside from the succession.

The late duke of *Burgundy's* son and successor, *Philip the Good*, declared his resolution of revenging his father's death; and the numerous enemies of the dauphin signed an association against him at *Arras*. The dauphin, to the offers he had already made to *Henry*, added that of *Flanders*, which he offered to assist him in conquering; but *Henry* rejected all his advances; and prolonging the truce, he closed with the offers made him by the other party, after the dauphin had been declared incapable of succession.

A meeting between him, the king and queen of *France*, the duke of *Burgundy*, and heads of their party, was held at *Troyes*, where a formal treaty was concluded; by which *Henry* was to marry the princess *Catharine*, to be declared regent

and murders the duke of *Burgundy*.

Fatal consequences of that murder.

The treaty of *Troyes* examined.

regent of *France* during the life of *Charles*, and to inherit that crown upon his death. This treaty was ratified by the parliament and people of *Paris*. *Henry* was afterwards stiled regent and heir to the crown of *France*; and he was married to the princess *Catharine* in the presence of the queen of *France* and the duke of *Burgundy*; who were attended by forty of the *French* nobility, as *Henry* was by forty of the *English*. The peace was again sworn to by all parties, and the dauphin and his adherents were again proscribed.

It must be owned that the whole of this accommodation, and of the treaty of *Troyes*, rested upon a rotten foundation. The salique law was set aside. The king was, properly speaking, no party in the agreement. The houses of *Orleans*, *Anjou*, *Alençon*, *Bretagne*, *Burgundy*, and others, had a right to the crown preferable to that of *Henry*; and the transaction, of itself, was null and void; because, supposing the king to have been a party, and in his sound judgment, it was not in his power to divest his son of that inheritance which he himself had received from his father. A greater consideration than all still remained; which was the invincible aversion that the nobility and people of *France* had for the *English* government. We are likewise to consider that *Henry's* queen, *Catharine*, even supposing the salique law to have had no existence, could have no right to the *French* crown; because she had an elder sister, who was duchess of *Burgundy*.

Those, and a thousand other impediments, though borne down by the force of *Henry's* arms, presented themselves to him; but he was so dazzled by the glorious prospect before him, that he overlooked them; and his care now was to conciliate his person and measures to the *French* nation. In this he was not very successful; but the treaty of *Troyes* was guarantied, not only by the duke of *Burgundy*, but by the palatinate of the *Rhine*, the duke of *Bavaria*, and the emperor *Sigismund*.

Conduct
of the
dauphin,

The dauphin, whose person and interest was, by *Henry*, thought to be too inconsiderable to give him any concern, behaved with amazing coolness and intrepidity, and found refuge where *Henry* little imagined he could, among his faithful allies the *Scots*. Their king, young *James*, had been intercepted by *Henry* IV. in his voyage to *France*, and was still a prisoner to *Henry* V. who looked upon him as having no will of his own. The government of *Scotland*, without any regard to their king's captivity, and perhaps by his private direction, voted a new supply of seven thousand men to be sent to the dauphin's assistance. They accordingly landed at *Rochelle*, and it is more than probable that they saved the crown of *France* to the dauphin. By their assistance that prince garrisoned *Melun*, *Montereau*, *Montargis*, *Meaux*, and *Compeigne*. He took *de St. Esprit* by storm; he reduced

reduced *Nismes*, and assembled all his force and friends at *Bourges*.

Henry, on the other hand, took *Sens*, in *Burgundy*; and besieging *Montereau*, he took the town, and barbarously hanged the garrison, because they could not persuade *Guetrie*, the governor, to surrender the castle; which, however, he reduced soon after upon terms. *Henry* then besieged *Melun*, which was bravely defended; and despairing to take it, he sent for the king of *Scots*, whom he had carried over with him to *France*, requesting him to give orders that all his subjects should leave that kingdom; and put him in mind, at the same time, of the generous treatment he had received during his captivity in *England*.

The answer of the young prince to this demand deserves to be transmitted to posterity: "That, as to the entertainment he had received, thanks and gratitude were all the retribution which his captivity suffered him to make. That his majesty's request was unreasonable, because his subjects would look upon it as the effects of compulsion. But, supposing himself to be free, his majesty must have the meanest opinion of him, if he should put any consideration in competition with the happiness of his people: and concluded with conjuring *Henry* not to require of him things that must dishonour his character, and belye the education and the noble examples he had received at the *English* court."

Henry had the magnanimity to admire this noble spirited reply; and, though the young prince continued his prisoner, yet he continued to act with as much freedom as if he had been upon his own throne.

The siege of *Melun* proved to be a work of great difficulty. It lasted for eighteen weeks, through the intrepid defence made by the garrison; and, at last, *Henry* was obliged to convert it into a blockade. The dauphin endeavoured to relieve the place, but in vain; and hunger, at last, brought the besieged to the necessity of accepting the capitulation proposed by *Henry*; but neither the terms of the capitulation, nor the faith with which it was observed, do any honour to his memory. *Brabazon*, the brave governor, had encountered him hand to hand; and both, unknown to each other, having fought till they were tired, *Henry* demanded to know his name; in which being satisfied, "Then know," said he, "that you have fought with the king of *England*."

Notwithstanding this, *Henry* would have put the brave *Brabazon* to death, upon a frivolous charge of his having been accessory to the duke of *Burgundy's* murder, had not the heralds given it as their opinion, that, by singly engaging *Henry*, he became his brother in arms, and ought not to be put to death in cold blood. He, however, with many other brave men, suffered a long and severe captivity: some of them dying of diseases and famine in the common jails of

Paris. The truth is, *Henry* was disgusted and soured at the visible distrust of his conduct, entertained by the duke of *Burgundy*, and the other *French* princes who had sworn to the peace of *Troyes*. He gave orders for garrisoning the chief places about the capital with *English*. He removed the count of *St. Paul* from being governor of *Paris*, and appointed his brother, the duke of *Clarence*, in his room. In short, he saw he had only his army, and the personal interest of the queen of *France*, to depend upon. He gave the best places under the crown of *France* to his *English* officers. He was punctual in paying his troops, and he augmented the revenues of the *French* queen. The prince of *Orange* withdrew his troops from the duke of *Burgundy's* army, and refused to swear to the peace of *Troyes*; and, when *Henry* made his magnificent entry into *Paris*, that prince rode by his side in deep mourning, as he pretended, for the death of his father.

The duke of *Burgundy* demands justice.

A few days after, the duke of *Burgundy* appeared before *Charles*, and demanded justice upon the murderers of his father. The dauphin was named as being of that number, and was cited to appear at the marble table; the place where the vassals of the crown had formerly paid their taxations. Upon his not appearing, the process went on; and a proclamation was issued, declaring all who had been concerned in the duke of *Burgundy's* death, to be attainted, and convicted of that crime, banished for ever out of the kingdom of *France*, and pronounced unworthy to succeed to the inheritance of any estate or dominion; and all their accomplices were condemned to suffer an ignominious death, and their estates to be confiscated to the king.

The dauphin outlawed.

We do not find that the dauphin, though he might be declared guilty of contumacy for his non-appearance, was named in this sentence, or indeed in any other way than by implication. His judges seem to have been diffident as to their own authority; and, indeed, it would be no easy matter, at this distance of time, to determine whether the parliament of *Paris* had a right to treat the succession to the sovereignty of the *French* crown in the same manner as if it had been that of a common fief. But, whatever the sentiments of the judges might have been, it is certain they durst not do otherwise than they did; and *Henry* thought he gained a great point in thus obtaining the sanction of the parliament of *Paris* to that part of the treaty of *Troyes* which related to the dauphin's succession. But we are here to observe, that there is no clause in that treaty which formally divests the dauphin of the succession farther than by substituting *Henry* in his room; and, provided that the two kings of *France* and *England*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, with the three estates of both kingdoms, should give their consent, that they might even enter into a treaty with the dauphin. Add to all this, that the treaty had not received the sanction of

of the pope (*Martin V.*) which was, in those days, thought absolutely necessary for its validity.

Henry, notwithstanding the splendor of his successes and State of station, by which he was now entitled to act as king of *Henry's France*, was far from being in a desirable situation. His affairs. finances were low, and his army was thinned through the severity of the service. The discontents of *France* were daily growing. His party in *Bretagne* had been ruined by the count of *Penthièvre*, who had made that duke a prisoner. It was in vain that, by some indulgences, he endeavoured to soften the reluctance of the *French* to his government; and the dauphin, who was now seventeen years of age, and assumed the same titles with *Henry*, those of regent and heir of *France*, was still at the head of a great party; and a numerous army; not to mention that *Henry* had yet almost one half of *France* to conquer before he could possess it. He assembled the states of *France*, ing settled his regency and government there, in the beginning of the year 1421, he assembled the states of *France* at *Paris*, and they granted him a supply; but *Henry*, by the treatment he and his *English* ministers gave to such of the *French* as opposed it, shewed that they were resolved to command it. It consisted of no less than an eighth part of every man's ready-money; and it was raised by the most oppressive means, that of changing light money, of *Henry's* own coinage, for heavy; while the loyalty of the dauphin's party supplied him plentifully with the means of answering all his occasions and paying his army; whereas the *Parisians* were starving by thousands, in their own streets, through cold and famine.

Henry's necessities obliging him to return to *England*, he and turned to gave his brother, the duke of *Exeter*, the charge of *Paris* and the *French* court. To his brother the duke of *Clarence* *England*. he committed the care of the army and of the *French* government in general. The earl of *Salisbury* was made governor of *Rouen*, and all the other *French* governments were filled up, to the best advantage, by *English* subjects. *Henry*, upon his arrival in *England*, obtained from that parliament a confirmation of the treaty of *Troyes*; while the glory of his actions concealed from the public there the prodigious expence and waste, both of men and money, which was too visible in the low estate of his army and finances.

During his stay in *England*, short as it was, his affairs in His interest in *France* took an unfavourable turn. The *Normans* and *Anjouins* had, in general, declared for the dauphin; and, by *France* declines. his seizing some important posts on the *Seine*, he had freightened *Paris* prodigiously for provisions. The *English* government in *France* disliked to see the *Burgundian* faction too prevalent; and *Henry* could not bear to be addressed with that openness of manners which the *French* nobility made use of towards their sovereigns. He had checked marshal *de Lisle Adam*, one of the chiefs of the *Burgundians*, for the ease and familiarity

familiarity of his address; and the marshal answering him with a boldness that gave farther offence to *Henry*, he was arrested at *Paris* by the duke of *Exeter*'s orders. As he was one of the most popular noblemen of all the *Burgundian* party, the *Parisians* rose in a body to rescue him; but they were dispersed by six score *English* archers, who carried him a close prisoner to the *bastile*. The dauphin still maintained his party in *Anjou*, where he was opposed by the duke of *Clarence*, and supported chiefly by the *Scotch* auxiliaries under the earl of *Buchan*. The duke understood that the earl's chief quarters were at *Baugy*, where the *Scotch* lay detached from the rest of the dauphin's army; and he came to a resolution of attacking them by himself, with his men at arms and archers; while the earl of *Salisbury* was to bring up the rest of the *English* army.

The Scots gain a battle for the dauphin, The duke accordingly engaged the earl with great vigour, but was received so bravely, that he was killed by the earl of *Buchan*'s own hand. Three thousand of the *English* fell in this battle, among whom was the earl of *Kent* with the lords *Grey* and *Ross*. The earls of *Somerset*, *Huntingdon*, and *Strafford*, who had been made earl of *Perche* in *France*, and some other persons of distinction, were made prisoners; but the loss of the *Scotch* and *French* did not exceed eleven hundred men.

This victory at *Baugy* was the more important to the confederates, as it taught them that the *English* were not invincible; and gave vast spirits to the dauphin's party. The earl of *Buchan* declined a second engagement with the earl of *Salisbury*; but he laid siege to *Alencon*, and was obliged to raise it, for want of artillery, after defeating the earl of *Salisbury*'s army.

The war continued with various success, but generally to the disadvantage of the *Burgundians*, when *Henry* landed at *Calais*, on the tenth of *June*, and immediately advanced to the relief of *Paris*, where the duke of *Exeter* was still blocked up by the dauphin's troops, who, upon his approach, retired towards *Chartres*; the siege of which he formed, but was obliged to raise it in three weeks. His party had made a considerable progress in *Picardy*, but was defeated by the duke of *Burgundy*, who retook all the places they had taken, and obliged him to retire with his army behind the *Loire*; from whence he was dispossessed by *Henry*, and forced to retreat to *Bourges*.

who is reduced to great distress. The dauphin's affairs, at this time, were in a most unpromising situation. He was, by way of derision, called *the little king of Bourges*; which was the only place where he could live with security, because it was too strongly fortified for *Henry* to attempt to take it; but, on the sixth of *October*, he invested *Meaux*. The place was defended by a brave officer, who is called in history *the bastard of Varus*. It did not surrender till the second of *May*, when the miseries

ries the garrison suffered compelled them to capitulate. The *French* part of them, and the inhabitants, were to have their lives saved; and nothing but the *English, Welch, Irish, and Scotch*, the governor, and three of the chief offices under him, were to be left to the mercy of *Henry*; who ordered them to be immediately executed on a gibbet; because as he alledged, they had put to death many of his *English* and *French* subjects.

Those conquests cost *Henry* so many of his best troops, that *Henry* applied to his allies, the emperor, and the king of *Portugal*, for auxiliaries, but to no purpose. The dauphin could not, indeed, oppose him in the field; but his partizans were so numerous all over the nation, that the duke of *Burgundy*, with the chief of the *French* nobility and gentlemen, who served in *Henry's* army, were obliged to repair to their several estates to make head against the *Armagnacs*, as the dauphin's friends were called.

The count of *Foix*, about this time, deserted the dauphin, and was made governor of *Languedoc* by *Henry*, who carried every thing before him in *Normandy*, and wherever his arms met with resistance. But while the dauphin seemed to be thus irretrievably ruined, *Henry* himself was providing him with the means of deliverance. *Henry's* queen, *Catharine*, had now brought him a son, afterwards the unfortunate *Henry VI.* and she was now landed at *Harfleur*, and proceeded to *Paris*, where she was met by *Henry*; and their court was so splendid, that the *French*, even those who were the most averse to the dauphin, took umbrage at the vast disparity between it and that of their unhappy king *Charles VI.* Even the queen of *France*, gay and dissipated as she was, secretly repented of her conduct; and the acrimony of the most violent *Burgundians* towards the dauphin began to subside upon reflecting that he was suffering for doing that to the duke of *Burgundy* which the latter had done with impunity to the duke of *Orleans*.

Henry, without regarding either the open or secret discontents of the *French*, subdued all the country between *Paris* and *Boulogne*, except *Crotoy* and *Guise*; which he was preparing to reduce, when he heard that the dauphin was again at the head of twenty thousand men; that he had made a dangerous progress in *Normandy*; that he had partizans in every corner of *France*; and that he had regained possession of all the provinces beyond the *Loire*, which river he had actually repassed to support his troops, which were employed in the siege of *Coné*. *Henry* and the duke of *Burgundy* resolved, if possible, to take advantage of that siege, by forcing the dauphin to a decisive battle; and they were assembling their troops for that purpose at *Melun*; when *Henry* was taken ill, and obliged to resign the command of his troops to his brother, the duke of *Bedford*, and the earl of *Warwick*.

Death of
Henry,

All the schemes of the duke of *Burgundy*, who was now vastly superior in strength to the dauphin, were defeated by the latter raising the siege of *Coné* and retreating across the *Loire*. By this time, *Henry*, who found his last moments approach, had been carried to *Vincennes*; where he expired, but with no very *Christian* sentiments, if his last words have not been misrepresented by historians, which we are apt to think they have. He is said, above all things, to have recommended to the duke of *Bedford*, who was present, a strict friendship with the duke of *Burgundy*; that the duke of *Orleans*, and the rest of the illustrious *French* prisoners in *England*, should never be set at liberty till his infant son was of age; and that no peace should be made with the dauphin, whom he called *Charles de Valois*, unless, by way of preliminary, *Normandy* was for ever annexed to the crown of *England*. He did not survive this speech, which consisted of various other particulars, for above two hours; and he died of a fistula, but some say of a dysentery, on the thirty-first of *August*, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, after reigning about nine years and an half.

and of
Charles
VI.

It has been said, that, in consequence of *Henry's* last advice, the regency of *France* was offered to the duke of *Burgundy*, but that he declined it, upon which it was assumed by the duke of *Bedford*. The unfortunate *Charles VI.* of *France* did not long survive him, for he died on the twenty-first of *October* following, of a quartan ague, after living fifty-four years; during the last thirty of which he was, for the most part, in a state of insanity.

This prince, as we have already mentioned, was remarkable for the beauty and strength of his person; and the goodness of his heart, had he not been attacked by that deplorable distemper, might have made amends to his subjects for the defects of his education. Great part of his misfortunes were undoubtedly owing to the luxury, extravagance, and abandoned prostitution of his court; which was encouraged by his queen and favourites. The genius of his great men was seen by their behaviour before and after the battle of *Agincourt*; which they madly forced the constable to fight, nor do we find that even the states and parliaments of *France*, at this time, had any rule of conduct but what was dictated by fear, necessity, or interest. If the murder of the duke of *Burgundy* by the dauphin was atrocious, that of the duke of *Orleans* by the duke of *Burgundy* was equally so, with this difference, that the dauphin saw his own succession, his father's life and honour, with the power and dignity of his crown, usurped by a bad woman and a guilty over-grown subject, who could be punished only by the means which he employed.

His issue.

Charles VI. of *France* had, by his wife, *Isabella*, of *Bavaria* (who, though a wicked, was an artful woman) two sons, of his own name, who died young; *Lewis*, duke of *Guienne*,

Guienne, who became dauphin, and died at the age of nineteen, after marrying the duke of *Burgundy's* daughter, *Margaret*; *John*, duke of *Touraine*, (who upon *Lewis's* death, became dauphin) was married to *Jaqueline*, daughter to the count of *Hainault*; and he likewise died without issue before he was twenty years of age; *Charles* his successor, and *Philip*, of whom the queen was pregnant when the duke of *Orleans* was murdered. The daughters were *Joan*, who died when she was but two years old; *Isabel*, who was first married to *Richard II.* of *England*, and then to the duke of *Orleans*; *Joan*, who was married to the duke of *Bretagne*; *Mary*, who died in a nunnery; and *Catherine*, wife to *Henry V.* of *England*, but afterwards to *Owen Tudor*, a *Welsh* gentleman, by whom she had the earl of *Richmond*, father to *Henry VII.* king of *England*. Besides those legitimate children, *Charles VI.* had a natural daughter by a young woman, with whose company the queen indulged him while he was under the power of his distemper.

Charles VII. surnamed the Victorious

THE death of *Charles VI.* gave so little concern to the *French* nation, that the duke of *Bedford* was the only person of great distinction who attended his funeral in person. His son, the dauphin, was then at *Rochelle*, where, but a few days before he narrowly escaped death, by a room falling in with him, and killing several people of distinction, particularly the lord *James Bourbon*. His conduct at this time, resembled that of his grandfather, *Charles the Wise*. He proceeded without ostentation, and by sure though slow degrees to re-establish his fortune. His father's death was a vast disadvantage to the *English*, because they thereby lost his authority. A great part, perhaps, the bulk, of the *French* nation thought themselves obliged to obey the father, and that when he no longer existed their obedience was due to the son. The modesty of his behaviour gained him many converts among his subjects. When he heard of his father's death, he appeared for one day in mourning, and the next, (when he took the title of king, but without any other parade than that of having the standard of *France* displayed before him) in scarlet. The duke of *Bedford*, who without the genius of his elder brother *Henry*, had all his courage and more practicable abilities, was perfectly sensible of the difficult province he had to manage, as regent. He endeavoured to reconcile in his interest the dukes of *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*. He married the duke of *Burgundy's* younger sister, and procured *Mary*, the dowager of the late dauphin, *Lewis*, to be married

ried to the count of *Richmont*, the duke of *Bretagne*'s brother. He caused his young nephew, *Henry*, to be proclaimed king of *France* at *Paris*, and exacted an oath of allegiance to him from all the *French* nobility in the *English* interest.

Who
unites his
party.

Notwithstanding all those precautions, the dauphin's party was united much better than the *English* and *Burgundian* factions; and he was still master of the countries of *Berry*, *Bourbon*, *Languedoc*, *Lyonnois*, *Forreç*, *Auvergne*, a great part of *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, the earldoms of *Comminge* and *Armagnac*, nigh the *Pyreneans*. What his ministers wanted in power and influence, they supplied with their unanimity, wisdom, zeal and loyalty. Their schemes were so well laid that *Paris* had almost fallen into their hands; and the duke of *Bedford* not daring to trust either the *French* or *Burgundian* troops, sent for reinforcements from *England*. Their schemes were in a great measure frustrated, by that duke taking *Meulan*, through a jealousy which the generals of *Charles* had of their *Scotch* auxiliaries, whose general had been made constable of *France*. The differences between his lieutenant, *Stuart* of *Aubigny* (the constable himself being then in *Scotland*) with the count of *Aumale*, who commanded for *Charles*, ran so high, that they separated, and *Graville*, who had surprized the place, and was governor of it, in indignation surrendered it to the *English*. Its reduction was followed by that of other towns and forts; but the count of *Aumale* cut in pieces, or took prisoners, a body of two thousand five hundred *English*.

Duke of
Bedford
regent of
France.

During those operations, the regent duke's presence in *Paris* was necessary; and he found the spirit of disaffection against the *English* there so strong, that he was obliged to make some examples of severity, and having now received reinforcements, he prepared to carry on the war against *Charles* upon a new plan, with more vigour than ever. The earl of *Salisbury* took *Crevant*, and *Aubigny* had orders from *Charles* to relieve or retake it. This drew on a general engagement between the two armies, each consisting of about fourteen thousand. On the *French* side, only five thousand (and those were *Scots*) were soldiers; but the earl of *Salisbury* had under him the flower of the *English* and *Burgundian* armies. The *French*, under the marshal de *St. Severac*, behaved in so cowardly a manner, that they withdrew from the field, and the *Scots* were defeated with the loss of twelve hundred men; *Aubigny*, who commanded them being taken prisoner. The vast number of places, *Montagne* especially, ceded in consequence of this defeat, which cost the *English* five hundred of their best men, seemed to be decisive against *Charles*, and yet the duke of *Bedford* found himself more uneasy than ever in his government. The people of *Paris* continued mutinous; the royalists,

The Scots
defeated.

royalists, notwithstanding their repeated defeats were daily increasing, and the count of *Richmont*, who guided his brother, the duke of *Bretagne*, though brave was too imperious and turbulent for subordination.

Charles, before the battle of *Crevant* had sent to *Scotland* But re-
for fresh reinforcements, which by the credit of the consta- mains
ble, the earl of *Buchan*, then in *Scotland*, were raised for firm to
him to the number of five thousand; and the duke of *Bed- Charles.*
ford endeavoured to break or divide the *French* interest there,
by setting on foot a treaty for ransoming *James* from his
captivity. But this neither prevented the *Scots* from invad-
ing *England*, nor from renewing their antient league with
France; by which they engaged themselves not to conclude
so much as a truce with the *English* without the knowledge
of the *French*. *Charles*, on the other hand, continued to be
profuse of his honour towards the *Scots*. He created the
earl of *Buchan* duke of *Tourraine*, he gave the county of
Evreux to *Aubigny*, and raised several others of that nation
to places of the highest dignity and trust in *France*; so that
no fewer than fifteen thousand *Scotch* troops were in his
service. *Charles* at the same time, received a reinforcement
of a thousand foot, and six hundred lances from the duke
of *Milan*, who did him considerable service, and upon
their entering *France* took the marshal of *Burgundy* pri-
soner.

It was late in the year 1423, when the last division of *Continu-*
the *Scotch* auxiliaries arrived, and the campaign of 1424, ance of
began unfavourably for *Charles*, who lost *Crotoy*, *Galliard* the war,
upon the *Seine*, *Charite* upon the *Loire*, and *Sesanne* in the *Brie*,
while the *Burgundians* formed the siege of *Guise*, which was
surrendered, but not till after their troops had alienated the
affection of all the natives of *Picardy* by the ravages they
committed. *Juri* was besieged and taken by the regent
duke, and the constable, the duke of *Tourraine*, reduced
Verneuil, upon which the regent duke was obliged to order
the earl of *Salisbury* to join him with a thousand horse,
and two thousand archers, that he might retake it. The
constable drew up his army under the walls of *Verneuil*, and
the regent offered him battle, well knowing that the im-
petuosity of the *French* was not to be restrained by the con-
stable's authority. As he had foreseen, the viscount of
Narbonne, broke out of the excellent lines of disposition
that had been formed by the constable, and madly attacked
the *English*, by whom they were cut in pieces, while the
constable, and his son, the counts of *Aumale*, *Ventadour*,
De Tonnere, with the best of *Charles's* *French* and *Scotch*
officers, with five thousand of their troops were killed. The
English in this battle lost sixteen hundred soldiers.

Verneuil surrendered next day, and the affairs of *Charles*, Distresses
who had exhausted all the resources he had in his friends of *Charles*
and his allies, seemed now to be desperate. His partizans,
who

who had formed a scheme for surprizing *Paris*, were dis-appointed by the regent duke, who repaired to that capital in person, where his court was very splendid, while that of *Charles* at *Poitiers*, where he then resided, was almost without the necessaries of life; but he still kept up the face of a council, parliament, and courts of revenue, which gave great sanction to his authority, however, destitute they were of power; but an unforeseen incident which happened at this time, was of incredible detriment to the *English* in *France*.

History of
Jaqueline
of *Brabant*.

Jaqueline, dutchess of *Brabant*, widow to the dauphin *John*, had left her husband (who she alleged was unfit for marriage) and had entered into a treaty of marriage with the duke of *Gloucester*, brother to the regent duke; and without waiting for a divorce, they had consummated their marriage in *England*. The duke not contented with the possession of one of the finest women of that age, raised five thousand men, under pretence of completing the conquest of *France*, but in reality to recover from her husband her vast inheritance, consisting of the earldoms of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Hainault*, and other great estates in the *Low Countries*. He was no sooner landed in *France* with his army, than the duke of *Brabant* called upon his ally the duke of *Burgundy* for assistance. This was a perplexing situation for the regent duke, who endeavoured to make up the breach, but in vain, through the obstinacy of the duke of *Gloucester*, who took *Bouchain*, and other places in *Hainault*.

The duke of *Bedford* was then preparing to carry the war against *Charles* over the *Loire*; but the duke of *Gloucester*'s violence turned it into another channel, for it exasperated the duke of *Burgundy* so much, that he ordered his brother the count of *St. Paul*, and his other generals, to co-operate with the duke of *Brabant*'s troops, and even with those of the auxiliaries that had been sent him by *Charles*, and who were commanded by his general *Xaintrailles*; but this could not prevent the duke of *Gloucester*, whose marriage with *Jaqueline* had been annulled by the pope, from becoming master of the greatest part of *Hainault*.

Moderation of
Charles.

This diversion saved *Charles*, especially as the duke of *Bedford* was indispensably obliged, at this time, to go over to *England*. The conduct of *Charles* continued still to be moderate; and it is amazing that a young man, who but some months before had so little command over his temper as to be guilty of a detestable assassination, could preserve so much moderation, presence of thought, and equanimity in bad, as well as good, fortune; for his reign began now to be chequered with both. He had been neglected in his education, but he preserved a native dignity and constancy of mind, which recommended him to his subjects, though
poorly

poorly ridiculed by his enemies as insensibility: Though he had lost the great battles of *Crevant* and *Verneuil*, and though the duke of *Bedford* had ordered the dead body of the viscount of *Narbonne* to be broken on the wheel for being concerned in the murder of the duke of *Burgundy*, yet the affections of his subjects towards him grew stronger every day. It is true, they had nothing but their services to give him; but he increased their love by his affability and mild behaviour, and the great character he had acquired for his gratitude towards those who served him well.

During the absence of the duke of *Bedford* in *England*, *Jaqueline* his enemies were entirely employed in the *Low Countries*, reconciled; but they received a great check from the success of the husband. earl of *Salisbury* in *Anjou* and *Maine*, the capital of which, *Mans*, he took. On the other hand, the earl of *Richmont* was now at profest variance with the duke of *Gloucester*, and the *English* interest; and the duke of *Burgundy* had married the sister of the count of *Eu*, and half sister of the count of *Clermont*, who was devoted to the house of *Valois*. The same duke having got possession of *Jaqueline's* person, who had been abandoned by her second husband the duke of *Gloucester*, brought about a seeming reconciliation between her and her former husband, the duke of *Brabant*.

It was thought that the intrigues of *Charles* had chiefly contributed to the duke of *Burgundy's* marriage, and the duke of *Gloucester*, having married another wife in *England*, *Jaqueline* was so much exasperated at the neglect that had been shewn her, that by her will, she declared the duke of *Burgundy* heir to all her estates, in case she should die without male issue. Thus the *English* were left without indemnification or remedy for all the great expence of blood and treasure they had been at on *Jaqueline's* account. *Charles* improved every circumstance to his advantage, and though he had not money to raise armies, yet he found means to divide those of his enemies. He employed the count of *Maine*, brother to the king of *Sicily*, to feel the pulse of the duke of *Bretagne*, whom he found by no means intractable. He then sent the president, *Louvet*, to the court of *Bretagne*, but the duke was so averse to his person, that he ordered him to leave his territories. *Charles* then committed the charge of the negotiation to the queen of *Sicily*, who took with her *Tanegui du Chastel*, to the court of *Bretagne*, and they fairly laid before that duke the offers of *Charles*. Those were, to give to the count of *Richmont* the sword of constable, which remained still undisposed of, and such other advantages as should be thought reasonable. The duke of *Bretagne* was not against the proposal; but he thought

thought himself obliged in honour to do nothing decisive without the duke of *Burgundy's* participation. This was a matter of great delicacy, and undertaken by the count of *Richmont* himself, who found the duke of *Burgundy* so exasperated with the *English* government, that he consented to the earl's paying a visit to *Charles*; but with the express condition of his entering into no farther terms, without his, (the duke of *Burgundy's*) knowledge and consent.

The earl
of *Richmont*
made con-
stable by
Charles,

By this time, *Charles* and the duke of *Bretagne* had settled preliminaries. It was agreed, that the earl of *Richmont* should remain no longer than he pleased in the service of *Charles*, who was to deliver up two lords of his court as hostages for his safety; and likewise to resign to the duke *Lusignan*, *Chinon*, and some other places. Upon the arrival of the earl of *Richmont* with a vast splendid equipage at *Charles's* court, he was welcomed as its guardian angel; but he hesitated upon accepting of the constable's staff, on account of his engagements with the duke of *Burgundy*. Upon being pressed by *Charles*, who loaded him with honours and estates, he waited upon the duke in person; for the truth is, that both he and his brother, the duke of *Bretagne*, wanted only the duke of *Burgundy's* consent for their coming to a total rupture with the *English*. The duke of *Burgundy* did not appear to be of very different sentiments. He gave his consent for the earl's accepting of the constable's sword; and after some management he accepted of the mediation of the duke of *Savoy*, a firm friend to *Charles*, for bringing about a reconciliation with the house of *Valois*. But two preliminaries were insisted on. The duke of *Bretagne* demanded that the president, *Louvet*, should be dismissed from the service of *Charles*, on account of his having formerly betrayed him into the hands of the count of *Penthièvre*; and the duke of *Burgundy* demanded a like dismissal of *Tannegui du Chastel*, (the faithful companion of *Charles* through all his misfortunes) for having been the murderer of his father. *Tannegui* understanding the difficulty *Charles* was under with regard to his dismissal, nobly threw himself at his master's feet, and implored his permission to retire from his service, that he might spend the remainder of his days in praying for his prosperity. *Louvet* was as base and interested, as *Chastel* was open and generous, and practised upon the natural caution of *Charles*, so as to make him suspect the constable's sincerity. This distrust for some time threw a damp on the newly cemented alliance; but the great services performed by the constable in collecting the royalists from the different parts of *France*, and putting himself at their head, overthrew all *Louvet's* arts, and he at last retired to *Provence*, as *Tannegui* did to *Biquere*, of which his master had made him governor, with particular marks of his affection.

who ne-
gotiates
with suc-
cess.

Upon

Upon the earl of *Richmont*'s receiving the constable's staff Indiction at *Chinon*, in *March* 1425, the hostages and cautionary of the towns had been redelivered to *Charles*, who in *October* duke of following had an interview at *Saumur* with the duke of *Burgundy*. *Bretagne*. There it was agreed that *Charles* should withdraw his protection from the count of *Penthièvre*, and that the duke should assist *Charles* in recovering his territory from the *English*, and perform homage for his duchy and his earldom of *Montfort*; but all was with a provision that the agreement was approved of by the duke of *Burgundy*. In the mean while, the constable entered with great vigour upon the exercise of his office. He took *Poiterson* at the head of twenty thousand men, and put its *English* garrison to the sword. He then besieged *Beauvron*, the head quarters of the *English*, and containing a garrison of eight thousand men; but there he was repulsed with the loss of about eight hundred of his men, his baggage and artillery, and he retired with his army into *Anjou*. This disgrace was owing to the ill-timed frugality of *de Giac*, who had succeeded *Louvet* at the court of *Charles*, and who refused to lend the constable money to keep his troops together; so that he was obliged to make an ill-judged attack upon the place. The constable had other enemies at *Charles*'s court; but he supported himself by the lustre of his actions in *Anjou*, where he regained several places of importance to his master. During his absence there, *Giac* had quarrelled with *Trimouille*, another of his ministers, but *Giac*'s interest was so great that *Trimouille* was banished.

The constable was, as we have already noted, in his disposition, haughty, impetuous, and ungovernable, and the arbitrary great failing of *Charles* was a partiality for his favourites; conduct some of whom were worthless men. *Giac*'s wife was the same who had been mistress to the duke of *Burgundy*; constable *Trimouille* was her lover, and upon the return of the constable from his *Anjouvine* expedition he resolved to employ him in the ruin of *Giac*, whose safety was now become incompatible with his. He accordingly took *Trimouille* along with him, broke open *Giac*'s house at *Issoudun*, took him prisoner, carried him to *Dun le roy*, and after forming a sham process against him for peculation, the unhappy *Giac* was thrown into a river and drowned; upon which, *Trimouille* married *Giac*'s widow.

Though the violence of the constable on this occasion towards is not to be justified, yet it must be acknowledged that it *Charles*'s admits of some alleviation from his situation. He had prevailed with his brother to break with the *English*, to whose fury he was now exposed, while the duke of *Burgundy* was so much concerned in the affairs of the *Low Countries* that he could give him no assistance. The constable therefore had no manner of dependence, but upon his credit with *Charles*, to prevent his and his family's ruin, which must have

have been the consequence, if *Charles's* ministers were their enemies. *Charles*, upon the death of *Giac*, had named one *Camus de Beaulieu*, to succeed him; but he was stabbed by the constable near *Poitiers*; and next time the constable appeared before the king, the latter asking him whom he was now to have for his minister, he replied *Trimouille*, to which *Charles* consented, but acquainted the constable at the same time, that from the knowledge he had of *Trimouille*, he would have cause to repent of his nomination.

The English interest continues to decline.

He is joined by the count *Dunois*.

The duke of *Bretagne* inclines to his cause.

The dawn of *Charles's* good fortune began now to be overcast. The English under the earl of *Warwick* had besieged *Pontorson*, which was as it were the key of *Bretagne*; on that side, and though the garrison, which was entirely devoted to the constable, made a brave defence, it was at last obliged to capitulate. The earl of *Warwick* then invested *Montargis*; but the progress of *Charles's* partizans obliged him to divide his forces, and the constable having no more troops in a body under him than sixteen hundred; but those picked men, he gave the command of them to the count of *Dunois*, for the relief of *Montargis*. This nobleman then was no more than twenty three years of age; and was the natural son of the duke of *Orleans*, who had been assassinated by the duke of *Burgundy*. The constable with great justice boasted that he discovered in him a true military genius, and he gave an earnest of it in relieving *Montargis*, and beating the English, who besieged it; under the earl of *Warwick*, one of their best generals.

The duke of *Burgundy* had not yet openly declared himself against the English. The regent duke of *Bedford*, had through the inconstancy of *Jaqueline*, dutchess of *Brabant*, who eloped from the duke of *Burgundy*, obtained a considerable advantage, which he resolved to improve for his nephew's interest. He knew how much the duke of *Burgundy* had at heart the succession to that lady's estates, and he acted so wisely, that without giving her the assistance she implored; that duke returned to his connections with the English. This over-awed the duke of *Bretagne*, especially, as reinforcements of troops were daily pouring in from *England*; and he likewise made his peace with the regent duke, by acceding to the treaty of *Troyes*, and doing homage for the dutchy of *Bretagne* to young *Henry*. The regent duke was then in *France* at the head of twenty thousand men; but the good faith of his new allies was so doubtful, that he durst not follow *Charles* across the *Loire*. *Trimouille* advised that prince to cut off all the constable's appointments, now that his services were become useless by the defection of his brother, the duke of *Bretagne*; upon which he entered into connections with the lords of *Bourbon* and *la Marche*, and some hostilities were even begun; but *Trimouille* managed so well that those two princes were obliged

obliged to make their submission, and the constable was left to struggle with his own fate.

The regent duke still found himself under such doubts and difficulties, that he could not improve those differences in the *French* court to the advantage of the *English*. The town of *Mans* had been betrayed to the *French*, but the castle was relieved by the famous *John Talbot*, the ancestor of the *Shrewsbury* family; and the earl of *Suffolk*, the governor, hanged thirty of the chief inhabitants, twenty priests, and fifteen friars, for being concerned in betraying the town.

The regent duke had now returned to *Paris*, where he assembled the states that were in the *English* interest; but he was forced through their opposition to drop all the proposals he laid before them for raising money, and he was obliged to depend on the great reinforcements he daily expected from *England* under the earl of *Salisbury*, who was reckoned to be the ablest and most fortunate of all the *English* generals. He arrived in *May* 1428, and the siege of *Orleans*, which had been already resolved upon, was immediately begun. It was thought from the situation and importance of that city, that its reduction would give a mortal blow to the party of *Charles*, who was therefore the more solicitous to provide it with the means of defence. The earl of *Salisbury* in his march to invest it, had reduced all the places that lay in his way; and having passed the *Loire*, about the twelfth of *October*, he found the garrison, which was mostly *Scots*, had taken the proper means of defence.

The duke of Bedford assembles the states at *Paris*.

It would exceed the bounds prescribed to this history to relate the numerous operations of this siege, upon which the fate of *Charles* depended. The burghers and the garrison were devoted to enthusiasm to the house of *Valois*, and defeated the most obstinate attacks of the *English*, so that the earl of *Salisbury*, who little expected such a resistance, was obliged to send to the regent duke for new reinforcements. While those were on their march the count of *Dunois* threw himself into the city with eight hundred brave volunteers, and while the earl of *Salisbury*, who was now sensible that he could not take the place by assault, was contriving to turn the siege into a blockade, he was himself killed by a shot from the town. The *English* reinforcements had now marched up, but though they amounted to twenty-five thousand men, they were insufficient for completely investing the city, that was plentifully supplied with all kinds of provisions, while the count of *Dunois* by the perpetual sallies he made was every day diminishing the number of the besiegers, who persevered however, with surprizing intrepidity, but, as would appear, with no great judgment.

The siege of *Orleans* formed and the earl of *Salisbury* killed.

The lord of *St. Severe* was the chief engineer in the place, Battle and acquitted himself remarkably well of his duty. The of the earl herrings.

gained by
the *En-
glish*.

earl of *Suffolk* had succeeded the earl of *Salisbury* in the command of the siege, and he was well seconded by *Talbot* and Sir *John Fastolf*. *Gaucourt*, one of the bravest of the *French* officers, introduced a fresh supply of a thousand *Scots* into the city, and a large convey of provisions, which the vast numbers of the besieged soon consumed. The besiegers were themselves, at this time, distressed for want of provisions, and Sir *John Fastolf*, who was introducing a fresh supply was attacked by a superior number of the *French* and *Scots*, whom he defeated, and then entered the *English* camp in triumph. This battle, in which five hundred *Scots* and four hundred *French* were cut in pieces, was called the battle of the herrings, from the contents of the convoy, which was designed as the food of the soldiers, during the approaching season of *Lent*.

Charles
reinforced
by the
Scots.

This defeat discouraged the court of *Charles* so much, that he had thoughts of abandoning the relief of the place, and retiring to *Dauphiny*. He was now deserted by all his allies, except the *Scots*, who still served in his army, and their king, after his return to his own dominions, had always lived in good correspondence with the *English*. But though *Charles* had many motives to induce him to this inglorious retreat, he was diverted from it by his queen, *Mary of Anjou*, and his faithful mistress, the famous *Agnes de Sorrel*, who persuaded him to cover *Berry*, and *Touraine*, if *Orleans* was taken, and to fight for his remaining territories, inch by inch. *Charles* took this advice, but wisely resolved to revive his interest among the *Scots*, by proposing a match between his son the dauphin, and the eldest daughter of *James*, which was accordingly concluded; but all the fortune the lady had, consisted of six thousand auxiliary *Scots*, sent to *Charles* by *James*, after the truce between *Scotland* and *England* was expired.

There is at this time, a darkness in history of the siege of *Orleans*, that neither authors nor public records have cleared up. The duke of *Burgundy* appeared more devoted than ever to the *English* cause when the siege of *Orleans* was undertaken; but he revolted all of a sudden, and withdrew his troops from the *English* army. The most probable reason that can be given for this fact is, that when the siege of *Orleans* was formed, he expected that that city, and all the large estate belonging to the duke of *Orleans* would be sequestered into his hands, while that duke remained a captive in *England*; but when he made that demand, the regent duke's answer was that, "the *English* were not to beat the bushes while others were to catch the birds." Add to this, that the dissensions in the *English* council disabled the duke of *Bedford* from fulfilling his pecuniary engagements with the duke of *Burgundy*; and he was obliged to write over to *England* for a new reinforcement, and to desire that the young king should be sent over to *France*.

Notwith^s

Notwithstanding the secession of the *Burgundians* from History of the siege, historians say, that *Orleans* must, in all appearance, the maid have fallen into the hands of the *English*, had not the of *Orleans*, famous maid of *Orleans* appeared; but through what agency, whether divine or human, has been doubted by the *French* historians, though we are in no difficulty of saying, that the whole of her appearance and conduct was the contrivance of *Charles* and his courtiers, assisted by her amazing courage, sagacity, and strength of body. She was the daughter of a *French* peasant in the village of *Domppe*, on the frontiers of *Lorraine*, and being robust and active in her person, she had, when about seventeen years of age, hired herself out to the stablekeepers, in quality of ostler or post-boy, by wearing a male-dress, and thereby she became acquainted with the roads in that part of the kingdom.

We are in the dark with regard to the persons who instructed her in the part she was to act. It is certain, that she presented herself before *Badricourt*, the governor of *Vauculours* for *Charles*, and that she pretended to have a divine commission for raising the siege of *Orleans*. It is probable, that *Bradricourt* was himself her instructor; but he pretended ignorance and surprize. After several trials of her virtue, resolution, and fortitude, he gave her a suit of armour, equipped her in men's cloaths, a horse and furniture, and sent her under an escort of twenty knights to *Chinon*, where *Charles* then resided.

Though the journey between *Vauculours* and *Chinon*, was thought to be impracticable, because the *English* were in possession of the roads, yet *Joan* knew the country so well, that she eluded all their vigilance, and arrived at *Charles's* court. As she had for two months resided with *Badricourt*, we need not wonder that she easily distinguished *Charles* in the midst of his courtiers. She accosted him, and acquainted him with her divine mission. He affected doubt, astonishment and diffidence.. He referred her to his ministers and divines, who examined her, and gave testimony in her favour. She pretended to reveal to *Charles* (which she might easily do) a fact that was known to none but himself; and he then appeared to be convinced of her miraculous authority. She chose a particular sword that lay in the church of *St. Catharine*, who, as she said, had communicated to her her mission; and she made so good an appearance in her new character, that *Charles* resolved she should head a convoy of provisions destined for the garrison of *Orleans*, which if not supplied, must soon surrender thro' famine.

She chose her own standard, and went to *Blois*, where who raises the troops she was to head rendezvoused. She wrote an the siege enthusiastic letter to the *English* king, regent and generals, of *Orleans*, commanding them to break up the siege of *Orleans*, and to evacuate *France*. Before she began her march, she cleared the

Despon-
dency of
the En-
glish,

the camp of lewd women, and all her dispositions were so masterly, that *Charles*, by the advice of *Gaucour*, governor of *Orleans*, who was then at court, and his other generals, ordered twelve thousand men to attend her. They were not deceived in the opinion they had of her abilities. Her measures were so just, and her conduct so resolute, that the *English* abandoned one of the towers they had built above *Orleans*, and the taking possession of it, carried the convoy safe into that city; but was favoured by a sally, which the count of *Dunois*, who commanded the garrison in *Gaucour*'s absence, made on the opposite side of the town. This success was not so extraordinary as the grandeur and intrepidity of her deportment. She held her standard in one hand, and wielded her sword with the other; she harangued the soldiers in a strain of enthusiasm that made them all heroes; and she was received into *Orleans* as a divinity. Next day, she and the count of *Dunois* made a vigorous sally, by which another convoy entered the city, and the *English* themselves were as much dispirited as the *French* were elevated, with the thoughts of her being indued with supernatural power. Even the brave lord *Talbot* was affected with this belief, and remained inactive, while *Joan de Arc*, (for so she was called) in person, stormed the chief tower of the *English*, and put all that were in it to the sword. This success emboldened *Charles*'s generals to take measures for driving the *English* entirely from before *Orleans*; and the growing reputation of *Joan* brought thousands to her standard.

Without descending to farther particulars, after harassing the enemy, and storming their forts, she attacked and carried the *Tourelle*, the strongest post the *English* had, and garrisoned by all their army. This operation was the more glorious for *Joan*, as it was undertaken against the advice of all the *French* generals, even the count of *Dunois* himself. Though wounded in the attack, she discovered no symptoms of faintness or concern; but after razing the *Tourelle*, and all its works, to the ground, she returned to *Orleans*; and next day, the *English* generals, who were thoroughly persuaded of her supernatural powers, raised the siege of *Orleans*, to the equal joy and amazement of the *French*.

and suc-
cess of the
French.

Nothing can give us a higher opinion of *Joan*, than a letter, still extant, from the duke of *Bedford* to his nephew king *Henry*; by which it appears that he actually believed her to be an enchantress, and assisted by the devil. She now became a great general as well as heroine. She very judiciously stopt the pursuit of the *English*, to which the other *French* generals were inclined; and after her wounds had been dressed, she provided every thing for the future defence of *Orleans*, and marching to *Charles* at *Chinon*, she told him she was come to conduct him to *Rheims* for his coronation.

coronation. Her word was received as a law; and though her person was almost adored by the king and his court, she refused acting in any other capacity than that of a volunteer under the duke of *Alençon*, who had lately been discharged from his captivity in *England*, and was sent to besiege *Jargean*, where the earl of *Suffolk* had shut himself up. This place held out but ten days. *Joan* was the first who marched up to the breach, and tho' wounded with a stone, she entered it sword in hand. Five hundred of the *English* were killed on this occasion, and the earl of *Suffolk* was taken prisoner by one *Renaud*. Before he surrendered himself, he asked his captor whether he was a gentleman, and being answered in the affirmative, "Are you a knight, (rejoined the earl;) the other answering that he was not, "Then kneel down (said the earl) that I may dub you one, for I can surrender to none of less quality;" which was accordingly done.

The constable of *France* had all this while absented himself from his master's court; but on this happy turn of his affairs he attended him with a gallant train of noblemen, and twelve hundred soldiers; and promised *Joan*, who was for having him arrested as a traitor, that he would merit his pardon by his future conduct. The *French* then took *Meun* and *Baugenci*, in sight of the *English* army under the lords *Scales*, *Talbot*, and *Sir John Fastolf*, the soldiers declaring that they thought it madness to fight against the devil. They retired to *Jenville*, and though reinforced with six thousand men sent them by the duke of *Bedford*, they were defeated almost without resistance at *Patay*, where the lords *Talbot*, and *Scales*, were taken prisoners; two thousand *English* were killed, and *Sir John Fastolf*, who had all along behaved so gallantly, was seized to such a degree, with the epidemical panic of his countrymen, that he fled out of the field in the beginning of the action. The consequence of the *English* defeat at *Patay* was, that the *French* took the strong fortress of *Jenville*, where the *English* had all their magazines.

The affairs of *Charles* were now in so prosperous a condition, that he took the field in person, and was preparing for other warlike operations; but was persuaded by the maid to set out for his coronation at *Rheims*. This, to all appearance, was a desperate resolution, as the country through which he was to march was in the hands of the *English*; but though the troops of *Charles* were ready to mutiny, she soon quelled them by taking *Troyes*, and securing their march to *Rheims*, during which the town of *Chalons* surrendered to *Charles*. His coronation was as splendid as his situation could admit of; but it was with difficulty he prevailed upon *Joan* (who said that her commission was at an end) to continue in his service. Though the courtiers and counsellors of *Charles* had opposed the advice

advice she gave to the king of marching to *Rheims*, it soon appeared to be dictated by sound policy; and indeed our astonishment at her success can be only abated by the strong affection which the *French* in general now had for their native sovereign. Their loyalty, if possible, was augmented by his coronation, and he no sooner summoned a place to surrender than it opened its gates.

Conduct
of the
duke of
Bedford,

The duke of *Bedford* was then at *Paris*, where he had entered into new engagements with the duke of *Burgundy*, and received a strong reinforcement of troops from *England*. After leaving a sufficient garrison in that capital, he took the field with twelve thousand men; but durst not remove too far from the neighbourhood of *Paris*. He chose a strong camp between *Melun* and *Montereau*, and the army of *Charles*, which was vastly superior to his in numbers, having faced him for some days, but without attacking him, the regent considered it as a kind of victory, and after challenging *Charles* to a battle, he drew off towards *Paris*, while the other proceeded to secure the conquests the *English* had made upon the *Loire*. *Charles* was successful in this beyond his expectation, and he besieged *Senlis*, which was defended by an *English* and *Burgundian* garrison, but it was driven out by the inhabitants, who surrendered the place to *Charles*.

and the
constable.

In the mean while, the constable, to make good his promise to *Joan*, had marched towards *Eureux*, and took castle *Galliard*, and delivered the brave *Brabazon*, who, ever since he had been taken at *Melun*, had, to the disgrace of the *English*, remained shut up in an iron cage. The constable, after this, reduced *Aumale*, and made such a progress in *Normandy*, that the duke of *Bedford* having committed the charge of *Paris* to *Ratclif*, one of his general officers, marched against him. *Charles* then advanced towards *Paris*, and took possession of *St. Dennis*, still accompanied by his faithful *Joan*, who was wounded in storming one of the bulwarks of *Paris*; but *Charles* was obliged to desist from the attack, and to retire towards the *Loire*. The duke of *Bedford* hurried back to *Paris*, and retook *St. Dennis*; but it was visible that he was not seconded by the duke of *Burgundy* with the same spirit as formerly; for which many reasons are assigned that are foreign to this part of our history; and he even agreed to make a truce with *Charles* for *Picardy* and the countries upon the *Seine*; after which he marched to *Paris* with four thousand men. The regent duke was embarrassed by his visit, and his party offered him the regency; which he, no doubt, would have accepted of, had he not been apprehensive that the regent duke would have made a separate peace with *Charles*.

The duke
of *Bur-*
gundy
regent.

The duke of *Bedford* knew of this offer, and he persuaded the duke of *Burgundy* to accept of it till the following *Easter*; but, at the same time, he brought the other to renew his engagements

engagements with *England*. In the year 1430, the duke of *Bedford*, who had, by this time, resumed the regency, and recovered some places from the *French*, resigned all that the *English* had in *Poitou* to the duke of *Bretagne*, to obtain his friendship. At the same time, he gained over the duke of *Savoy* and the prince of *Orange*; and a confederacy was formed for dispossessing *Charles* of *Dauphiny*; but it was defeated by the vigilance and activity of *Gaucour*, and the prince's dominions were seized by *Charles*.

No man but so accomplished a general and statesman as the duke of *Bedford* was, could have maintained the footing of the *English* in *France*, at this time, against the discontent of the *Burgundy* interest and the universal disposition of the *French* towards their king. He had resigned *Champagne* and *Brie* to the duke of *Burgundy*, who was to have a pension of twelve thousand marks besides. He kept up the spirit of his party, by assuring them that young king *Henry* was coming to be crowned at *Paris*, and was to bring with him a strong army. *Henry* accordingly landed at *Calais*, and went to *Rouen*; while the duke of *Bedford* discovered, and punished, a conspiracy that had been formed for delivering up *Paris* to *Charles*; who, however, made himself master of *Sens* and *Melun*.

The siege of *Compeigne* was then formed by the duke of *Burgundy*, and defended by the gallant *Joan d'Arc*, who continued to signalize herself by her courage and conduct; but following the advantages she had gained in a sally too far, she was taken prisoner by a *Burgundian* gentleman, one *Lionel de Vendosme*. Her captivity is said to have been owing to the meanness of the *French* officers, who were jealous of the glory and reputation she had acquired.

Luxembourg, the constable of *Burgundy*, claimed *Joan* for his prisoner, and shut her up in a tower. The death of the duke of *Brabant*, which now happened, obliged the duke of *Burgundy* to leave the siege of *Compeigne*, and to carry off with him part of his army; so that the count of *Vendosme*, *Charles's* general, found means to raise the siege with considerable loss to the *Burgundians* and *English*.

On the seventeenth of *December*, young king *Henry* was crowned at *Paris*; but his *French* friends were disgusted when the cardinal of *England*, instead of the archbishop of *Paris*, placed the crown on his head. The duke of *Burgundy* had now returned to *Paris*, and found the *French*, in general, more discontented than ever with the *English*. The bishops of *Beauvais* and *Narbonne* were the only two *French* peers who had assisted at the coronation; and, notwithstanding the regent duke's prudence, the insulting manners of the *English*, who attended *Henry*, towards his *French* subjects, rendered it difficult for him to preserve appearances between them.

Luxembourg, who was now created count *de Ligni*, sold *Joan* to the duke of *Bedford* for nine hundred pounds and an annuity of twenty-five pounds. She had been in daily expectation of being ransomed; but she no sooner heard of this bargain, than she gave herself over for lost, and attempted to make her escape by jumping from the top of the tower where she was confined; but she was retaken, and carried to *Rouen*, where she was put in irons. The university of *Paris*, at the regent duke's instigation, formally accused her of witchcraft; and she was brought to her trial before the bishop of *Beauvais*, who was her enemy, even to enthusiasm. Her process lasted for four months and an half; but her adversaries, with all their ingenious malice, could not fix the smallest reproach upon her life or morals. She answered the ensnaring questions put to her with great justice and address, and must have been acquitted, had not the *English* government thought it necessary she should be condemned, in order to destroy, in the minds of the people, the opinion they had of her divinity. The bishop, hot as he was, could not condemn her without being indemnified by the *English* if his conduct was questioned by the pope or the consistory at *Rome*.

The maid tried, condemned and burnt, This being settled, she was pressed to change her male for a female dress; which she refused to do, because enjoined otherwise by *St. Catharine*. She was asked by the bishop, Whether she would submit to the judgment which the church had pronounced in her case. She agreed; and, because she refused to recant the divine revelations which she pretended to have received, she was condemned. Her sentence was mitigated from death to perpetual imprisonment, and her subsisting upon bread and water. This sentence was too mild in the eyes of the *English*; she behaved with a becoming resignation to the sentence of the church; and had even quitted her male attire, which was one condition of her sentence being mitigated; but she was afterwards frantic enough to dress herself in a suit of man's cloaths which the *English* had left in her room purposely to tempt her. This fresh offence being proved, the court met again, and declared, that, as she had been convicted of blasphemy, idolatry, sorcery, witchcraft, heresy, wearing man's apparel, and carrying arms, she was a relapsed heretic, and adjudged to the flames; which she was obliged to submit to in the old market-place at *Rouen*, after a most devout preparation for death. *Charles*, afterwards, upon solemn enquiry, repealed her condemnation, and, in gratitude to her memory, ennobled her parents and family.

An attempt on the castle of *Rouen* defeated. *Henry* having held a bed of justice, returned to *Rouen*, where he was thought to be more safe than at *Paris*; but the castle of *Rouen* itself was surprized by a *French* gentleman, one *Ricarville*, with six score soldiers, who were to have

have been supported next day by marshal *Boufac*; whose men, before they reached the place, quarrelled about the plunder and deserted him. The castle, upon this, was invested and taken by the *English*, who struck off the heads of fifty of the *French* soldiers.

Chartres was, at this time, in the hands of the *Burgundians*, and was surprized by the count of *Dunois*, who had, for that purpose, bribed two of the inhabitants who were prisoners. To compensate for this loss, the *English*, in like manner, surprized *Montargis*; and the earl of *Arundel* cut in pieces a body of the *French* under *Xaintrailles*, who was taken prisoner on the borders of *Normandy*. He was offered to be exchanged for the lord *Talbot*, but the bargain was not concluded. The *English*, however, upon the whole, at this time, suffered more than the *French*. They were defeated by *Ambrose de Lore* before *St. Celerine*; and the duke of *Bedford* was, by the count of *Dunois*, who threatened to attack *Paris*, obliged to raise the siege of *Lagni* with considerable loss. *De Lore* surprized the merchants at the *Michaelmas* fair which was held near *Caen*, plundered their effects, and carried off eight hundred of the most wealthy among them, prisoners, for the sake of their ransom.

The duke of *Bedford* was forced to behold all these calamities without being able either to prevent or remedy them. All that he could do was to preserve *Normandy* and *Paris* for his nephew, and to prevent a truce from taking place, which was negotiating between *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy*, by the pope's legate. The death of his dutchess, who was sister to the duke of *Burgundy*, and his marrying soon after a young lady, daughter to the count of *St. Paul*, cooled the personal friendship which had hitherto subsisted between those two dukes.

The *French* had endeavoured to retake *Montargis*, but were *Trimouille* prevented by the negligence, as was alleged, of *Trimouille*, seized and who continued to be first minister to *Charles*. That prince imprisoned was so cautious and reserved, that it was difficult to know ed by the his sentiments; but there is some reason for thinking that constable. he was beginning to be apprehensive of *Trimouille's* too great power, when the constable and the count of *Maine* entering his palace at *Chinon* with a small party, seized the minister's person in a room next to that of the king, and carried him off prisoner. *Charles* affected to be violently enraged at this insult upon his authority; but the queen, who was in the conspiracy, soon appeased him, and he not only accepted off *Charles* of *Anjou*, count of *Maine*, brother to the queen, as his first minister, but approved, in an assembly at *Tours*, of all that had been done with regard to *Trimouille*. This revolution in the council of *Charles*, was of infinite service to his affairs. It gave a consistency to his councils, united the princes of his blood, and once more brought over the duke of *Bretagne* to his interest, his

brother the constable's chief enemy being now removed from court, and himself re-admitted into the king's favour.

All the *English* part of *France*, about the beginning of the year 1433, was afflicted by a famine, and lord *Talbot* being now exchanged for *Xaintrailles*, resumed his command in the *English* army, but it had been seized with a pestilence, which carried off the count of *St. Paul*, one of their ablest generals. His death was irreparable to the *English*, who were daily losing footing in *Picardy*, where the *French* took the important town of *Pont de Remi on the Soane*, and made a terrible irruption into *Burgundy*, while *de la Hire* took the town of *Somme*, and laid the *Cambresis* under contribution.

Conduct
of the cap-
tive duke
of *Orle-*
ans.

The duke of *Orleans* remained still a prisoner in *England*, where he was of infinite service to *Charles*. He gave in a paper of proposals for a general congress, where a negotiation for peace between the two crowns was to be opened, and the cardinal of *Winchester's* faction, which was very powerful in *England*, seconded his overtures. The duke of *Bedford*, though he foresaw that they had been made with the insidious purpose of diverting the attention of the *English* from the prosecution of the war, was obliged to give way to the motion; but the councils of *England* being now divided, he remained so unsupported in *France*, that he was unable to prevent a general rebellion from breaking out in the *Upper Normandy*, which threatened the loss of that province to his nephew. *Charles*, however, was unable at this time, to support the insurgents, and they were quelled by the earl of *Arundel*, and lord *Willoughby*, with the loss of a thousand of their number, the rest being suffered, upon promise of amendment, to depart quietly home. Other rebellions broke out at the same time, and were with equal difficulty suppressed; but the marshal *de Rieux*, one of *Charles's* generals, secured *Dieppe* and *Harfleur*, while *de Bressay*, another of his officers, surprized *Rue*. This place was of so much importance, that the duke of *Bedford* sent orders to the earl of *Arundel*, who was esteemed the most fortunate of all the *English* generals in *France*, to hazard every thing for its recovery. The earl on his march attacked *Gerberoy*, a place of but little strength, but defended by *de la Hire*, one of the most active of the *French* generals who defeated and killed the earl. His loss was supplied by the brave lord *Talbot*; but the duke of *Bedford* was obliged all this year to reside in *England*, where parties ran very high. *Talbot* threw himself into *Paris*, and took *Joigni*, which he razed to the ground, after hanging up the *French* garrison. After this, he reduced *Beaumont*, and a great number of other places, but proceeded against the natives with a severity that was equally unwarrantable and impolitic.

Success of
lord *Tal-*
bot in
France.

The

The duke of *Bourbon*, about this time died a prisoner in *England*, but was succeeded by his son, the count of *Clermont*, who had performed many great services to *Charles*, whose interest now gained such footing in *France*, that the duke of *Bedford*, in the beginning of the year 1434, went over to *Paris*. He found that the lord *Talbot* had been successful beyond expectation; but that the affairs of the *English* in all other respects were next to desperate. The duke of *Burgundy* had secretly resolved to make his peace with *Charles*. He complained that the duke of *Bedford* had treated him disrespectfully in the affair of his marriage; that his attachment to the *English* endangered his losing the *Low Countries*, and that the divisions in the *English* council afforded him no prospect of relief or support. He entered into a correspondence with the constable; and a meeting being proposed between him and the regent duke at *St. Omer*, both of them repaired thither, but left it on a ridiculous dispute about the ceremonial, without seeing one another.

Conferences were all this while going on at *Calais*, in consequence of the duke of *Orleans*'s proposal, by which the *French* and *Burgundian* parties had an opportunity of knowing one another's sentiments. It was not long before the preliminaries between *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy* were settled, by the agency of the constable, and the duke of *Bourbon*; and an armistice was agreed upon. The sister dutchesses of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon* were highly instrumental in this reconciliation, and the conferences for peace were transferred from *Calais* to *Arras*, under the auspices of the general council, then sitting at *Basil*. Those negotiations were carried on with great pomp, but no efficacy. The duke of *Burgundy* had not yet avowedly broken with the *English*; and he was nominated to be their first commissioner at the treaty.

The terms of the *French* commissioners were "That the *English* should be left in possession of as much of *Guienne*, as they already held, with the dutchy of *Normandy*; but upon condition of their holding them as fiefs of the crown of *France*, and *Henry* renouncing all pretensions to the said crown." The *French* were secretly encouraged by the duke of *Orleans*, (whom the *English* thought to be in their interest) not to depart from those terms. The *English* on the other hand demanded, "That *Charles* should be left in peaceable possession of all he already had on both sides of the *Loire*, on condition that the *English* should retain the like possession of all they held in *France*; but that, to prevent any future differences, the places of the one power, which lay in the heart of the other's possession, should be exchanged for the like places to be given up by the other power, or for some other equivalent. They likewise offered, that their king should marry a daughter of *Charles*; and that

The duke
of *Bur-*
gundy con-
cludes a
treaty
with
Charles.

that the duke of *Orleans* should be set at liberty for a moderate ransom."

His terms. Those two papers were so incompatible, that an end was put to the conferences, and the duke of *Burgundy* immediately concluded a definitive treaty with *Charles*. The terms were, that the latter should give the duke all the satisfaction that was in his power, with regard to his father's murder; that he should pay him fifty thousand crowns for the jewels which were taken from his father at the time of his death; and that the following estates should be delivered up to him and his heirs, whether male or female; *Mascon*, in *Xaintoigne*; the city of *Auxerres*, with the jurisdiction of *Barry on the Seine*; the city of *Castel*, with the lay patronage of the church and abbey of *Leuzeule*; pretended to, but never possessed, by the dukes of *Burgundy* before; the cities of *Montidier*, *Perrone*, *St. Quintin*, *Corby*, *Amiens*, and *Abbeville*; the county of *Pontian* and *Poictou*, with the out-bounds of *Champaign*. *Charles* was to assist the duke of *Burgundy*, if attacked by the king of *England*; and to be bound to make no peace with *England* in which the duke was not included. If he failed in his agreement with the duke, his subjects were to be discharged from all their allegiance to him, and to assist the duke against him; that the count of *Carolois*, the duke's son, should marry the king's daughter, with an hundred and twenty thousand crowns for her portion.

Death of the queen dowager of France. While this negotiation was on foot, two great personages died; the one was the regent duke of *Bedford*; and the other, *Isabella*, queen-dowager of *France*, who ended her life in contempt and poverty; being, according to the *French* historians, upbraided to her face with infidelity to her husband's bed. Her death was of vast service to *Charles*, because her party, who were very numerous, joined him. The count of *Dunois* had surprized *St. Dennis*, which the *English* were resolved, at all events, to retake. They accordingly besieged it, and thereby suffered *Meulan* to fall into the hands of the *French*. The count of *Dunois* made some attempts to relieve it; but being unable to force the *English* entrenchments, it was surrendered, after being laid in a heap of ruins by the siege.

The lord *Willoughby* was then the *English* governor of *Pontoise*, but the *Parisians* had begged him of the *English* government to command in their city. Leaving *Pontoise*, he had left Sir *John Ripley*, a weak, rash man, to command in his absence. The marshal *de L'Isle Adam* was then in the pay of *Charles*, and joined with the count of *Dunois* in a scheme for retaking *Pontoise*; which they effected through the imprudence of the governor, and a correspondence they had in the place. The duke of *Burgundy* endeavoured to apologize, at the court of *London*, for the separate treaty he had made; but the excuse was so ill received, that *Charles* immediately entertained hopes of his actually declaring against the

the *English*; especially as the duke of *Gloucester* was his avowed enemy.

In the beginning of the year 1436, the duke of *Burgundy* Farther began to act hostilely against the *English*, by putting *Vincennes* successes and *Corbeil* into the hands of *Charles*; which encouraged a of *Charles*, number of other places in *Normandy* to revolt from the *English*, and *Charles* now prepared to execute his capital purpose; that of recovering *Paris*. He was thoroughly reconciled with the duke of *Burgundy*; and, to carry his favourite scheme into execution, he amused *Henry's* ministers with the project of a marriage between their master and his eldest daughter. In the mean while, the constable of *France*, by order of *Charles*, made a general muster of his army at a place, near *Paris*; and, though they did not amount to above eight or ten thousand men, it was resolved to attempt to take it. The lord *Willoughby's* garrison did not consist of above fifteen hundred. The citizens began now to be straitened for provisions, the navigation of the *Seine* being in the hands of the *French*; and the *Burgundians* had, in imitation of their master, left the *English* interest. The bishop of *Beauvais*, and the other prelates, who still adhered to *England*, made them take repeated oaths of fidelity to *Henry*; but all was to no purpose, for now the *Burgundians* wanted only a pardon for their past transgressions, which the constable produced ready signed and sealed by *Charles* and the duke of *Burgundy*; upon which it was resolved to lose no time in admitting his troops into the city. The marshal *de L'Isle* who re- Adam was the first who scaled the wall in the night-time; gains *Pa-* and, by breaking open a postern-gate, gave admission to the ris. constable and the count of *Dunois* with their troops.

The lord *Willoughby* did not know of this revolution till the morning; when, seeing that the inhabitants were unanimously for *Charles*, and had thrown away the *English* badges, he retired with his soldiers into the bastile. The constable offered them terms, and that they should have liberty to retire to *Rouen* with their arms and baggage; which being accepted of, *Paris* once more came under the dominion of its lawful master. It is but doing justice to the constable, to acknowledge, that, in the whole of this important transaction, he behaved with great address and good faith. He even hazarded his life in protecting the *Burgundian* party from being plundered by his soldiers; and, by his care, the rate of provisions were, in twenty-four hours time, reduced to one half of the price they had sold for before his admission into the city.

The duke of *Burgundy* had now thrown off all restraint The siege towards the *English*, and had actually besieged *Calais* with of *Calais* fifty thousand men; but he was, by the duke of *Gloucester*, by the with no more than fifteen thousand men, obliged to raise the duke of siege with loss, his troops being raw and undisciplined. The *Burgun-* duke of *York*, who succeeded the duke of *Bedford*, as the dy. *English*

English regent of *France*, was then covering *Normandy* and the county of *Caux*; but this did not prevent the *French* from making a vast progress, both in *Normandy* and *Picardy*; the particulars of which are so various, that they cannot be described here, especially as they consist of little more than the names of the places they reduced.

Talbot recovers Harfleur. *Charles* did not repair to *Paris* immediately after its reduction, but remained on the other side of the *Loire*, waiting for the princess of *Scotland*, who had been betrothed to his eldest son. She accordingly arrived, with a splendid train of attendants, at *Rochelle*, in the beginning of *June*, and the ceremony was performed, on the fourteenth, at *Tours*.

A rebellion which broke out against the duke of *Burgundy* in the *Low Countries* was of infinite service to the *English* interest at *France* in this time, and the duke of *York* made a considerable progress in *Normandy*. The lord *Talbot* took *Harfleur*, notwithstanding all the efforts of the count of *Dunois* to relieve it. He afterwards took *Tancarville*, and several other places, raised the siege of *Crotoy*, and surprized *Pontoise* itself. In *November*, *Charles* made a most magnificent entry into his capital, where he immediately re-established his parliament and courts of justice; but he was soon driven out of it by a plague, and famine, which rendered that city a desert, and filled the provinces of *France* with rapine and violence.

Personal valour of Charles. All the cares of *Charles*, therefore, to establish the police and manufacture of his kingdom, were at present ineffectual. Being sensible of the disadvantages his character lay under from his inactivity and amorous complexion, he had formed the siege of *Montereau*, and took it, after giving the most incontestible proofs of his personal valour, by being the first who mounted the breach and entered the place. This raised his reputation among his subjects, and an incident which happened soon after gave him an opportunity of shining in his political capacity. The council of *Basil* was then sitting, and having quarrelled with pope *Eugene IV.* who had ordered it to be dissolved, they had sent their decrees to *Charles*, to be by him revised and confirmed. Though their conduct had not been very regular or prudent, yet their decrees contained so excellent a system of ecclesiastical discipline and subordination, that *Charles* called an assembly of his states at *Bourges* to examine them. They met with the approbation of the members, and they were formed into that famous law afterwards so well known by the name of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and was the foundation of the liberties of the *Gallican* church. It established the elections made by the clergy with the approbation of the king; it abolished annates, reservations, and reversiones, loads with which the popes had burdened the *French* clergy, and freed them from many other papal oppressions. *Charles*, however, had not the courage to strike at

at the root of the pontifical usurpations (though he curtailed many of them) for he still allowed the pope a pre-eminence in the *Christian* church, by admitting a final appeal to be made to him in ecclesiastical causes; and this oversight, in a great measure afterwards defeated the intention of the *Pragmatic Sanction*. *Charles*, notwithstanding the deference he paid to the council; refused to withdraw his obedience from the pontiff, whom they had excommunicated.

The duke of *Orleans*, though still a prisoner in *England*, Fresh ~~ac-~~ had acquired a vast influence in *France*, by his wisdom and negotiations experience in business; and *Charles* had many reasons to for peace. wish to have him about his person. His son, the dauphin, had for some time shewn evident marks of discontent, and had associated himself with such of his father's nobility as thought themselves not sufficiently rewarded; among whom were the dukes of *Bourbon*, and *Alençon*, with the counts of *Dunois*, and *Vendosme*. *Charles* was not ignorant of their intrigues, and applied himself to the cardinal bishop of *England*, whose riches gave him a vast sway at *Henry's* council board, with so much address that a resolution was taken to set the duke of *Orleans* at liberty; but the execution of it was postponed because the duke of *Gloucester*, opposed it.

The war was all this while going on briskly against the *English*, whose generals, particularly lord *Talbot*, performed wonders, and they defeated a double design that was attempted by the duke of *Burgundy*, of laying *Calais*, under water, and of taking *Guisnes*. The dutchess of *Burgundy*, who was descended from the duke of *Lancaster*, was then negotiating a peace, and had prevailed with *Henry* to nominate commissioners for treating both with the duke of *Burgundy* and the court of *France*. The cardinal archbishop of *Rheims*, with the counts of *Vendosme* and *Dunois*, conducted the negotiation on the part of *Charles*, as did the cardinal bishop for *Henry*; and the duke of *Orleans*, by depositing a sum of money, by way of surety, had liberty to assist at the conferences, which were held at *Calais*; as did the dutchess of *Burgundy*, and the duke of *Bretagne*. The terms proposed by the two parties were so incompatible, that the negotiation came to nothing.

During its continuence the constable of *France* had taken But the *Meaux*, after a noble resistance made by the *English* gar-war con- rison; but being defeated before *Auranches*, which he like- tinues, wise attempted, his army separated, nor could he re-assemble it for that season; so that the *English* generals obtained many advantages. This disobedience of the army occasioned *Charles* to reflect seriously upon the military constitution of his kingdom, and he found that, in fact, his troops were subject to no discipline, nor under any command but that of their immediate lords who brought them into the field. He observed, at the same time, that they were attended with a vast

a vast number of licentious women and useless mouths; which encreased the distresses of his subjects, so that there was an evident necessity of reformation. He called together his constable, and such of his ministers as he could depend on, and laid before them a plan of introducing into his army a regular military discipline, and at the same time for the punctual payment of the soldiers.

A confederacy
against
Charles

The discontented lords whom we have already named, considered this reformation as a blow aimed against themselves, because it took from them the power of distressing their fellow subjects. They had a formal meeting at *Blois*, where *Trimouille*, who had now regained his liberty, likewise made his appearance, and it was resolved they should assemble themselves in arms, which they were not to lay down till *Charles* should dismiss from his service the constable, and others of his ministers. *Charles* was fully apprized, by the count *de la Marche*, the dauphin's governor, of their plan, and it is said, that the constable himself appeared at their meeting; but they were so infatuated that they suffered him to escape to *Charles*, who cried out, when he saw him, "now I have my constable, I fear no man."

defeated.

After some conversation, *Charles* seemed inclined to shut himself up in a fortress, but the constable put him in mind of the fate of *Richard II.* and persuaded him to depend upon the affections of his subjects. *Charles*, then acted with a noble spirit. As the dauphin, who was then no more than eighteen years of age, had put himself at the head of the malecontents, he sent a herald to the duke of *Alençon*, requiring him to send him the dauphin; but in the mean while he assembled a brave army at *Poitiers*, and marched briskly towards the confederates. The count of *Charolois*, the duke of *Burgundy's* eldest son, had lately married the daughter of *Charles*, though both parties were under age, and the dauphin depended upon that duke's assistance, but he was deceived, and indeed the whole scheme of the confederacy seems to have proceeded from hot, distempered brains. Upon the king's approach, they could not assemble the face of an army. The dauphin was obliged to take refuge in the duke of *Bourbon's* estates. The count of *Dunois* threw himself at the feet of *Charles*, who pardoned him; and all the comfort the dauphin received from the duke of *Burgundy*, was, that he would intercede with the king his father for his pardon, if he and his friends would humble themselves so as to deserve it. A summons attended the dauphin and the duke of *Bourbon* to repair to the king, which they resolved to obey. They set out, attended by *Tremouille*, and two other lords, who being obnoxious to *Charles*, received orders on the road not to come to court. It was with difficulty that the duke of *Bourbon* prevailed with the dauphin to continue his journey without his lords.

Upon

Upon their arrival at court, which was then held at *Conset*, the king received the duke coldly, but civilly, and when he kissed his hand he gave him a gentle admonition not to offend him again. He ordered the dauphin to retire to his apartment; but next day that young prince appeared before his father, and threatened to leave the court if his three lords, to whom he said he had passed his word, were not admitted to it. *Charles* coldly answered, that he might be gone as soon as he pleased, and that, if the gate was too strait to suffer him to pass, he would widen it. The king's steadiness disappointed the dauphin, who thought proper to submit; but *Charles* removed from him all his domestics, excepting his confessor and cook, and obliged the duke of *Bourbon* to resign some of his strong places into his hands.

Charles was all this while incessantly labouring for the deliverance of the duke of *Orleans*, the only great subject he had, who, by his influence, was capable of counterballancing the malecontents; and he at last obtained his liberty, upon giving security for the payment of twenty thousand marks, great part of which is said to have been defrayed by the duke of *Burgundy*; but the whole of this ransom is, by *French* authors, said to have amounted to three hundred thousand crowns. His deliverance was of the greatest importance to *Charles*, as he was now entirely reconciled to the duke of *Burgundy*. The *Parisians* about this time, found themselves so incommoded by *Pontoise* being again in the hands of the *English*, had advanced a sum of money to enable *Charles* to raise an army for reducing it. The siege was accordingly formed, but the regent duke of *York*, and the lord *Talbot* offering him battle, he declined it, and withdrew the siege, and the *English* made a triumphant entry into the place; but not being able to force *Charles* to a battle, the two generals returned to *Roan*, as *Charles* did to *Poissi*.

Charles, by declining to fight the *English*, suffered in his reputation with his own subjects; and early in the year 1441, he resolved to retrieve by re-assembling his army, and making a fresh attempt upon *Pontoise*. By the discipline he had introduced, and by making some seasonable examples of disobedient officers, his troops were now in excellent order; but his regulars, amounting to no more than twelve thousand, were too few for compleatly investing the place, which thereby was open to be revictualled by the *English* generals. The dauphin, the constable, the princes of the blood, and almost all the noblemen in *France*, served on this occasion under *Charles*, who resolved upon a general assault, and dividing his army into three bodies, he gave the command of two to the dauphin and the marshal *Loheac*, and putting himself at the head of the third, he began the storm with prodigious intrepidity, by being the first to mount the wall in person, and by spreading destruction wherever he fought,

The duke
of *Orleans*
ransomed.

Pontoise
taken by
Charles.

fought, so that the place was carried before the dauphin and the marshal made their attacks good. *Charles* gave no quarter to any he found in arms. Four hundred of the *English* surrendered themselves, eight hundred were cut in pieces, and two hundred, who endeavoured to make their escape, were put to the sword by *la Hire*, who was scouring the country with a flying army. During this siege, the lord *Talbot* failed in an attempt he made upon *St. Dennis*, while *Evereux*, and *Beaumont*, which had *English* garrisons, were taken by the *French*.

A new
confede-
racy a-
gainst him

Charles having thus re-established his character in arms, was adored by his subjects, to whom the dauphin set an example of obedience; but *Charles* was soon plunged into fresh difficulties. The arrival of the duke of *Orleans* at court did not answer his expectation. That duke had married the duke of *Burgundy's* neice, a daughter of the duke of *Brabant*, and the growing intimacy between the two families of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* created suspicions in *Charles* that were far from being groundless. It soon appeared, that, in conjunction with the dukes of *Bretagne* and *Alençon*, they were forming schemes for checking the royal authority. *Charles* who had early intelligence of their designs, forbade the duke of *Orleans* to appear at his court. This severity, to a prince who had deserved so well of the crown, hurt *Charles* with the other princes of the blood, and it was given out by the duke of *Orleans*, that, excepting the dauphin, the constable, and the count of *Maine*, they were to be excluded from all places of trust or power under *Charles*. A general meeting of their party was held at *Nevers*, where they drew up a state of their grievances, one of which was, the aversion which *Charles* had discovered towards restoring the tranquility of *France* by concluding a peace with *England*. The true cause, however, of their discontent, arose from the firmness with which *Charles* was proceeding in reducing the lords of *Poitou*, and other countries, to obedience, which the confederate princes interpreted as an invasion upon their rights, and a too great aggrandizement of the royal power. When the paper of their grievances was presented, he answered them, one by one, with the greatest precision, by the bishop of *Clermont*, and so much to the satisfaction of the duke of *Orleans*, that he broke off from the confederacy, and not only accepted of an invitation from *Charles* to return to his court, but endeavoured to make the duke of *Burgundy*, and the other members of the confederacy, sensible that they had been imposed upon in the opinion they had entertained of *Charles* and his intentions.

defeated,

Charles, on his part, behaved with admirable prudence and moderation, and avoided every thing that could give the least offence to the dukes of *Burgundy* or *Orleans*, to whose public merits he did all imaginable justice, and he dissipated the

the

the gathering storms so effectually, that in a short time no traces of it remained. He then marched into *Languedoc* to the assistance of *d'Albert*, who had been the faithful attendant of his misfortunes through all its vicissitudes. *D'Albert* had given his son in hostage to the *English* for the surrender of his town, of *Fortas*, if not relieved by a certain day, and *Charles* appearing before the place, within the appointed time with a superior army, which the *English* declined to fight, they released his son. This gratitude of *Charles* to an old servant and subject, was of vast service to him, and conciliated the affections of his other subjects to his person.

The *English* generals did not fail to improve the late divisions of the *French* court to their own advantage. They received a fresh reinforcement of troops, and their army was divided into four bodies, commanded by the duke of *York*, the earl of *Huntington*, and the lords *Willoughby* and *Talbot*. As usual, they ravaged all the open country, and after taking some places they returned to *Rouen*, while *Charles* took *St. Severe*, one of the strongest places the *English* had in *Guienne*, and put the garrison, consisting of eight hundred men, to the sword. The active lord *Talbot* had again taken the field against the count of *Dunois*, to whom he was generally opposed, and had besieged *Dieppe*; but he was forced to retire to *Rouen* through the valour of the dauphin, who gained great honour by the relief of the place.

The old countess of *Comminges*, heiress to that great estate, who had been shut up twenty years in prison by her husband, because she would not make her will in his favour in prejudice of the family of *Valois*, for whom she said her father had designed it, in case she should die without male heirs. Her husband was *Matthew de Foix*, brother to the count of that name, and he was joined by the count of *Armagnac*, who threatened to give his daughter in marriage to *Henry VI.* of *England*, if *Charles* should insist upon his pretensions. The old lady, who was fourscore years of age, had been by *Charles* delivered out of her confinement, and being at full liberty, she ratified the will that had been made in his favour; but soon after she died. The dauphin received from his father the command of an army to carry the will into execution, which he did so effectually, that *Matthew de Foix*, the husband, was forced to accept of an annuity out of his wife's estate; and the count of *Armagnac* was not only stripped of all he held belonging to the *Comminges* family, but lost great part of his own patrimony.

The count of *Armagnac* threw himself upon the *English* interest, retook several places from *Charles* in conjunction with the count of *Foix*, and a commission was actually issued for negotiating a marriage between his daughter, and *Henry* king of *England*. The lord *Talbot* had orders to support the count of *Armagnac*; but *Charles* acted with such

vigour, that his son, and the marshal *Loheac*, cut him off from his confederates, and obliged him to throw himself at the feet of the dauphin, who then seized upon all his estate, as well as that of the *Comminges*.

A truce
with *En-
gland*,

The distracted state of affairs in *England* at this time, were well known to the court of *France*, and while *Charles* appeared to be sunk in sensuality and privacy at *Touars*, he was planning the means of driving the *English* entirely out of *France*. Even while the greatest hostilities between the two nations raged, negotiations for a peace were going forward, and at last a truce was made, which was to continue for twelve months.

and
marriage
of *Henry*
with the
duke of
Anjou's
daughter.

A treaty of marriage was, at the same time, on foot between *Henry* of *England*, and *Margaret*, daughter to *Renate*, the nominal king of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and *Jerusalem*, and duke of *Anjou*. The chief negotiator was the earl of *Suffolk*, who is thought himself not to be insensible of the lady's charms, chiefly by the manner in which he conducted the conferences. *Renate* insisted upon his being put into possession of those parts of *Anjou* and *Maine* that were held by the *English*; in which demand he was gratified by the earl of *Suffolk*, and the marriage was concluded. This marriage gave great umbrage to that party of the *English* who were attached to the duke of *Gloucester*, but we think with very little reason; because the cessions were either nominal, or places that then served only to drain the blood and treasure of *England*.

Vol. IX.
p. 65.

We have already seen, that, about this time, *Charles* readily embraced an invitation made him by the emperor *Frederic*, to assist him against the *Swiss*, and that the dauphin, at the head of forty thousand men marched into *Alsace*, where he cut in pieces four thousand of that people, and seized some cities, which he held in his father's right. The dauphin's auxiliaries were more numerous than the emperor had demanded, and the *French* troops, who were called *Armagnacs*, another name for freebooters, paid themselves by ravaging the empire.

Charles
gets foot-
ing in
Alsace.

During this expedition, the *English* shewed great unwillingness to evacuate *Anjou* and *Maine*, and the count of *Dunois* invested *Metz*, while *Charles*, with an army, covered the siege, which ended in a capitulation greatly to the advantage of *Charles*. The dauphin, on the other hand, having now got footing in *Alsace*, accepted of the mediation of the council of *Basil*, and concluded the first treaty that ever was made between the cantons of *Switzerland* and the crown of *France*; an alliance that was afterwards attended with great consequences. Those wars and expeditions were owing to necessity as well as policy. *Charles*, by the late truce he had made with *England*, saw his country exposed to the ravages of a disbanded soldiery, whom he got rid of by employing them in *Germany*. Upon their return home, he

he resolutely put in execution his scheme of making them submissive to the civil power. He divided them in two Reforms parts; the one, consisting of the best and bravest among his army. them, he retained in his service, in the nature of a standing regular army. The other part, consisting of those who had been bred to, or were fit for, manufactures, or agriculture, he settled in the provinces and towns of his kingdom, and he employed his regulars in clearing the roads from vagabonds of all kinds; so that no *Frenchman* was left unemployed. He appointed the proper funds for the punctual payment of the troops he kept on foot; and he gratified the officers, who headed them, with posts and pensions, according to their respective ranks and merits. This was deservedly accounted the most glorious measure ever carried into execution by a king of *France*, and a medal was struck on the occasion.

We have in former parts of this work, and particularly Vol. X. in the history of *Italy*, mentioned the connections which *Charles* had beyond the *Alps*, where he supported *Renate* duke of *Anjou*, in his claim upon the crown of *Naples*; but not so as to hurt his own kingdom. If he did not support the claim of the duke of *Orleans* upon the *Milanese* with the utmost vigour, he was justifiable, both from the unsettled state of his own dominions, and from the knowledge he had of that duke's disposition and connections. His generals had seized *Final*, which belonged to the *Genoese*, a large party of whom had offered their sovereignty to *Charles*; but though they deceived him, he shewed no marks of resentment, well knowing, that the inconstancy of the *Genoese* people and government would soon operate in his favour.

The *Genoese* were, at that time, at war with *Alphonso* king of *Arragon*, who sought to make himself master of their republic; and it was soon seen how well *Charles* had judged, by the *Genoese* again offering him the sovereignty of their city, and by their receiving *John* of *Anjou*, whom *Charles* had recommended to them as their governor. He made use of his late accommodation with *England* as a handle to reduce all the places that had been ceded to the duke of *Anjou*. He supported the *Scots* against the *English*, who, in the year 1448, had lost their ablest and best generals; and such was the prodigality of their court, that *Henry* was unable to pay the troops he had in *France*. The duke of *Somerset*, who had succeeded the duke of *York* in his command there, was unequal to the employment.

Upon the death of the old duke of *Bretagne*, his son professed himself so violently in the *French* interest, that one *Surrien*, a *Spaniard*, but a knight of the garter, and entirely devoted to the duke, who was then at variance with the *English* government, surprized *Fougeres*, which *Charles* and the duke of *Bretagne* construed to be a breach of the truce; and he accordingly made preparations to exterminate the

English out of *France*, though the court of *England* had actually disavowed *Surrien* in what he had done, and offered to restore the place to the duke of *Bretagne*. *Charles*, however, insisted upon sixteen hundred thousand crowns being paid to that duke by way of indemnification.

He obtains many advantages over the *English*.

In the mean while, he surprized *Pont de l'Arche* in the night time, and carried off lord *Falconbridge* and his garrison prisoners. The loss of that important place was followed by that of many others belonging to the *English*; but the cautious *Charles* took care to carry on the war in the name of his ally the duke of *Bretagne*, and affected great moderation towards the *English*. His troops, however, took *Gerberoy*, where they put the *English* garrison to the sword, *Cognac* and *St. Mesgrin* in *Guienne*. The better to amuse the *English*, *Charles* still affected great placability, which imposed so far upon *Henry's* ministers, that they neglected to repair the fortifications even of the places which still remained in their hands. The truth is, the queen of *England* and her party were entirely in the *French* interest, and all motions for acting with vigour were discouraged at that court. *James II.* was then king of *Scotland*; his sister the dauphiness was now dead, but he had another sister married to the duke of *Bretagne*; and the connections between *France* and *Scotland* were cemented more strongly than ever.

Upon the expiration of the truce with *England*, *Charles* declared war in his own name against the *English* in *France*, and almost all the fortresses on the frontiers of *Normandy* opened their gates to receive his troops. Lord *Talbot*, then earl of *Shrewsbury*, was the only officer of great note whom the *English* had now in the field; but *Charles* entering *Normandy* with four different well supplied armies, he was forced to return to *Rouen*. *Charles* invited the duke of *Burgundy* to be a party in the war, but by the advice of his dutchess he wisely declined it; but *Charles* owed great part of the success of that campaign to the noblemen of *Picardy*, who were that duke's feudatories. The count of *Dunois*, who commanded one of the *French* armies, reduced *Harcourt*, after a brave defence; and then appeared before *Rouen*, in order of battle, about the middle of *October*, at the head of sixty thousand men. Though it was deemed impracticable to form a regular siege at that time of the year, yet *Charles*, depending upon the affections of the inhabitants, ordered the count to attempt the place by an escalade; but it was disappointed and defeated by the brave earl of *Shrewsbury*, who commanded in the place.

Rouen reduced.

His ill success took a turn very different from what might have been reasonably expected. The earl, perhaps, was too severe upon the *French* part of the inhabitants, and such of them as inclined to the *English* interest began to be apprehensive of the consequence, to themselves and families, if *Charles* reduced *Rouen*, as he had done all the other places

he

he had attempted that campaign. In short, the inhabitants agreed upon a capitulation, as *Charles* had now brought up all the three armies he had in the field against the place. The duke of *Somerſet*, *Henry's* lord lieutenant of *France*, was then in *Rouen*, and endeavoured to reſiſt the ſpirit of ſubmitting to *Charles*; but it was ſo univerſal, that he was obliged to ſend out a deputation, with the archbiſhop of *Rouen* at its head, to treat of a capitulation. The terms made by the *French* deputies on both ſides were rejected by the *English*, and the duke of *Somerſet*, with the earl of *Shrewſbury*, prepared to recommence hoſtilities; but the inhabitants took arms and drove all the *English* from their poſts, excepting an old caſtle, the palace, and the bridge, which were ſoon inveſted on all ſides, while the count of *Dunois* took poſſeſſion of the reſt of the city. The duke finding that famine muſt oblige him to ſurrender, offered to capitulate, on condition that he and his garrifon, which conſiſted of about twelve hundred men, might retire with their arms and baggage to any place he might chuſe. *Charles* rejected this condition, and obliged him not only to deliver up *Rouen*, but *Honfleur*, and the towns in the *Caux*. *Honfleur* was the only place of conſequence on that ſide of the *Seine* that now remained to the *English*, and *Charles* even reduced that before the end of the campaign, which laſted till *March 1450*.

It happened, unfortunately for the *English*, that the earl of *Reinforce-Shrewſbury* had been given up as an hoſtage to *Charles* for the performance of the capitulation of *Rouen*, which *Curſon*, the *English* governor of *Honfleur* had reſuſed to ſubmit to, and this gave *Charles* a colour for detaining the earl; but *Honfleur* was obliged to ſurrender; ſo that when the *French* army went into quarters, the only places of importance remaining to the *English* in both *Normandies* were *Caen*, *Bayeux*, *Cherbourg*, *Vere*, and *Falaiſe*. Sir *Thomas Kiriell*, an *English* general, landed in the ſpring with three thouſand men, and being joined by ſome detachments, he beſieged and took *Valogne*. He probably would have made a farther progreſs had he not been oppoſed by the count of *Clermont*, the duke of *Bourbon's* ſon, who being joined by the army under the conſtable, defeated the *English* at *Fourmigni*, with the loſs of three thouſand men, among whom was their commander *Kiriell*, taken priſoner. The conſequence of this defeat was the reduction of *Vere*, *Bayeux*, *Auvranches*, and *Vologne*, by the *French*, who immediately formed the ſiege of *Caen*. The beſt troops and generals of *France*, were employed in this undertaking. The king himſelf took poſt at the abbey of *Ardenes*. The conſtable, the counts of *Dunois*, *Clermont*, *Nevers*, and *Eu*, commanded in different quarters of the ſiege. The king of *Sicily*, and the duke of *Alençon* were preſent, and the city was ſoon completely inveſted.

Caen besieged and taken.

The city had a noble garrison of four thousand *English*, with plenty of provisions and ammunition, and the works were in excellent order, so that it was expected the siege would have been a matter of great difficulty. Unhappily for the *English*, the duke of *Somerset*, who still acted as *Henry's* lord lieutenant of *France*, assumed the command of the garrison; but he was too much under the influence of his wife, who was shut up along with him, and prodigiously frightened. The duke betraying some symptoms of complaisance for her fear, Sir *David Hall*, deputy to the duke of *York*, who was hereditary governor of the place, insisted upon taking the command, and while this dispute continued, the *French* took two bulwarks, and sprung a mine at the gate of *St. Stephen*, with so great an effect, that Sir *David Hall* could no longer resist the importunities of the inhabitants, who were encouraged by the duke and dutches of *Somerset*; and *Charles*, who was always wise and moderate, granted the garrison an honourable capitulation; the city was surrendered on the first of *July*. *Falaise* and *Cherbourg* followed the fate of *Caen*, and before the end of *August* both *Normandies* were entirely reduced by *Charles*, who at last set the earl of *Shrewsbury* at liberty. The reduction of the two *Normandies*, which had cost the *English* such a length of time, and such profusion of blood and treasure, was completed by *Charles* in twelve months after he began it. His success was greatly owing to the divisions of the *English* government, which communicated themselves to the *English* generals and officers in *France*. But the chief cause of *Charles's* progress arose from the aversion of the *Normans* to the *English* government, which forced the latter upon many impolitic acts of severity; while *Charles*, on the other hand, behaved with a clemency and mildness that won their affections.

who attacks *Guienne*,

The reduction of *Guienne*, or *Gascony*, was now his great object. The *Gascons* had been long used to the *English* government, and were not near so averse to it as the *Normans* were. The count of *Penthievre*, and *Xaintraille* had the command of the expedition that was to reduce it, the constable being left governor of *Normandy*. They were opposed by the lord *Chamois*, Sir *George Seymour*, and Sir *John Arundel*, whose troops were defeated by the *French*, who took several places; but their progress not answering the expectation of *Charles*, he committed the reduction of *Gascony* to *Dunois*, then created count of *Longueville*. The *French* nobility crowded to the standards of this illustrious commander, and in *May* 1451, he took *Mont Guion*, and *Blaye*, a place of strength, by storm. Among the prisoners made in *Blaye*, was *Montferrand*, who was possessed of five strong forts, which he gave up to the *French*. *Dunois* then became master, either by surrender or capitulation, of so great

great a number of forts as enabled him to form the siege of *Fronsac*, the strongest place in *Guienne*, which was far from making so good a defence as was expected; and the *French* by taking it, had ready access to *Bordeaux* itself; the inhabitants of which seeing no *English* army in the field to relieve them, sent a deputation to *Dunois*, and offered to capitulate, to which they were readily admitted by *Dunois*. The chief conditions of the capitulation were, that the city and its dependencies should be preserved in all its former rights and privileges, paying no more than its ancient and accustomed taxes: and that *Charles* should establish a sovereign court of justice, and a mint at *Bordeaux*.

Dunois, in imitation of his master, by his noble and humane behaviour, captivated the minds of all the *French* who submitted to him; and on the first of *August*, he laid siege to *Bayonne*; which likewise capitulated, through a panic which seized the inhabitants, on account of some extraordinary appearances in the air.

Charles was as unhappy in his own family as he was successful against the *English*. The dauphin, under a mask of deep dissimulation, still harboured undutiful sentiments towards his father, and hated all who were about him, but above all his favourite mistress, *Agnes Sorrel*, whom he reported once to have struck on the face. It is to the honour of this lady, that the *French* historians acknowledge her to have been far superior to the weaknesses incident to women of her character. She was perpetually putting her royal lover in mind of what was due to his name and glory, and rousing him from the indolence to which he was naturally but too subject. The dauphin, after reducing the count of *Armagnac*, obtained permission from his father to retire to *Dauphiny*, where he managed, with great address and fidelity, a negotiation with the duke of *Savoy*; but it was not long before his discontent broke out. *Agnes Sorrel* had discovered some of his practices, and while the king was besieging *Rouen* she had followed him to the neighbourhood of that city; but he disregarded her information, and she died, as was thought, of poison, in a few days after.

Charles had a favourite, *Pierre de Brese*, whom he had appointed seneschal of *Poitou*. The dauphin demanded that this person, who had an irreproachable character, should be removed from his power, and tried for high treason against the king and state. *Charles* being resolved, if possible, to avoid coming to extremities with the dauphin, granted his request. *De Brese's* process was formed; but though he was prosecuted with the utmost malice and acrimony, his innocence was so fully proved, that the king restored him to greater favour than ever, and made him governor of *Rouen*.

who af-
fects to be
independ-
ent.

The dauphin, without breaking with his father, affected to act independently in *Dauphiny*, where he transacted acts of sovereignty, and, not only without his father's knowledge, but against his order, entered into a treaty of marriage with the princess *Charlotte*, the duke of *Savoy*'s daughter; upon which *Charles*, all of a sudden, declared war against that prince, and as suddenly made a peace, by which the duke's son married *Violante*, the king's daughter. This inconsistency of character was soon accounted for.

The *Gascons*, notwithstanding their reduction to *Charles*, were still *English* in their hearts, and they sent *Montferrand*, with *Langland*, another lord, to the *English* council, proposing that they would revolt from the *French* if they were properly supported. Their proposal was accepted of; the earl of *Shrewsbury* was made governor of *Guienne*, and landing in that dutchy with five thousand men, he was soon at the head of a considerable army. *Charles* having drawn from thence to the frontiers of *Savoy* the greatest part of his troops, the progress of *Talbot* was as rapid as that of *Charles* had been some months before. He took possession of *Bordeaux*, where he obliged the *French* commandant and garrison to surrender themselves prisoners of war; and in a short time, being reinforced with four thousand men from *England*, and a good fleet, he retook *Fronsac*, with many other places of strength and importance; while *Charles*, at that advanced season of the year, it being then the middle of *November*, was in no condition to succour the marshal *Jalognes*, who acted as deputy for the count of *Clermont*, his governor of *Guienne*.

The *Gas-*
cons re-
volt to the
English.

This sudden revolution was effected by the vast difference which the *Gascons* found between the *English* and *French* government. They had, under the former, enjoyed all their feudal rights, which rendered every great lord among them almost independent of any superior. Upon the reduction of *Gascony* *Charles* annexed it to the crown, and obliged them to pay the general tax; by which the great landholders lost great part of their revenue, which was now paid to the king, instead of them, and all military dependance of their vassals upon them was abolished. This was done in consequence of *Charles*'s great plan of government for destroying all military relation between subject and subject, and of transferring it to the crown; in which he had been so successful, that *Burgundy*, and *Bretagne*, were the only *French* provinces that still enjoyed their feudal privileges. The duke of the former was too powerful to be reduced, and the latter lay too near *England* for *Charles* to provoke the inhabitants. Add to those considerations, that the *Gascons* complained that the plan of *Charles*'s government was inconsistent with the terms of their capitulation; but the triumph of the *English* in *Guienne* was of no long continuance.

Early

Early in the year 1453, the count of *Clermont* took the The field with twenty-two thousand men, and laid siege to *Cha-* earl of *stillon*. The earl of *Shrewsbury* was then above fourscore years *Shrews-* of age; and, to gratify the *Bourdelois*, he marched out of *bury de-* their city with an intention to raise the siege; but when he feated came to reconnoitre the *French* camp, it appeared that their and slain. army had been vastly augmented; and that it was too strongly fortified to be attacked by the handful of men he had along with him, who did not exceed six thousand. He sent to *Bourdeaux* for a reinforcement, but the inhabitants reproached him, as if he intended to disfurnish them of troops. He therefore, against his own opinion, resolved to humour the *Bourdelois*, by attacking the *French* under all disadvantages: This he did so furiously, that he drove the van of his enemy's army, consisting of four thousand men under *Chabannes*, one of their best officers, back upon their main body; and probably would have routed the whole, had not his rear been attacked by a body of *Bretons*, who lay in a separate camp, while the *French* artillery was disposed so as to gall his men in their front and flanks. He continued, however, to fight bravely; but saw his gallant son, who refused to leave him, killed by his side; and having lost his horse by a cannon-ball, he was soon after dispatched himself by an archer's dagger.

Upon his death, the fortune of the *English* in *France* may be said to have died. Seeing their brave general slain, they fled different ways; so that the loss of men they sustained was not very considerable. *Chastillon*, the garrison of which consisted of fifteen hundred men, surrendered next day; and *Charles* having joined his army in person, found it amount to sixty thousand men, who soon retook all the places he had lost excepting *Bourdeaux*, which he besieged by sea and land. It was defended by the lord *Chamois* and a garrison of four thousand *English*, besides *Gascons*. *Charles*, upon the opening of the campaign, had ordered the heads of fourscore *Gascons* to be struck off as traitors; and it was thought that he was resolved to punish the inhabitants of *Bourdeaux*, when it was taken, with great severity; so that they were determined to make a vigorous defence.

Charles was then in alliance with the king of *Castile*; *Bourdeaux* by whom, and the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, he was retaken by supplied with a fleet superior to that of the *English*; which *Charles*. cut off all supplies to the *Bourdelois* by sea, on which they depended; so that, being pressed by famine, they offered to capitulate. *Charles*, finding his army daily decreasing by sickness, granted them terms. The *Gascons* were to enjoy their effects and estates; the *English* were at liberty to retire with their effects either to *England* or *Calais*; and thirty-two *Gascon* lords were banished, never to be found again, under pain of death, within the *French* dominions; but the *Gascons* and

and *Bourdelois*, from that day, were stripped of all their privileges.

Charles was now at leisure to attend to civil affairs. He ordered the baron *le Sparre*, one of the exempted *Gascon* noblemen, to be beheaded for raising commotions. He renewed his treaties with the *Swiss* cantons and the king of *Castile*; and he consented to a marriage between the duke of *Burgundy's* eldest son and the duke of *Bourbon's* daughter. It has been thought that the *French* were, at this time, favoured by a private intelligence they carried on with the queen of *England*.

who
obliges
the dau-
phin to
retire out
of *Dau-
phiny*.

The wisdom of *Charles*, and the cunning of the dauphin, continued to be still at variance. That prince's conduct was disrespectful not only to his father but to all the neighbouring princes; especially his father-in-law the duke of *Savoy*, with whom he was actually at war for the marquisate of *Saluces*. The patience of *Charles* being worn out, he sent *Chabannes*, at the head of an army, into *Dauphiny*; upon which the dauphin sought to be reconciled to his father-in-law, who refused to give him any countenance; and the dauphin, attended by *Montauban* and *John de Lescun*, bastard of *Armagnac*, took refuge in the duke of *Burgundy's* dominions. That prince ordered his eldest son, the count *de Charolois*, to compliment the dauphin upon his arrival; but desired to be excused from seeing him without his father's approbation.

The situation of *Charles*, at this time, was affecting. He, at once, loved, dreaded, and distrusted his son; but he consented to the duke of *Burgundy's* shewing him all the kindness and honours he thought proper. The dauphin pretended to pay the most profound submission to his father's person; but demanded from the duke of *Burgundy* a force sufficient to remove his ministers. The duke not only refused to gratify him in this, but advised him, by all means, to submit to his father; which the dauphin, at last, consented to, and retired to *Genep*, in *Hainault*, where he lived upon an allowance of three thousand florins a month, which his father gave him, with a promise of augmenting it according to his behaviour.

The duke of *Burgundy* was uneasy at his own situation; because, being no stranger to the dispositions of the dauphin, he foresaw that he must, in time, break either with the father or the son. He proposed to *Charles* to send the dauphin with a body of troops to check the formidable progress of the *Turks*; but *Charles* declined trusting him with an army, and invited him to his court, with an offer to replace him in all the privileges and honours due to his birth; but he chose still to reside in the duke of *Burgundy's* dominions, where he was treated with such distinctions as, at last, gave umbrage to *Charles*.

The duke of *Alençon* having been formerly pressed for money, had sold *Fougères* to the duke of *Bretagne*; but he now practises
wanted

wanted to redeem it by making a tender of the purchase-money, which the duke of *Bretagne* refused. *Alençon* first complained to *Charles*, who gave him no satisfaction; and then to the court of *England*, especially to the duke of *York*, who, at this time, governed it, and encouraged a treaty of marriage between the duke of *Alençon's* daughter and his son. As the duke of *York*, no doubt, was then concerting the means of making his claim good to the crown of *England*, he readily entered into the proposal made by the duke of *Alençon* for putting the *English* once more in possession of *Normandy*.

During this negotiation, the duke of *Alençon* drew up a scheme of the invasion, and gave it to a domestic, who, instead of carrying it in a hollow stick, as directed, to the duke of *York*, carried it to *Charles*, who appeared deeply affected with so striking a discovery; but, without losing time, he ordered his faithful old servant, the count of *Longueville*, to march with an army into the duke's estates, and to put him under an arrest; which he accordingly did, and carried him prisoner to *Paris*; where *Charles* ordered him to be tried by his peers for high-treason. The duke of *Burgundy* was summoned to sit at the trial, which was very solemn and fair, as condemned first peer of *France*; but he did not attend; and the duke of *Alençon* was, upon full evidence, condemned to lose his peers' head.

There is some reason for believing the duke of *Burgundy* to have been privy to the conspiracy, but *Charles* affected to clear both him and the dauphin from every charge of that kind. The duke of *Burgundy*, however, did not succeed in his application to *Charles* to pardon *Alençon*; though, at the petition of the constable, the count of *Richmont*, now duke of *Bretagne*, he changed his sentence into perpetual imprisonment in the castle of *Loches*, from which he was delivered in the next reign.

Charles, to find employment for the *English* at home, prevailed with the *Scots* to invade *England* by land; and, on the twentieth of *August*, 1457, his admiral, *de Bresse*, took and plundered *Sandwich* and the town of *Fowey* in *Cornwall*, and then returned to *France*, after having greatly alarmed the court and nation of *England*, where a general opinion prevailed that the invasion had been encouraged by queen *Margaret*.

Charles, being apprehensive of a new war with *England* in case the duke of *York* should succeed in his claim, and having lost the duke of *Bretagne*, who, to the day of his death, retained the constable's sword, strengthened himself with new alliances, particularly with *Spain* and *Denmark*; and the rather, because his jealousy of the dauphin and the duke of *Burgundy* encreased every day. *Charles*, to disable the dauphin, deprived him of all his remaining authority in *Dauphiny*; and, without regarding the murmurs of the people,

The Scots
invade
England.

ple, he deprived its states of all the marks of independency they had enjoyed under the dauphin ; such as those of holding parliaments, making alliances with foreign powers, and coining money ; and reannexed the province to his crown. To divide the dauphin from the duke of *Burgundy*, he expressed for him the greatest marks of affection, and wrote him a letter of felicitation, with his own hand, upon the birth of his son, and most tenderly invited him to his court. When his differences with the duke of *Burgundy* were so high, that the duke presented him with a list of his grievances, the king answered them article by article, and did not fail highly to applaud the duke for the respect and favour he had shewn to the dauphin. Nothing, however, could reconcile that prince to his duty ; and *Charles* every day had fresh reasons for distrusting him. To have proceeded against him with severity, might have driven him to take refuge in *England*, and to have kindled a civil-war in *France* ; and all the poor comfort he had was, that the duke of *Burgundy* was in much the same situation with his son the count of *Charolois*, who was equally disobedient, and threatened every day to throw himself under the king's protection.

Duke of York The duke of *York*, by this time, had avowed his claim upon the crown of *England* ; which alarmed *Charles* so much, that he had some thoughts of sending over a body of troops to the assistance of *Henry*, and to have given the command of them to the count of *Charolois*. It was insinuated to *Charles*, that the young prince would only employ those troops against his father or his ministers ; and he therefore, though then very ill, wrote him a letter, with his own hand, acquainting him, that he would not, for two such crowns as his own, be accessory to a base action.

Death, This was among the last actions of *Charles's* life, which was finished by a most miserable fate. He had received an intimation that his son intended to poison him, which made so deep an impression upon him, that he refused all food for several days ; and, when he wanted to eat, it was perceived that he had lost the power of swallowing ; which put an end to his life on the twenty-second of *July*, 1460, in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, and the sixtieth of his age.

Character, Nothing can give us a higher opinion of his great abilities for government, than by comparing the flourishing state of his kingdom at the time of his death with the low state of his finances at the time of his accession ; when they were so much exhausted, that, not having money to pay for a pair of boots, the tradesman carried them away. He was, indeed, perhaps, better served by his generals and ministers than any prince we read of in history ; but that circumstance, far from abating his merits as a king, serves to exalt them ; as they prove, at once, his judgment in choosing, and resolution in protecting, his servants. On all necessary occasions, he gave undeniable proofs of his intrepidity and personal courage.

courage. He new modelled the parliaments of *France*, which, in his time, retained but few of their antient forms; for he made the great officers of the crown members of them; and he admitted the treasurers of *France* and the lay-deputies to sit as judges, along with the peers, at the trial of the duke of *Alencon*, at which he himself presided. He had the art of endearing himself to his people; so that even the depraved state of the coin under him, which he raised and lowered according to his own conveniency, was of little or no prejudice to his affairs; because his subjects took it and circulated it among themselves, notwithstanding all the alterations it underwent.

The greatest reproach upon his reign was the treatment which *James Cœur*, who was his goldsmith, or cashier, met with. This *Cœur* was the greatest genius of his age in the art of financing; and, by his vast knowledge of trade, he amassed so great a fortune, that the ignorance of the times reckoned him among those who enjoyed the secret of the philosopher's stone; though it was no other than that possessed by the house of *Medici*, a profound acquaintance with all the branches of commerce. This person had been accused of being accessory to the death of *Agnes Sorrel*; a charge from which he was honourably acquitted; and his credit was so great, that he supplied the king with money, though without any detriment to himself, for driving the *English* out of *France*. His wealth, at last, is said to have exceeded that of any subject in *Europe*, and brought upon him a fresh prosecution, which ended in the forfeiture of his land, and his being condemned to pay a fine of four hundred thousand crowns; but the parliament afterwards declared him to be innocent. It is certain, however, that he could not have amassed so immense an estate as he did without being guilty of some species of speculation, though we are told that the public money he employed was always previously due to himself as the king's chief creditor. After his process was finished, he retired to the island of *Cyprus*; where, by the arts of commerce, he grew more wealthy than ever.

Charles the Wise, or, as some call him, *the Well-served*, and issue, can be said to have been unhappy in nothing but his son. He of *Charles* made even his private failings subservient to his greatness; VII. because it inspired his generals and ministers with emulation, as he engrossed to himself no part of the glory they acquired by their services. Through uncommon good fortune, his queen, *Mary of Anjou*, who loved him with the greatest affection, gave him but little disquiet in his amours; and she and his mistress, *Agnes Sorrel*, seemed to rival one another only in contending who should contribute most to his glory. His legitimate children were, *Lewis*, who succeeded him; *Philip*, duke of *Berry*; *Violante*, married to the duke of *Savoy*;

voy; *Catharine*, wife to *Charles the Hardy*, duke of *Burgundy*; *Joan*, married to the duke of *Bourbon*; and *Magdalen*, the wife of *Gaston*, count of *Foix*. By *Agnes Sorrel* he had three daughters; *Charlotte*, who was stabbed by her husband, *James de Breize*, count of *Maulevrier*, upon finding her in the act of adultery; *Margaret*, who was married to *Oliver de Coetivi*; and *Jane*, the wife of *Anthony de Bueil*, count of *Sancerre*.

Lewis XI.

Accession
of Lewis.

WE now enter on the history of a prince whose character was made up of inconsistencies, and is the most unamiable of any we meet with in the *French* annals. *Tannegui du Chastel*, the most early favourite of *Charles VII.* performed his master's obsequies at his own expence; and *Charles of Anjou*, the dauphin's uncle, by his mother, sent that prince intelligence of his father's death; which, notwithstanding his profound dissimulation, he received with an indecent joy. From his innate jealousy, he conceived a surmise that his succession would be disputed; and he was attended to his coronation by the duke of *Burgundy* and his son. During the ceremony he fell upon his knees before the duke and received from him the honour of knighthood; after which, that duke performed his homage to *Lewis*, as first peer of *France*, in the most ample manner. He entered *Paris* with a very magnificent escort, and met with no appearance of any unfavourable disposition to his right, either among the nobles or the people. He heard all that the duke of *Burgundy* and the other great men about him said, with mildness and complacency; but he followed his own will; for, in direct contradiction of what they advised, he displaced most of his father's ministers; particularly the chancellor, *Juvenal des Ursins*, the admiral, and part of the parliament. He declared the count of *Charolois* his lieutenant in *Normandy*; and, because the duke of *Alençon* had conspired against the late king, he released him from his confinement.

His policy
and ingrati-
tude.

Lewis appeared to be fully sensible of the great services done him by the duke of *Burgundy*; and, before his accession, he frequently exclaimed against a confederacy that had been made between his father, *Charles VII.* and the *Liegeois*, against that duke, for protecting himself, and promised to dissolve it when he came to the crown; but, instead of that, to the amazement of all the world, he confirmed it. After receiving the homage of the duke of *Bretagne*, under pretence of a pilgrimage into his country, he stole away the princess of *Bretagne*, but was obliged to set her at liberty. Though fully convinced of the expediency and utility of the *pragmatic sanction*, for the benefit of the *Gallican* church, yet

yet he had such a passion for establishing *John of Anjou*, duke of *Calabria*, upon the throne of *Naples*, that, in order to gain the friendship of pope *Pius II.* he cancelled that famous instrument, discharged his attorney-general from his service for presuming to enforce it in parliament; but, at the same time, he encouraged the members to carry it into execution, and largely indemnified the attorney-general for the loss of his place. The people of *Rheims* rose against the taxes he imposed; but he soon quelled the insurrection by executing fourscore of the ringleaders.

Lewis affected to be inscrutable in his politics, which State of
were dark, bloody, and crooked, but tending to the esta- *England.*
blishment of one point, that of arbitrary authority in his own person and family. In this he was greatly assisted by the state of *England*, the most formidable foe of the *French* monarchy. *Edward IV.* was then upon that throne, having deposed *Henry VI.* whose queen, *Margaret of Anjou*, was now an exile, and a suppliant for assistance to restore her husband. She was seconded by her father, mother, the count of *Maine*, and the ambassadors from *Scotland*; but all she obtained from *Lewis* was a loan of twenty thousand livres; which were either to be repaid by *Henry* in specie, or by the rendition of the town of *Calais*, as soon as he should be restored to his dignity.

If we are to believe the *French* historians, *Breze*, the seneschal of *Normandy*, was touched with her charms, and procured two thousand men for her service, with whom he set sail from the ports of *Bretagne*. We cannot, however, imagine that he did this without the privacy of *Lewis*, whose dissimulation would not suffer him to countenance the undertaking; and it is said that the duke of *Bretagne* publicly favoured her cause. *Breze's* expedition was unfortunate: his ships were wrecked or dissipated by storms, and not above five hundred of his men arrived in *England*, where they were able to do no effectual service, though they bravely defended the castle of *Alnwick* against the earl of *Warwick*. The queen of *England* again escaped to the duke of *Burgundy's* dominions, as the *Scots*, who knew that *Lewis* was not fond of a war with *England*, were backward in assisting her. As to *Lewis*, he complimented *Edward IV.* on his accession; and the count of *Charolois* proposed a marriage between himself and *Edward's* sister.

All the obligations that *Lewis* lay under to the duke of *Burgundy*, or that his father owed to the duke of *Bretagne*, of *Lewis*, were now forgot by him, and he laid a deep plan for re-annexing the dominions of both to the crown of *France*. But being sensible he could not succeed in this without making *Edward IV.* his friend, that prince was courted by him, and by the two dukes, at the same time. In the mean while, he sent *James de Armagnac*, duke of *Nemours*, to the assistance of *James*, king of *Arragon*; whose subjects, as we shall see
in

in the proper place, had rebelled against him ; and he lent that prince three hundred thousand crowns on the mortgage of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*. Thus *Lewis* became great through the divisions of his neighbours. As corruption was the ruling principle of *Lewis's* government, he thought that the subjects of no other prince could withstand it, and that money could force his secrets from any of his ministers ; for which reason he trusted none ; nor did the public ever know of any resolution he formed till it was carried into execution.

Mean appearance of *Lewis*.

Having undertaken to mediate between the kings of *Castile* and *Arragon*, he had an interview with the former ; but both he and his attendants were dressed so meanly, that the *Castilians*, who were most magnificently habited, despised them ; while *Lewis* undervalued them for the value they seemed to place on pomp and shew ; and this interview is said to have created an irreconcilable difference between the two nations ; for the award of *Lewis* equally disgusted the *Castilians* and the *Arragonese*.

A match had been as good as concluded between the lady *Bona* of *Savoy*, who was the chief ornament of the *French* court, and king *Edward*. The treaty of marriage was to be managed by the famous earl of *Warwick*, who had placed king *Edward* on the throne, but whom *Lewis* had gained over with money, as he had done the ministers of all the princes his neighbours. The lady *Bona* was sister to his queen, and the earl visited the court of *France* with a most superb attendance, while *Dammartin* was sent as plenipotentiary from *Lewis* to *England*. *Edward* disappointed the negotiation by marrying one of his own subjects, and this created a coldness between the two courts of *France* and *England* ; and a private, but irreconcilable, aversion in the earl of *Warwick*, with the persons both of *Edward* and his consort.

Confederacy against him.

Edward being sensible how deeply he had offended *Lewis*, sought to strengthen himself by a closer alliance with the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* ; in which he afterwards succeeded to his wish : but, in the mean while, *Lewis*, by making a party against the count *de Charolois*, the head of which was *John de Croy*, redeemed the towns upon the *Somme*, which had been pledged to the duke ; but, as he did nothing in an upright manner, he turned out their governors contrary to his engagements with the duke, though he replaced them with others that were equally agreeable to that prince.

In 1463, *Philip*, son to the duke of *Savoy*, forced his father, whom he expelled from his dominions, to throw himself upon the protection of *Lewis*. The latter, with a view of reconciling the father and son, invited *Philip*, under a safe conduct, to repair to his court ; where he was no sooner arrived than *Lewis* shut him up a prisoner in the castle of *Loches*,

Loches, and sent back the duke to the government of his dominions.

When *Philip the Hardy* was married to *Margaret* of *Flanders*, three towns, as we have already seen, had been added to the duke of *Burgundy*; but *Lewis* now demanded them, to the great disgust of that duke. *Lewis*, who had a vast opinion of his own personal address in the management of a negotiation, demanded a conference with the duke at *Hedin*; but his true intention was to have seized the person of the count of *Charolois* in his return from the *Hague*, by means of a ruffian, one *Rubempre*, and then of the duke himself at *Hedin*. This flagitious design miscarried through the notoriety of *Rubempre*'s deceitful character, which occasioned his being apprehended in the *Low Countries*. *Lewis* affected great displeasure that the duke's subjects should give him out as the author of this attempt; and not only demanded justice upon some of them, but that *Rubempre* should be set at liberty: a demand which the duke and his son treated with the utmost contempt; and the count openly threatened to be revenged.

The archbishop of *Narbonne*, who had been *Lewis*'s ambassador on this occasion, having reported the count's threats to *Lewis*, they threw him into great perplexity; but before he was able to come to a knowledge of the truth, half of *France* was ready to take arms against him. A marriage between king *Edward*'s sister, *Margaret*, and the count of *Charolois*, was as good as concluded. The antient treaties between *England* and the dukes of *Bretagne* and *Burgundy* were renewed. Those two princes confederated with the dukes of *Berry*, *Bourbon*, and *Calabria*; and their league was still that of the public good. The pretext for this confederacy has been often touched upon in this history; we mean the great increase of the power of the crown in prejudice of the privileges of the princes of the blood, and the *French* nobility, of whom the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* were the only bulwarks. Never was a confederacy, in which so many were concerned, carried on with greater address and secrecy; and, at the same time, more publicly managed; for the parties met in churches and places of common resort, where they knew they could be the least suspected, by the king's numerous spies, to be treating of so dangerous an affair. The agents were generally *Bretons*, disguised like monks and friars, and employed by the duke of *Bretagne*'s ministers, who were men of address and abilities.

Many causes concurred to render the confederacy successful. The chief was, that *Lewis* had disgraced and displaced, from the management of public affairs, all the nobility, as well as his father's late ministers, whose places he had filled from the dregs of the people, with men of characters similar to his own; particularly cardinal *Balus*, his first minister.

Treaty of marriage between count *Charolois* and *Edward*'s sister.

This abuse of power was so flagrant, that even the count of *Longueville*, and the most zealous friends of the crown in the late reign, entered into the confederacy, as did the count of *Armagnac*, notwithstanding the obligations he lay under to *Lewis* for his liberty.

While those allies for the public-good were preparing for action, *Lewis* was upon his march against the duke of *Bretagne*, accompanied by his brother the duke of *Berry*. The duke of *Bretagne* turned the arts of *Lewis* against himself. He sent a minister to amuse him with propositions for a treaty; *Lewis* sought to corrupt that minister, who took his money, but remained faithful to his master, and carried off the duke of *Berry* to the confederates.

This was the first intimation which *Lewis* had of his danger. The duke of *Berry* published a manifesto, exposing the ruined state of *France* through his brother's administration; and pleaded the most specious of all causes, that of the public good, as an excuse for the confederacy. *Lewis*, who had abilities, when he directed them properly, and was personally very brave, might have lost his crown on this occasion, had it not been for the great party he had among the burghers and the common people of *France*, who did not wish to see a revival of the feudal powers. He had on his side the city of *Paris*, and he was secure of the towns upon the *Somme*. He fell upon the duke of *Bourbon*, whom he quickly reduced, and then marched to defend *Paris* against the count of *Charolois*, who was in full march against it through *Picardy*. The count of *Charolois* was not joined by the *Breton* army, and was so resolutely opposed by the *Parisians*, that, though he forced the bridge of *St. Cloud*, he gained no material advantage, and was obliged to retire.

The king was then at *Mont l'Hery* with his army; but there was still room for negotiation; and neither party had any thoughts of engaging. The king piqued *Peter de Breze*, who commanded his van-guard, by demanding whether he had any correspondence with the heads of the league; and *de Breze* thought he could not clear himself so effectually as by fighting, which he did without orders, and the battle soon became general. Both sides fought bravely, but neither could justly claim the victory, though *Lewis* shewed himself to be an able general, by rallying his troops, and retreating, in good order, towards *Paris*; which was, to him, next to a victory: while *Charolois* marched to *Estampes*, where he was joined by the confederates, and particularly by a body of *Swiss*, under the command of the duke of *Calabria*; so that the army of the confederates amounted to an hundred thousand men.

The confederates, being thus reinforced, marched again to *Paris*; which they certainly would have taken, had it not been for the personal valour of *Lewis*, who defended it; but,

but, had he not been favoured by the bad discipline and want of subordination among the allies, he must have been obliged to have retired to *Milan* or *Switzerland*. The heads of the league soon perceived that it was composed of so many jarring interests, that it would be impossible to reconcile them, even if they were successful against *Lewis*; and that the independency which every great lord affected in military matters, must render the whole abortive.

Those, and a variety of other considerations, inclined the count of *Charolois*, who was considered as the chief leader of the confederacy, to listen to a proposal made by *Lewis* for a negotiation, and, at last, to consent to an interview with him. Upon their meeting, *Lewis* demanded whether his person was safe; and, upon the count's assuring him it was, he entirely delivered himself into his hands, facetiously telling him, that he knew him to be a man of honour, because he had been so punctual in performing the promise he had made him by the archbishop of *Narbonne*. As *Lewis* was previously resolved not to keep any treaty he should make, he made little or no hesitation about the terms; and an accommodation was soon concluded at *Conflans* with the count of *Charolois*, on the fifth of *October*; as another was with the other confederates at *St. Aaur*, on the twenty-ninth: but, at the same time, he declared to his confidants, that he had concluded both through necessity; and protested against their validity.

Lewis affected now to behave with great openness. He brought over the duke of *Bourbon* from the confederates. He entered into a separate negotiation with the duke of *Bretagne*, who was then embroiled with the duke of *Berry*, whom *Lewis* drove out of *Normandy*. During the late civil-war, as it may be called, *Lewis* had encouraged the *Liegeois*, and the inhabitants of *Dinant*, to make a diversion in his favour. The latter were the duke of *Burgundy's* immediate subjects, and, being abandoned by *Lewis* and the *Liegeois*, the count of *Charolois* was employed in massacring the *Dinanters*, and destroying their city; while *Charles* was stripping his brother of all he held in *France*, and forced him to take refuge at the duke of *Bretagne's* court; where he was obliged to pawn his plate for subsistence, and was treated with the simple appellation of *Monsieur, the king's brother*.

Lewis having thus gained a breathing-time, employed it to the best advantage. He instigated the *Liegeois*, who were then very powerful, to a new insurrection against the duke of *Burgundy*; and he would have carried his arms into the heart of *Bretagne*, had he not been afraid of throwing that prince into the arms of *Edward*, and thereby provoking an invasion from *England*. He knew that the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne* had renewed their engagements with *Edward*; and he sent the count of *Roussillon*, then admiral of *France*, to counter-act them at the court of *London*. The duke

duke of *Bretagne* artfully made use of this incident to prevail with *Edward* to set on foot a negotiation ; by which he was saved through the indecision of *Lewis*, who might have then made himself master of *Bretagne*.

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The king of *England* having thus saved the duke of *Bretagne*, broke with the earl of *Warwick*, who retired to *France* ; where he was treated by *Lewis*, who well knew his vast power in *England*, as his equal. Some time before this, *Philip*, surnamed *the Good*, duke of *Burgundy*, died ; and left his son, *Charles*, count of *Charolois*, heir to his great estates. The politics of *Lewis* now took another turn. He knew the duke to be his irreconcilable enemy, and he offered to withdraw his assistance from the *Liegeois*, if the other would withdraw his from the duke of *Bretagne*, upon whose ruin *Lewis* was inflexibly bent ; but the duke of *Burgundy* nobly rejected the proposal, and, soon after, to the great mortification of *Lewis*, defeated the *Liegeois* in a bloody engagement.

Great policy of
Lewis.

Among other stipulations in the treaties of *Conflans* and *St. Maur*, it was provided, that an enquiry should be made into all grievances, and that they should be redressed. The allies, at that time, little thought that this stipulation would be turned against themselves. They, no doubt, meant the grievances which the people suffered from the king ; but *Lewis* construed it (and, indeed, we think not without justice) in a general sense ; for he established commissioners for enquiring into the abuses of the vast powers which the princes of the blood and the nobility still retained in their respective estates. This conduct was attended with great success for *Lewis*, who thereby humbled the confederates and acquired popularity. He gave the constable's staff of *France*, together with his wife's sister in marriage, to the count of *St. Paul*, of the house of *Luxembourg*, in hopes of detaching him from his connections with the duke of *Burgundy* ; and he took *Dammartin* into favour, with several of his father's old servants, whom he had formerly disgraced ; expecting that this alteration of his conduct would strengthen his interest among the nobility, which it certainly did.

By this time, the duke of *Bretagne*, assisted by the duke of *Alençon*, and secure of assistance from *England*, had recovered some part of his dominions ; and *Edward*, in the treaty he made with that duke, had promised to assist him with three thousand archers. *Lewis* raised two armies. He gave the one to his admiral, who marched against *Bretagne* ; and he entered *Picardy* in person at the head of the other : but such was his indecision in the proposals of peace which he either made or received, that his progress was inconsiderable.

A new
confe-
ceracy
against
him,

By the force of money, *Lewis* discovered that the great aim of the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, was, that *Normandy* should be dismembered from the crown of *France* and given to the duke of *Berry*. *Lewis*, in warding off this blow,

blow, shewed the most masterly talents. He convoked an assembly of his states at *Tours*, where he religiously laid before them the state of the differences between himself and the two dukes; and, with great strength of reasoning, shewed the fatal consequence that must attend the dismemberment of *Normandy* from his crown. In short, he proved, that, if the duke of *Berry* should become master of *Normandy*, he, with the dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bretagne*, backed by the power of *England*, would form a triumvirate strong enough to give laws to the rest of the kingdom, and throw *France* back into all the miseries she had suffered under his grandfather *John* and *Philip* of *Valois*. *Lewis*, at the same time, inveighed against the oppressions which the people suffered under the nobility; and expressed the most ardent zeal for having them removed. The assembly was convinced by his reasons, and entered into his views. The annexing *Normandy* for ever to the crown of *France* was declared to be a fundamental law of the monarchy; and they came to several very dutiful resolutions in support of his person and government.

This declared attachment of the states to *Lewis* was attended with favourable consequences to his foreign affairs; for it opened the king of *England's* eyes with regard to the real designs of the two dukes, to which, till then, he had been a stranger; and cooled the good understanding between him and them, though the duke of *Burgundy* was now actually married to his sister. The hands of *Lewis* were likewise strengthened at home. He punished the count of *Maine* for having secretly corresponded with the confederates; but he sent to the duke of *Calabria*, who was poor, and had openly joined them, a sum of money for the relief of himself and family. He ordered *Dammartin's* estates, which had been confiscated, and given, in the beginning of his reign, to *Charles de Melun*, grand-master of his household, to be restored to him; and *Melun* was tried and executed, as were several others, who had fallen under his displeasure.

Lewis thinking himself now firmly fixed at home, and knowing that the *English* parliament was far from being well affected towards the duke of *Burgundy*, proceeded in his operations against *Bretagne*; which he committed to the duke of *Calabria*; while he himself covered *Normandy* with another army. The duke of *Bretagne* had not then been joined by his *English* auxiliaries. He demanded assistance from the duke of *Burgundy*; and it is said, that, such was the force of money employed by *Lewis*, that the couriers of the two dukes carried their dispatches to him instead of their masters. This is the more probable, as the duke of *Burgundy* was on the point of hanging the herald who brought him, from *Lewis*, the intelligence of the treaty which he afterwards made with the duke of *Bretagne*. Be

this as it will, it is certain that, on the seventeenth of *September*, the duke of *Calabria* forced the duke of *Bretagne* to agree to a treaty ; by which *Lewis* was to pay to his brother, the duke of *Berry*, an annuity of thirty-six thousand livres ; but the most extraordinary article of this treaty was, that the duke of *Bretagne* should renounce all alliances made in prejudice of *France*, and particularly that which he had made with the duke of *Burgundy*.

When this article was laid before the duke of *Burgundy*, he immediately apprehended that he was sacrificed by his ally to *Lewis* ; and he accepted of an invitation made him, by cardinal *Balue*, to enter into a negotiation with *Lewis*, who earnestly desired it ; having been flattered by his courtiers, that he was so able a negotiator, that it was impossible to resist his art and address. He was so much intoxicated with this opinion, that he outwitted himself, by affecting a generosity and openness which was the very reverse of his nature. In hopes of conquering every distrust the duke could have of his sincerity, and thereby obtaining from him what he pleased, he appointed *Peronne*, one of the duke's garrison towns, for the place of negotiation ; and he entered it attended only by three domestics.

but puts
himself in
the duke
of *Bur-*
gundy's
power,

His reception by the duke was answerable to his expectation ; but, upon the arrival of prince *Philip* of *Savoy* and some *French* exiles, *Lewis* began to be apprehensive of his safety. Instead of making his escape, which was still in his power, he desired to be lodged in the castle, in which he was indulged. While he resided there, an account came that the agents of *Lewis* had prevailed upon the *Liegeois* to take arms, to make their bishop, the duke's brother-in-law, prisoner, after putting to death six of his canons, to surprize *Tonges*, and to put its garrison to the sword.

The duke, upon this, made such dispositions about the king's person, that he perceived he was a prisoner. *Lewis* always trusted to money as his only friend, and he had brought a large quantity of it along with him. Notwithstanding the prodigious agitation of his spirits, he applied his gold so liberally, and so artfully, among the duke's courtiers and counsellors, that he was prevailed upon to have another interview with the king, and to let him know on what terms he might purchase his life, if not his liberty.

from
which he
escapes.

When they met, *Lewis* agreed to every thing proposed ; particularly, that his brother, the duke of *Berry*, should be put into possession of *Champagne* and *Bree* ; and he even consented to march in the duke's army against the *Liegeois*. He still, however, found himself a prisoner and strictly guarded. The *Liegeois* made a desperate sally, in which they had almost carried him off and the duke ; but being repulsed, the king was carried to the attack, in which the city was storm-
ed,

ed, and then the duke suffered him to depart. After which, he put the inhabitants to the sword, almost without exception, and reduced the town to ashes.

We have few instances in history of a prince, like *Lewis*, His majesty possessed of wisdom and penetration, who abused them so grossly, as he did, by over-refining them. This was so obvious to the meanest of his subjects, that he became the object of their ridicule. They taught their jays and magpies the word *Peronne*, which they incessantly repeated, till *Lewis* ordered all of them to be destroyed; but not without commanding a list of their owners names to be brought him. At the same time, he published proclamations, that no one should speak ill of the duke of *Burgundy*; who, upon their parting, had assured him, that, if his brother was not contented with his appanage of *Champagne* and *Brie*, he would take no farther concern in his affairs; but begged, if possible, that he might be made easy. Upon this, *Lewis* persuaded his brother to accept of the dutchy of *Guienne* instead of his proposed appanage, as it put him in a situation far less dangerous to the public repose.

The peculiarly timid disposition of *Lewis* unfolded itself His ministers more and more every day; and encouraged such of his ministers as knew him best, to encrease his difficulties by keeping a correspondence with his enemies. He had raised the cardinal *Balue* from the lowest, to the highest, station of a subject; and he and the bishop of *Verdun*, a man of the same ungrateful, perfidious disposition as the cardinal, had entered into a secret correspondence with the court of *Rome* and the duke of *Burgundy*, that, by pointing out to them the weak parts of their master's disposition and government, they might render themselves the more necessary to his affairs. The person entrusted with this correspondence was seized as a spy, by which means their treason was revealed to *Lewis*: but, though they were arrested and convicted, partly even upon their own confessions, yet the terror of the court of *Rome* hung so strongly upon *Lewis*, that he durst not put them to death, but shut them both in iron cages of eight feet square: a mode of confinement which they themselves had devised for others.

The discovery and punishment of this correspondence was of service to *Lewis*; as it made his brother, the duke of *Guienne*, the more pliable. He was treated by *Lewis* with great marks of affection and regard; and he was made his first knight of the order of *St. Michael*; which he instituted at this time, probably that he might keep his great men, who were bound to it by the oath of the institution, firm to his dignity and interest against all persons whatever. He even proposed a match between the duke his brother and the princess of *Castile*; by which he might have mounted that throne had the marriage taken place.

Lewis thought himself happy in this short respite he had from domestic trouble. He encouraged the *Catalans* in their revolt under his nephew, the duke of *Calabria*, from the king of *Arragon*; who was thereby disabled from recovering the counties of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*, which were still in the possession of *Lewis*. The duke of *Burgundy* had an only daughter, who was the greatest heiress in *Europe*; and it was probably with an eye to a match between her and the duke of *Guienne* that he had fixed *Champagne* and *Brie* as that prince's appanage. It gave him a sensible disquiet, when he understood that it was altered into *Guienne*; and the duke of *Guienne* himself preferred the match to that with the prince of *Castile*.

Lewis, to sound the duke of *Bretagne*, offered him his order of *St. Michael*; but he declined it on account of the oath annexed to it. The duke of *Burgundy* was not so scrupulous with regard to that of the garter, which he accepted of from *Edward IV.* in the winter of the year 1469. That prince relying upon his connections with the dukes of *Guienne* and *Bretagne*, had disbanded his army; and the great revolution which now happened in *England*, gave a new face to the affairs of *Lewis*. The earl of *Warwick*, whose daughter the duke of *Clarence*, brother to *Edward IV.* had married, had been obliged to dismiss his army; and intended to have repaired to *Calais*, of which he was governor; but he was denied admission into the place: upon which he turned pirate with the ships under his command.

As he had a secret correspondence with *Lewis*, that prince not only winked at his piracies, but ordered some of his ships to join him; though, with his usual policy, he pretended they were fitted out to suppress him. The duke of *Burgundy*, whose subjects were the chief sufferers, discovering the collusion, wrote a letter, with his own hand, to the archbishop of *Narbonne*, *Lewis's* first minister, and the admiral of *France*, in the following remarkable terms:

Remarkable letter of the duke of *Burgundy*. “The vessels which you told me the king had put to sea against the *English*, have fallen upon my subjects, in their return to my dominions; but, by *St. George*, if you do not take care of them, with the help of *God*, I will. Nor will I mind your apologies, or your reasons for your justification, which are too stiff and long winded.”

By this time, though the house of *Lancaster* was fallen so low that the duke of *Exeter*, one of its princes, was begging his bread, bare-footed, in the streets of *Brussels*; and *Henry's* queen, with her children, wanted the common necessities of life; yet *Lewis* approved of a scheme, formed by the house of *Warwick*, for restoring *Henry* to his throne. They agreed that their joint fleets should make a descent upon *England*. The subjects of the duke of *Burgundy* still continuing to suffer by the earl of *Warwick's* depredations, he wrote

wrote a letter to the parliament of *Paris*; in which he railed against the king; complained of the violation of the treaty of *Peronne*; and threatened, that, if the earl did not leave *France*, and order his ships from his coasts, he would come at the head of an army, and drag him from whatever place he should take shelter in.

The parliament, the members of which were then overjoyed at the news of the birth of a dauphin, treated his insolence with proper contempt; upon which, he gave orders for his fleet to join that of *Edward*; and, in conjunction, they formed a force superior to any that *Warwick* and *Lewis* could put to sea. Notwithstanding this, the *French* admiral amused *La Veer*, the admiral of *Burgundy*, so artfully, that the earl of *Warwick* escaped with his ships to *England*. He carried with him a few *Frenchmen*; and it is well known how he replaced *Henry* upon that throne.

Birth of a dauphin.

Lewis, in the mean while, summoned an assembly of his great lords at *Tours*, but took care to have an army in readiness under the constable, to execute any decrees the members might make. The duke of *Burgundy's* late proceedings were warmly complained of by the count of *Eu*, and being supported by many aggravations, he was by the assembly ordered to appear before the parliament as a peer of *France*. Though the duke of *Burgundy* treated this summons with the utmost indignity, yet the constable, the count of *St. Paul*, took *St. Quintin*, before the duke was prepared to face him in the field, and made such progress in *Piccardy*, where *Amiens* likewise surrendered to him, that the duke of *Bretagne* made his submissions to *Lewis*, who was sure that his brother, the duke of *Guienne*, would not oppose him. Thus this formidable triumvirate received a severe blow; for the duke of *Burgundy* was, at the same time, deserted by his natural brother *Baldwin*, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence. The duke of *Burgundy* hearing of his repeated losses, for *Roie* and *Montdidier* had by this time surrendered, repaired with five hundred horse to *Arras*, where he raised an army, but sent the most reproachful messages to the duke of *Guienne*, and the constable, upbraiding them for their ingratitude. Both the constable and the duke of *Bretagne* advised him to give his daughter in marriage to the duke of *Guienne*, but he rejected their advice, and though *Edward IV.* had been driven out of *England*, he trusted to the connections he had formed with the *Lancaster* family, and to the validity of the league with *England*, which he believed must hold good under every government. In short, he resolved to negotiate with *Lewis*, rather than be obliged to obey the dictates of his own friends. He treated, however, at the head of an army, and having passed the *Somme*, he sent a very dutiful letter to the king, informing him that he had been

War with the duke of Burgundy.

been imposed upon, when he was persuaded to declare against him.

A truce.

The dispositions of *Lewis* were pretty similar to those of the duke; but a fresh revolution in *England* again altered the face of affairs; for, by the assistance he had offered to *Edward IV.* who had been driven to *Holland*, that prince recovered the throne of *England* by defeating *Henry* at the battle of *Barnet*, where the earl of *Warwick* was killed. A truce had been concluded for a year between *Lewis*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, who made use of it to regain the confidence of his old friends, by seeming to agree to the marriage of his daughter to the duke of *Guienne*, and by even sending the bishop of *Montauban* to solicit the pope for a dispensation. It is uncertain whether he was sincere in this, or did it to obtain the better terms from *Lewis*, who believed him to be in earnest. He sent one of his ministers, *Bouchage*, to expostulate with the duke of *Guienne* upon the breach of what he had sworn, when he promised upon the cross never to consent to that match. *Edward IV.* represented to the duke of *Burgundy* at the same time, the danger to which *England* must be exposed from that marriage, if the duke of *Guienne* should ever succeed to the crown of *France*, which was no unlikely event.

Death of the duke of *Guienne*

It seems almost certain, that *Lewis* was convinced the match would soon take place, and that he employed one *Favois Vesois*, a *Benedictine* monk, who was his brother's confessor, to poison him, which he actually did, while the duke sat at supper with *Montforan*, his favourite mistress. The poison was served up in a dish of fish. The lady died immediately. A brave nobleman, who was called *de Lescun*, seized the poisoner, and carried him to *Bretagne*, where he was tried and condemned; but was found one morning dead in the prison. *Lewis* ordered the papers relating to his trial to be sent to him, in order to stifle the public clamour, which the manner of his brother's death had excited; but though he established a commission for examining the process, nothing was determined, and *Lewis* loaded the commissioners with favours.

A peace

with *Burgundy*.

Before this event happened, the duke of *Burgundy* had concluded with *Lewis* the peace of *Crotoy*, by which *St. Quintin*, and *Amiens* were restored to the duke, on condition of his abandoning all his connections with the dukes of *Guienne*, and *Bretagne*, while *Lewis* withdrew his protection from the counts of *St. Paul*, and *Nevers*, who were obnoxious to the duke. *Lewis* refused to ratify this peace; and the duke, in revenge for the death of the duke of *Guienne*, recommenced hostilities. The whole of the preceding negotiation was a chain of dissimulation, on both sides; but the conduct of *Lewis*, was, perhaps, more defensible than that of the duke. He had been required by *Lewis* formally to signify to the dukes of *Guienne* and *Bretagne*,

lagne, that they had nothing to expect from him; but he privately intimated to the duke of *Bretagne*, that he had agreed to the treaty of *Crotoy*, only that he might regain *Amiens* and *St. Quintin*, and that he thought himself justified in this management, by the king's having previously broken the treaties of *Conflans* and *Peronne*.

Upon the duke of *Guienne*'s death *Lewis* seized his dutchy, and likewise the county of *Armagnac*. The duke of *Bretagne* was intimidated by this into an accommodation with *Lewis*, who, at the same time, brought over to his service from that of the duke of *Burgundy*, the famous historian and negotiator, *Philip de Commines*. The duke of *Burgundy*, was then attempting to retake the towns on the *Somme*, in which he was unsuccessful; and he had, to as little purpose, made an irruption into *Normandy*. However exasperated he and the king were at each other, the road of negotiation was still open, and upon the return of *Lewis* from *Guienne*, a truce was concluded. In the interview the king and the duke had on this occasion, the latter, who had formed great projects, discovered to the king the correspondence that had all along been kept up between him and the constable, of whom he complained bitterly, for having ravaged his estates, and it was agreed between them to watch their opportunity for undoing him, as soon as *Charles* had finished the reduction of *Guelders*, which he reclaimed under the will of the last duke. But this reunion of *Lewis* and the duke of *Burgundy*, was probably owing to the necessity the latter was under of gaining over *Lewis*, who might otherwise have put an effectual stop to his ambitious views. He had long intrigued with the princes of the empire to be chosen king of the *Romans*; but in this he was thwarted and disappointed by the management of *Lewis*. He then applied to the emperor, *Frederic III.* of *Austria*, to be made king of *Burgundy*, and offered to give his daughter in marriage to his son, young *Maximilian*.

ibid. p. 73.

Intrigues
of the
duke of
Burgundy
in the em-
pire,
ibid.

We have already seen how little sincerity there was on all sides in this negotiation, and how it was frustrated by each party finding out the duplicity of the other, most probably, by the artful management of *Lewis*. After this project misgave, and when *Lewis* and the duke of *Burgundy* were contriving to put their schemes in execution against the constable, the latter gained intelligence of what had been concluded between them. He applied to *Lewis*, with whose disposition he was perfectly well acquainted, and persuaded him that he had received the discovery from the duke of *Burgundy* himself, in order to fix him in his service. *Lewis*, however, dissembled, and prolonged the truce for a year, though the latter was at this time accused of having engaged one of the king's cooks to poison him.

where he
ruins him-
self.

It seems to be certain, that the duke of *Burgundy's* ambition had at this time, involved him in a variety of impracticable projects. He had entered into a fresh negotiation with *Edward IV.* the first intelligence of which, *Lewis* had received from *Scotland.* This negotiation, which was concluded on the twenty fifth of *July 1474,* had for its object, no less than the conquest of all *France* by *Edward,* and the duke of *Burgundy;* and in the preamble to the treaty, *Lewis* is termed the usurper, and *Edward* the lawful heir, of that crown. *Lewis* was certainly ignorant of this treaty, as the *French* historians of that time were likewise, and it seems to be first brought to light by *Mr. Rymer.* *Lewis* having secured the court of *Scotland* in his interest, rejected the advice of his ministers, who were for crushing the duke of *Burgundy* at once, while he was engaged in *German* wars, which *Lewis* was so far from doing, that he prolonged the truce with him, that he might involve himself still farther in the affairs of the empire, which he actually did, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of *Edward,* who called upon him to fulfil the terms of the late treaty. He took part in a dispute concerning the election of an archbishop of *Cologne,* and besieged one of the competitors, *Herman,* in *Nuys,* near that city. *Herman* made so brave a defence, that *Lewis* had leisure to lay a scheme for the destruction of the duke, which afterwards proved successful. By the force of money he gained over the princes of *Germany,* and the cantons of *Switzerland,* who had great reason to be jealous of the duke, who had purchased the county of *Ferrette* from duke *Sigismund* of *Austria.* He brought the duke of *Lorraine* into the same confederacy, and the *Burgundian* was actually besieged in his camp before *Nuys,* by a *German* army, while the other confederates were ravaging his estates to the very gates of his capital; but his obstinacy in continuing the siege of *Nuys* was the crisis of his fate.

Lewis
gains over
the *En-*
glish no-
bility.

The truce between him and *Lewis* being now expired, the latter having compromised all matters between himself and the king of *Arragon,* ordered the duke of *Bourbon* to fall with an army into the duke of *Burgundy's* estates, and at the same time he attacked the towns on the *Somme.* *Edward's* army was on foot, and a noble one it was, ready to invade *France;* but the duke of *Burgundy,* though he was to have shared largely in the spoils of *Lewis,* and had made an honourable retreat from *Nuys,* madly pursued his revenge upon the duke of *Lorraine,* and amused *Edward* with assurances that the constable of *France* was in his interest. Upon *Edward's* landing his army in *France,* he had an interview, with the duke of *Burgundy,* who assured him that the constable would put *Amiens* and *St. Quintin* into his hands, as soon as he should appear before them. But *Edward's* eyes were soon opened as to the state of his alliance with
the

the duke. Before he commenced hostilities he had sent an herald with a letter, demanding the crown of *France* from *Lewis*, who acted with incomparable address on this occasion. He read the letter with an air of gaiety, as if it had been merely complimentary, but taking the herald aside he fairly told him, that his master had been misled by the duke of *Burgundy*, and the constable, who certainly would deceive him, and that the best thing he could do was to enter into a negotiation and return to *England*. He seconded his speech with an handsome present, which prevailed with the herald to give him a hint, which afterwards proved of great use to *Lewis*, that *Edward's* two chief favourites, the lords *Howard*, and *Stanley*, were not inaccessible to money. *Lewis* then ordered *Commynes* to wait upon the herald, till he took his leave, but that he should converse with none, and *Commynes* openly presented him with a piece of crimson velvet, a management that concealed from the public all knowledge of his real business.

Edward soon found the prediction of *Lewis* to be true, and makes for though the duke of *Burgundy* had actually shewn him a treaty promise under the constable's own hand for delivering up with *Ed-* *St. Quintin*, and *Amiens*, and assuring him that he and his *ward*. friends would immediately declare in his favour; yet when a detachment of *Edward's* army appeared before *St. Quintin*, it was fired upon, and it lost some men. *Edward* now saw the futility of all the duke of *Burgundy's* engagements, and without suffering himself to be farther amused, his ministers sent a private message to *Lewis*, on the strength of the herald's information, acquainting him how ready they were to serve him. *Lewis*, who did nothing in the common way, sent an obscure, mean looking, domestic to treat with the lords *Stanley*, and *Howard*, which he did so shrewdly, that he was introduced to *Edward* in person, and after a few previous negotiations, a treaty was concluded, containing the following terms: First, That *Lewis* should, within fifteen days, pay to *Edward* seventy five thousand crowns; together with an annuity of fifty thousand crowns a year, payable at *Easter* and *Michaelmas*, during the joint lives of the two monarchs. Secondly, That a daughter of *Edward* should be married to the dauphin, and she have a jointure of sixty thousand livres a year. Thirdly, *Edward* engaged, upon the payment of the seventy five thousand crowns, to give pledges for evacuating the *French* dominions; and to enter with *Lewis*, not only into a truce for seven years, but into a negotiation for a private treaty.

Many separate articles were inserted, but the above are Corrup- the most material of this famous treaty, which reduced the tion of most powerful king of *France* since the days of *Hugh Capet*, the *French* to be tributary to a lewd, licentious prince, a fact which it nation. is in vain for *French* authors to deny; but perhaps, never was there a people so univervally corrupted as the *French* nation

nation was at this time. It was destitute not only of honesty, but genius. The great men who had served *Charles VII.* so well, were now extinct, and *Lewis* supplied their places from his treasury. Frugal and modest in his own person, without cloaths, equipage, or attendance befitting a private gentleman, he amassed money only that he might squander it in the larger quantities for the purposes of corruption; he knew of no cement of friendship, truth, or honour, but gold, and where that could not be properly placed, as sometimes happened, he converted it into the pleasures of the table, magnificent exhibitions, or whatever he knew would best gratify the taste or humours of those he wanted to corrupt. The *English* court was not more virtuous; but on account of its king's extravagance and unbounded love of pleasure, it was more needy. Both nations had begun to breathe, after long destructive wars, and this, in part, accounts for their degeneracy; but that of *England* was of a more manly species; for they took the money of *Lewis*, as he was a tributary to their nation.

The peace
of *Pi-*
quigni
conclud-
ed.

The preliminaries being settled, the two kings had an interview at *Pequigni*, where the last hand was put to the treaty, and the ransom of queen *Margaret*, who was a captive to *Edward*, was fixed at fifty thousand crowns, which *Lewis* was to pay in five years. The duke of *Burgundy* hearing of the negotiation posted to the *English* camp; but all the answer he received from *Edward* to his reproaches, was, "that it was better to make peace with an enemy, than to rely on a faithless friend." The interview at *Piquigni*, which was upon a bridge built cross the *Seine*, and attended with very particular formalities, finished the ruin of the constable, who was equally the aversion of both parties. He had offered *Eu*, and *St. Valery* to *Edward*, with fifty thousand crowns, if he would break off the accommodation, and *Edward*, at the interview, put all his letters into the hands of *Lewis*. Nothing could be more for the honour of *Edward* and the *English* nation than this peace of *Piquigni*. The army of *Lewis* was far superior to that of *Edward*, who had been betrayed by the duke of *Burgundy* and the constable, and durst not depend on the duke of *Bretagne*. The season was far advanced, and *Edward*, unless he had accepted the constable's offer, did not know where to find winter quarters for his army. He had dictated the terms of the treaty, none of which were objected to by *Lewis*, who, perhaps, was not a little influenced by the appearance of twenty thousand *Englishmen* drawn up on the banks of the *Somme*; add to all this, that *Edward* was treating with one of the bravest and most successful generals of his age. In short, nothing but the unaccountable humour of *Lewis* could have made so disgraceful a treaty preferable to an appeal to arms. The duke of *Gloucester* and the *English* noblemen, who were disappointed in their expecta-

tions

tions from *Edward's* great army, and who railed most against the treaty, were soon made converts to it by the *French* gold, which *Lewis* distributed amongst them; and it is said, upon good authority, that *Edward* had not a minister in his court to whom *Lewis* did not grant a pension, only that they might befriend him in all his transactions with *Edward*; who magnanimously rejected the pressing instances of *Lewis*, that he would abandon the duke of *Bretagne*.

The duke of *Burgundy* parted with *Edward* in great wrath. The constable of France He swore that he disdained to be included in the truce, and that he would enter into no negotiation with *Lewis*, till three months after the *English* had evacuated *France*; but he thought fit to retract this bravado; for on the thirteenth of *September* he concluded a truce with *Lewis* for nine years; and, by a separate article, agreed to give up the constable to *Lewis*. He would have withdrawn that obligation a few hours after he gave it; but it was too late. The constable was delivered up to *Lewis*, carried to *Paris*, tried before the parliament, condemned and publicly executed.

Before the departure of the *English* army out of *France*, *Lewis* gave the soldiers a noble entertainment, upon the streets of *Amiens*, where tables were spread covered with wine, and the choicest viands, which they partook of in such numbers, as gave some umbrage to *Lewis*; upon which, *Edward* ordered his troops to evacuate the town. Upon their leaving his kingdom, and after the execution of the constable, *Lewis* found himself in a condition to act more arbitrarily than the most powerful of his predecessors had ever done, and he behaved in every respect like a tyrant. The numbers he put to death by the hands of the executioner upon the slightest surmise, are incredible. He invented iron and wooden cages for the confinement of his prisoners, where they lived in perpetual pain, and his racks, tortures and gibbets were seldom unemployed; but an event soon happened which carried him to the summit of greatness.

We have already seen, that the *Swiss* cantons were among the confederates against the duke of *Burgundy*, whose possessions now extended from the banks of the *Somme* almost to the gates of *Strasbourg*. He secretly aspired to add *Lorraine* and *Switzerland* to his dominions; and under pretence of certain *Swiss* fiefs, interspersed among the estates he had bought from the house of *Austria*, he had obliged their deputies to address him on their knees, as his vassals. *Lewis* had bestowed upon him the constable's confiscated estate, and had encouraged him in his wild pursuits of dominion over *Lorraine* and *Switzerland*. His insatiable ambition made him ruin *Lorraine*, where he took *Nancy*, and drove that duke out of his dominions. He then sought every occasion to quarrel with the *Swiss*, and many presented, which occasioned several acts of hostilities between the

the *Swiss* and his subjects. After the reduction of *Nancy*, he found himself under no restraint of openly declaring that he was resolved to subdue *Switzerland*. The cantons endeavoured to deprecate his wrath, in the most submissive manner, and even offered to renounce their alliance with *Lewis*. All their advances were rejected by the haughty duke, and under pretence of their having committed some hostilities against his ally the count of *Beaumont*, and their having assisted the inhabitants of *Forette* to expel his governor, he entered their country, took several places, and besieged *Morat*. The *Swiss* were not wanting to themselves. They beat his troops before *Grantou*, and they made young *Rene*, duke of *Lorraine*, their general. They beat him a second time before *Morat*, and *Rene* recovered his capital of *Nancy*; while the dutchess of *Savoy*, whom the duke of *Burgundy* had been at great pains to gain over, threw herself under the protection of her brother *Lewis*.

• is killed
in a battle
with the
Swiss.

ibid.
p. 74.

Charles was, at first, dispirited by so many repeated blows; but resuming his courage, he got together a new army with which he besieged *Nancy*. Among his general officers was the count of *Campobasso*, an *Italian* vagabond, who in revenge of a blow he had received from the duke, meditated his destruction, and kept a secret correspondence with the duke of *Lorraine*. It is said, that by means of this person, who had a capital command in the army, the siege of *Nancy* was protracted; and when the duke of *Lorraine*, with fourteen thousand men, chiefly paid by *Lewis's* money, advanced to raise the siege, this same *Campobasso* deserted the duke of *Burgundy* with the troops under his command, but left behind him some officers, who, like himself, were traitors. It is certain, that a decisive battle was fought on the fifth of *January* 1477, in which the duke of *Burgundy's* troops were utterly defeated, and he himself being mortally wounded, was found dead on the ice, next day. Other particulars of this celebrated quarrel and defeat may be seen in the place referred to in the margin.

Lewis re-
annexes
Burgundy
to his
crown,

The death of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy* surnamed *the Rash*, one of the most powerful, and certainly the most ambitious of the princes of that age, introduced into *Europe* a system of power which may be said to last to this day. *Lewis* had already by his conduct sufficiently demonstrated, that he thought his safety was incompatible with that of the duke. He had punished the king of *Sicily* for giving a donative of *Provence* to *Charles*, who upon that founded his claim to that kingdom. He had refused to assist the king of *Portugal*, who had come to *France* on purpose to crave his friendship. He had forced the duke of *Bretagne* to renounce all his connections with the duke of *Burgundy*, and he had punished with death, tortures, and confiscation, such of his subjects as he even suspected of being in the *Burgundian* interest. He waited impatiently for the account of every battle

battle fought by *Charles*, and if it went against him, he was sure to give a pecuniary gratification to the messenger. Being assured of the duke's death, his joy, notwithstanding all his dissimulation, broke out into extravagance; he publicly declared, that he was resolved to unite the late duke's dominions to the crown of *France*, by marrying the dauphin to his heiress, who was then about eighteen, some say twenty one, years of age. To execute this purpose he raised an army, and marched into *Burgundy*, which he seized, as he did the towns on the *Somme*, with the county of *Artois*, and the city of *Bezançon*; all which he pretended were male fiefs. In short, he stript the heiress at once of two thirds of her inheritance, and undoubtedly would have seized the remainder, had he not fondly hoped to annex it to his crown by the marriage, though the proposed bridegroom was then no more than seven years of age.

It was now that *Lewis* felt the operation of the gold he had distributed among the *English* nobility. Even *Edward's* own sister, the dutchess dowager of *Burgundy*, could not prevail with him to interpose in favour of the princess. *Lewis* had brought over her chancellor with the rest of her *Flemish* ministers to his interest. They abhorred the *French* alliance, and put to death, even in the presence of the young princess, who in vain interceded for their lives, such of her counsellors as favoured it. *Maximilian*, son to the emperor of *Germany*, was their favourite choice, and the states of *Flanders* pretended that their sovereign ought to be directed by them in so an important an affair as the disposal of her body in marriage. It appears, however, that the young dutchess had given *Lewis* very favourable intimations of her inclination to marry the dauphin; and that he sent her letters to the *Flemings*, who were so enraged at reading them, that they put her under confinement, and raised an army to protect her against *Lewis*. Many were the rivals who pretended to marry her. The queen of *England* contested strongly, that her brother, the earl of *Rivers*, should be the happy man. *Adolphus*, duke of *Guelders*, who had a fair prospect of success, was killed in a battle by the *French*. The count of *Angoulême*, one of the first princes of *Lewis's* blood, was, likewise, a candidate for her hand, but his pretensions were discouraged by *Lewis*; and unsurmountable objections starting up against each, the princess, by the advice of her-mother-in-law, sister to *Edward*, declared for *Maximilian*, whom she accordingly married, with the approbation of the states of *Flanders*, who put him at the head of an army. It was generally thought, that *Lewis* would have resented the conclusion of this match; but he seemingly approved of it, seeing that there was no possibility of bringing the *Flemings* to consent to the marriage of his son, with the young dutchess, and dreading the consequences of her matching with the count of *Angoulême*.

and di-
vides the
Flemings.

The heir-
ess of
Burgundy
marries
the arch-
duke
*Maximi-
lian*.
ibid.
p. 74.

Death of
the count
of Armag-
nac.

Lewis, though he disguised his resentment, found his situation such, that he was obliged to give up *Quesnoy* and *Bouchain* to *Maximilian*, and, by the help of his pensioners at the court of *England*, he obtained a prolongation of the truce between the two nations. This gave *Lewis* an opportunity to attend to the internal state of his kingdom. The count of *Armagnac*, now duke of *Nemours*, whom he had so generously freed from his imprisonment, in the beginning of his reign, had on several occasions joined, or seemed to join, with the enemies of *Lewis*, who vowed his destruction with unparalleled barbarity. He was seized at *Carlat*, in 1477, carried to the bastille, where he was imprisoned in an iron cage, suffered the torture, and condemned to death. His execution was accompanied by an extraordinary strain of barbarity; for *Lewis* ordered his children to be confined under the boards of the scaffold, where their father suffered, that they might be sprinkled, as they were, with their father's blood. The duke's estates were distributed among the royal favourites, the chief of whom was one *Oliver le Dain*, his barber, who got an entire ascendancy over his master, by threatening to poison him, or to cut his throat, if he lost his favour. But those were only personal cruelties, for *Lewis* introduced one that was political, which extended beyond the lives of the original delinquents. He emitted an edict, by which all persons who had knowledge of any treasonable practices, were to be treated as principals, if they did not reveal them.

Conduct
of Maxi-
milian.

ibid.

p. 75.

Maximilian had parts and courage, and resolved, if possible, to regain part of his wife's hereditary dominions, which had been seized by *Lewis*. In this he was supported by the states of *Flanders*; but *Lewis* gave the command of an army to *Chaumont*, who retook the city of *Besançon*. Both parties found it their interest to conclude a truce, and the reader in other parts of this history, will find a detail of the numerous engagements and negotiations in which *Lewis* was now involved.

Lewis
discovers
and de-
feats the
intrigues
of his
enemies.

It is certain, that he was haunted with the most despicable weaknesses that can attend human nature, while he was exerting the most amazing acts of true, as well as false, policy. He detached don *Ferdinand* and donna *Isabella*, king and queen of *Arragon* and *Castile*, from their connections with the emperor of *Germany*, and his son; and he plied the court of *England* so effectually with his gold, that neither the dutchess dowager of *Burgundy*, nor the duke of *Bretagne*, could awaken *Edward* to a just sense of his interests. So far from that, he connected himself more closely with *Lewis* than ever, though *Lewis* had discovered that *Edward* and the duke of *Bretagne* were pursuing measures entirely destructive to his crown. Though the correspondence between them was carried on with what they thought to be impenetrable secrecy; yet so forcible was the corruption employed by *Lewis*, that he transcribed the originals of their most private correspondence, and communicated

communicated the copies to both parties; but *Lewis* was so moderate, that he made no other use of this discovery than to make the principals sensible of their danger, and that he was acquainted with their practices. Each thought that he was betrayed by the other; but *Lewis* made advantage of both, and disposed of his money so well at the court of *England*, that he prevailed with *Edward* to prolong the truce between the two nations, on pretence that the dauphin was yet too young to consummate his marriage; which had been agreed upon between the parents, with *Edward's* daughter, the princess *Elizabeth*, who was, afterwards, the wife of *Henry VII.* of *England*. At the same time, he entered with *Edward* into a most seemingly cordial a new treaty, for each engaged to assist the other against his rebellious subjects; to give one another shelter in their respective dominions, and to make no alliance without the joint approbation of both. *Lewis*, about the same time, proposed to join an army with one from *England* to conquer *Flanders*, which he was to give up to *Edward*, together with *Brabant*, as soon as it should be conquered; but the people of *England* were so much attached to the house of *Burgundy*, that they would not suffer him to prosecute such a war.

Lewis continued to pay *Edward's* appointments with the utmost punctuality; but *Edward* perceived he was shuffling with him with regard to the marriage between the dauphin and his daughter, and therefore concluded a treaty with the archduke *Maximilian*, and his wife the dutchess of *Burgundy*, who promised to continue to him the annual subsidy of fifty thousand crowns, if *Lewis* should withdraw it, while *Edward* sent to their assistance six thousand archers, and obtained a promise that their son, the count of *Charolois*, who was yet in his cradle, should marry his daughter *Anne*. *Edward* vindicated his conduct in concluding this treaty, by taxing *Lewis* with the breach of his agreement with him, and of having spirited up the *Scots* to invade *England*.

Maximilian had now renewed hostilities against *Lewis*, and besieged *Terouenne*, which *d'Esquerdes*, the French governor of *Picardy*, attempting to relieve, a battle ensued at *Guingate*. The *French*, who were strongest in horse, had, at first, the advantage of the field, but it was soon recovered by *Maximilian*, at the head of the *Flemish* infantry. He was disabled, however, from pursuing the siege; but he hanged the commandant, and put to the sword the garrison of a castle he afterwards took; for which *Lewis* ordered fifty prisoners taken at the battle of *Guingate*, among whom, was a son of the king of *Poland*, who served as a volunteer in the *Flemish* army, to be hanged; but a reprieve came to the *Polish* prince, while the halter was about his neck.

The great trade which the *Flemings* then carried on rendered their ships very profitable prizes to the *Norman* privateers, the chief of whom was one *Coulon*, who, this year, took fourscore sail of them. This blow dispirited the

Flemings from carrying on the war with vigour, and before the end of the year they concluded a truce. In 1480, died *Charles de Maine*, count of *Provence*, the last of the house of *Anjou*; and *Lewis* inherited his estates. As the *Franc* archers, or militia, raised and paid by the villages, had misbehaved in the battle of *Guingate*, *Lewis* broke them, and substituted in their place ten thousand *Swiss*, who were then reckoned equal to any troops in *Europe*, to whom he added ten thousand of his own regulars. That same year, the cardinal *de la Rovere* came to *France* from the pope, to offer his mediation between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*; but though he failed in his errand, he procured the liberty of cardinal *Balue*, who had leave to retire to *Rome*.

The excessive application of *Lewis* to business began to affect his health, and he was attacked by a stroke of a palsy, from which he recovered; but it was far from relaxing the intenseness of his application. Having, as we have already seen, new modelled his army, he was indefatigable in introducing into it a new discipline, and he ordered a strong camp to be marked out in *Normandy*, where he assisted in person at all the reviews and exercises of his soldiers. He put the affairs of his nephew, duke *Philibert* of *Savoy*, on an excellent footing; but that prince dying in the spring of the year 1481, as he was paying a visit to his uncle, *Lewis* declared himself guardian to his brother and successor *Charles*. Two events which happened soon after carried the good fortune of *Lewis* to its summit.

Edward of *England*, and the duke of *Bretagne*, this year dies of a fit of the apoplexy. concluded a treaty, which was aimed against *Lewis*; but before any thing could be done in consequence of this treaty, *Edward* was carried off by a fit of an apoplexy; and the dutchess of *Burgundy* was killed by a fall from her horse. By those two deaths *England* fell into distractions, and the house of *Burgundy* lost its support; for the *Flemings* quarrelled with *Maximilian* about the custody of his young son.

ibid. The health of *Lewis* was finally ruined about the time he became thus prosperous. Though he protected the crown of *Navarre*, and kept possession of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*, yet he lived in good correspondence with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, the joint monarchs of *Spain*. He was in alliance with the *Portuguese*; he had nothing to fear from *Italy*, which was torn to pieces within itself; the *Swiss* behaved towards him as if they had been his natural born subjects; the emperor, *Frederic*, was at war with his own relations, and unable to support his son, *Maximilian*. At home, notwithstanding his bloody executions, and the heavy taxes he raised, his people in general found themselves more at ease than they had been under the tyranny of their great lords, and he had raised his revenue from seventeen hundred thousand livres a year, to four millions and an half, exclusive

Great
power of
Lewis.

five

five of the revenues arising from the royal domains. He had added to the kingdom left him by his father, *Burgundy*, the *Franche Comte*, *Artois*, the territory of *Boulogne*, the cities on the *Somme*, *Provence*, and *Anjou*, and, to complete his happiness, he had in a manner annihilated the dangerous powers of the princes of his blood, and his other great lords; but he was now unable to relish his happiness. He had been attacked at *Tours* with another fit of the apoplexy, and he had contracted a gloomy habit of thinking and living. He shut himself up in the castle of *Plessis*, which he ordered to be moated round, and his windows darkened and ironed, like those of a prison. His spirit was so much affected, that the domestics about his person, whom he had raised out of the dust, obtained of him what they pleased, by threatening to put an end to his life; and what is pretty extraordinary, the more sensibly he perceived the approaches of death, he was at the greater pains to conceal them from the world. If at any time he appeared in public, he affected an unusual gaiety of dress, and admitted of diversions, to which he was so little used, that they were of the most ridiculous and extravagant kind.

Lewis, with every quality that was at once contemptible and cruel, was superstitious to a degree almost incredible, and therefore he imagined himself to be religious. He was always covered over with relics, and when he was about to commit a murder, he used to ask pardon of a leaden image of the *Virgin Mary*, which he wore in his hat; and he made a present of the county of *Boulogne* to the same virgin. All his arts, however, could not prevent the horrors of death from preying upon his soul. While he continued shut up at *Plessis*, it was surrounded by numerous guards, that none might have access to his person without a special permission. He gave immense prices for fresh relics, which he purchased from all quarters; and hearing of a *Calabrian* hermit, one *Francisco Martorillo*, celebrated for his piety, he sent for him, threw himself at his feet, and begged him to prolong his life by his prayers. By the pope's permission he wore the surplice and the aumess, which is the ornament of a canon when he celebrates mass; and he enacted that, at twelve o'clock at noon, upon the toll of a bell, all his subjects should say an *Ave Maria*. A few weeks before his death he sent for his son, who had been educated at *Amboise*, under the lord *Beaujeu*, to whom he had given his daughter *Anne* in marriage, and gave him his last advice, which was so excellent that it would have done honour to the memory of the best and wisest of princes; but above all, he enjoined him not to follow his example, but to live in peace with his neighbours, and be a father to his people.

Being visited with the third stroke of the apoplexy, as Death, soon as he recovered his senses, he ordered his seal to be carried to his son, whom he directed to be treated from that

time as king, and he died on the thirtieth of *August* 1483, not without expressing some remorse for the wickedness and cruelty of his life, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and the sixty-first of his age.

and character of
Lewis.

We shall now proceed to the bright part of the character of *Lewis*, who possessed many great and noble qualities. He suffered no man in his kingdom, but himself, to be unjust, and was strict in the administration of his civil and criminal courts. When *Paris* was depopulated by pestilence, he replenished it with inhabitants, and though many of them were outlaws and robbers, yet so excellent was the police he had introduced, that they became good and orderly subjects. We have already observed, that he was brave in his person, and an able, fortunate general, when he chose to act at the head of an army. He was liberal even to a fault, and, for the conveniency of his subjects, he established two hundred and thirty carriers, who travelled through his kingdom in the nature of posts, and let out their horses to his subjects, at the rate of ten sols for thirty leagues. He established one standard for weights and measures throughout his kingdom, and was the author of many other useful institutions, which proved how well he had studied the arts of government.

He proved but an indifferent husband to his first wife, *Margaret of Scotland*, though a most amiable princess. She was famous for regarding learned men, and for having killed *Alain Chartier*, the best scholar, but the ugliest man about the court, while he was asleep. Perhaps, this freedom of behaviour disgusted her husband, for she died of heart-break. The second wife of *Lewis* was *Charlotte of Savoy*, by whom he had a son, *Joachim*, who died young, as did his second, *Francis*, duke of *Berry*. His daughters were *Anne*, whom he married to the lord of *Beaujeu*, younger brother to the duke of *Bourbon*, and *Joan*, married to the duke of *Orleans*, but was divorced from him after he became king. *Lewis*, notwithstanding his religious freaks, had several mistresses, and natural children; but he proved an inhuman husband to *Charlotte of Savoy*, whom, when he was upon his death-bed, he condemned to exile at *Amboise*, where she died that same year, in the thirty eighth year of her age.

Charles VIII.

Charles
neglected
in his edu-
cation.

THIS prince lay under many disadvantages both of body and mind. In his person he was deformed, but he had a lively eye. His parts, though of themselves they were but moderate, remained wholly unimproved by education, through the jealousy of his father, who strictly enjoined his governor, the lord of *Beaujeu*, to keep him ignorant

ignorant of every accomplishment that became his rank. *Lewis*, in his life time, had given his daughter *Anne*, the appellation of dame, or lady of *Beaujeu*, and well knowing the disadvantages under which his son, who had now attained the age of fourteen, which was that of his majority, lay, he had wisely recommended her to be assistant to his son in his government, but without naming her husband, to prevent all contest for superiority between him and the other princes of the blood. His providence was ineffectual; for though the lord of *Beaujeu* was well qualified to be her brother's coadjutor, (she could not be regent because he was of age) yet her authority was disputed by the dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*. The former was an amiable young prince of twenty three years of age, and the other about sixty; but universally respected for his wisdom and moderation. The duke of *Orleans* was first prince of the blood. He presented a memorial to the parliament of *Paris*, praying that the administration should be altered. That body was in the dame of *Beaujeu's* interest, and very properly answered the duke, by *la Vaquerie*, their first president, that they were no other than a court of law, and had no power in the affairs of government, which belonged to the assembly of the states.

While this affair was in agitation, all parties, to render themselves popular, agreed in punishing the infamous tools ministers of government in the late reign. The chief of those were punished, *Oliver le Daim*, count of *Meulun*, whom *Lewis* had raised from being his barber, to be his bosom favourite and first minister; but he was now hanged, upon an accusation of adultery and murder. *John Doiac*, another instrument of oppression under *Lewis*, after being twice whipped, lost both his ears; but *Cottier*, the physician of *Lewis*, who had amassed a vast fortune, and did what he pleased by threatening to poison his master, if he punished him, purchased his peace with his money.

After the re-annexation of *Burgundy* to the crown, the duke of *Bretagne* was considered as the first vassal of *France*. He had generally protected the earl of *Richmond*, afterwards *Henry VII. of England*; but the duke, though otherwise an excellent prince, had for some time been governed by *Landais*, who, like *Daim*, had risen from the profession of a common barber, to be his first minister. His morals were as worthless as his birth was mean, and he was hated by the *Breton* nobility; but though the prince of *Orange*, and marshal *Rieux*, had sought to displace him, his master's partiality in his favour disappointed them, and forced them to leave *Bretagne*. *Landais* applied for protection to the dame of *Beaujeu*, but without effect, for she protected all the *Bretons* who were his enemies. *Landais*, at first, befriended the earl of *Richmond*, and persuaded his master to lend him five thousand men for a descent upon *England*;

but his fleet being forced back by stress of weather, *Landais* engaged to deliver him up to *Richard*, tho' without his master's privity; but this agreement was discovered, and the earl escaped out of *Bretagne*, and was received at *Langy* with great politeness and affection by the *French* court, who promised to assist him with troops upon his swearing to marry the princess *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to *Edward IV.* *Landais*, on his application, being rejected by the dame of *Beaujeu*, invited the duke of *Orleans* to repair to *Bretagne*. That duke's principal friend, at this time, was the count of *Longueville*, whose father *Dunois*, had so gloriously served *Charles VII.* He advised the duke to court the duke of *Bretagne's* daughter and heiress; but the count, when he saw her, fell in love with her himself.

Intrigues
of the
duke of
Orleans,

The dame of *Beaujeu* was perfectly sensible of the duke of *Orleans* views when he visited *Bretagne*, and he was forced, against his inclination, to repair to the assembly of the states at *Tours*. Before their meeting, she had brought over to her interest her brother-in-law, the duke of *Bourbon*, by promising him the constable's sword; so that the *Orleans* party in the assembly were the minority, and the assembly confirmed her authority, and appointed a council to assist her. Before the states separated they made the king a present of three hundred thousand livres to defray the expence of his coronation, besides two millions and an half for his ordinary occasions. The vesting the government in a manner wholly in the dame of *Beaujeu*, was far from being agreeable to the princes and nobility of *France*, and even the duke of *Bourbon*, thinking he had been outwitted, joined the *Orleans* party; as did *Rene*, the duke of *Alençon*.

to whom
the king
inclines

The dame of *Beaujeu* knowing that their chief dependence was upon the duke of *Bretagne*, hazarded, on this occasion, a notable stroke of policy. She sent a person of a steady address, whom she could trust, in the name of the duke of *Orleans*, to desire the duke of *Bretagne* not to send any troops into *France* till he should call for them; by which the duke was, for that time, disappointed of his auxiliaries, on whom he depended. But notwithstanding this, the dame of *Beaujeu* was in a most undesirable situation, for the king himself inclined to the *Orleans* party, and there was no man of great consequence in *France*, excepting her own husband, whom she could depend on. She was obliged to pacify *Rene*, duke of *Lorraine*, who claimed all the *Anjouvine* estates, by giving him a pension, and the dutchy of *Bar*, and promising that his title should be examined. The dame of *Beaujeu*, by this management, brought over to her party, a firm friend. When the duke of *Orleans*, after his being disappointed from *Bretagne*, came to court, he found the king surrounded by the dame's creatures, and that it was impossible to render himself master of

of the king's person. He addressed himself to the parliament; but they refused to concern themselves in the dispute; and he failed in the execution of a design he had formed upon *Orleans*. Being thus disappointed on all hands, he was forced to compromise matters with the dame of *Beaujeu*; who insisted upon his parting with his faithful friend the count of *Longueville*; and that count generously advised him to consent to the separation.

The revolution which happened, at this time, in *England*, Revolution in
had a great influence upon the affairs of *France*. The earl of *Richmond*, after being generously entertained at that court, *England*.
obtained the command of two thousand, some say four thousand, of the best troops of *France*; who had been greatly instrumental towards his mounting the throne of *England*. He had likewise borrowed a large sum of money from that court; and had left the marquis of *Dorset*, and Sir *John Bourchier*, his hostages for repaying it. Having then no enemy to fear in *England*, the dame of *Beaujeu*, who, in imitation of her father, had fomented the disorders in the *Low Countries*, seemed secure in her government, though she was well apprized of her secret danger.

By this time, the *Breton* noblemen had put to death *Peter Landais*, and the affairs of that dutchy were in the hands of the prince of *Orange* and count *Lescun*, who appeared to be attached to the court of *France*. The prince of *Orange*, however, kept up a private correspondence with the duke of *Orleans*; whose variance with the dame of *Beaujeu* now proceeded to such a height, that he gave her the lie at the council-table; which was resented by a blow on the face by the duke of *Lorraine*. The duke of *Orleans*, encouraged by the prince of *Orange*, escaped from the *French* court to *Bretagne*, where a strong confederacy was formed against the dame's administration.

The chief parties were, the dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans*, and *Maximilian*, now king of the *Romans*. They guaranteed the succession of *Bretagne* to that duke's daughters; against the and their prospect of success was such, that the dukes of *French*
Lorraine and *Bourbon*, with the count of *Angoulême*, entered monarchy
into the confederacy. The dame of *Beaujeu* was not wanting to herself. As the strength of the confederacy lay in *Bretagne*, and the property of its members in other parts of *France*, the young king, who, with the appearance of a changling, had a martial disposition, put himself at the head of an army; and, being again joined by *Rene*, duke of *Lorraine*, he fell upon their estates in *Anjou* and *Guienne*; which he ravaged so unmercifully, that several of the allies dropped off from the confederacy; and, in particular, the duke of *Bourbon* with the count of *Angoulême*. Some motions of *Maximilian*, king of the *Romans*, on the side of *Flanders*, prevented *Charles* carrying his arms all at once into *Bretagne*; but his army remained so long upon its frontiers, that the
Breton

Breton nobility made a secret treaty with *France*; by which the *Orleans* party was weakened, as that duke was to have left *Britany* by the terms of the agreement.

whom the
duke of
Bourbon
joins,

The acquisition of the duke of *Bourbon* proved to be of great importance to the dame of *Beaujeu*; for he discovered, to her, two lords about the king's person, *Cubant* and the famous *Philip de Commynes*, who held a correspondence with the duke of *Orleans*, who were condemned to spend eight months in one of the iron cages constructed in the late reign.

as *d'Albret*
does the
confederates.

The dame of *Beaujeu's*, or what we may call the court-party, was now possessed of vast advantages; and the duke of *Orleans*, finding his party to be too weak among the *Bretons*, and that *Maximilian*, whose private agent was the prince of *Orange*, was of little service to his cause, applied to the lord *d'Albret*, one of the confederates, and a very powerful prince. His dominions, however, where his troops lay, were far separated from *Bretagne*; and the intermediate provinces were held by the king: but he was tempted by the hopes of marrying the heiress of *Bretagne*, though the duke of *Orleans* secretly intended her for himself, in expectation of getting a divorce from his own wife; and the prince of *Orange* expected she would fall to the share of the king of the *Romans*. *D'Albret* swallowed the bait; and, the treaty between *Charles* and the *Breton* lords being now ineffectual, he entered that province with three great armies.

Duke *Francis II.* was then old; but he was beloved by his subjects, and at the head of eighteen thousand men. An artful *Breton*, one *Maurice de Menez*, gave out, that the quarrel between the king and the duke of *Orleans* was only a feint to reduce *Bretagne*, and get the person of their duke into the power of *Charles*: upon which, great part of his army left him; and *Ploermell*, *Vannes*, and *Dinant*, were reduced by *Charles*, who then formed the siege of *Nantes*.

The siege
of *Nantes*
raised.

Both parties, on this occasion, applied to *Henry VII.* of *England*, who had formerly lain under the highest obligations to each; but that artful prince eluded the application, and seemed rather to blame the ambition of the duke of *Orleans*, than disposed to enter into his quarrel. The duke of *Bretagne* was now obliged to raise the militia of the *Lower Bretagne*; consisting, as it is said, of sixty thousand men; and he and his generals behaved with such courage and conduct, that they obliged the *French* army to raise the siege of *Nantes*: and the arts that had been made use of to divide the duke and his subjects being now fully exposed, they were reconciled anew.

Views of
Charles
upon *Bre-*
tagne,

The truth is, the public began now, to more than, suspect, that *Charles*, though contracted to the dutchess of *Burgundy*, who was then actually at his court, intended to marry the princess of *Bretagne*; and thereby to reannex that noble dutchy to his crown. The consideration of this awakened *Henry* from his neutrality, and he winked at some of his subjects

subjects serving as volunteers in *Bretagne*, to the great disgust of the *French*. His parliament, almost to a man, was against the re-annexation; and voted a subsidy for supporting the duke of *Bretagne*. But it was then too late. *Charles*, before he put into winter-quarters, had, by his excellent general, *La Trimouille*, taken *Clisson*, *Guerche*, *d'Ancennis*, *Chateau Briant*, *Vitre*, and many other places, which the successes of the marshal *de Rieux*, the *Breton* general, in the winter, could not compensate for. *Charles* was equally successful at *Guienne*, where the lord *d'Albret* found himself under the necessity of submitting; and, early in the spring, *Charles* once more entered *Bretagne* with a noble army, commanded, under himself, by *Trimouille*; after his other troops had beaten those of *Maximilian* and taken the town of *St. Omer*.

The re-union of the *Breton* lords, who now clearly saw which he the danger of their country's losing its independency, gave fresh spirit to the duke of *Orleans* and his party; but they still affected great moderation, by treating with the dame of *Beaujeu*; who amused them, in her turn, till, in the spring, they found the *French* army in the heart of their country. By this time, the lord *d'Albret* had resumed his arms; and had, by sea, joined the *Bretons* with four thousand men; besides, his troops, who, being in the king's service, had revolted on this occasion.

A war, thus subject to so many vicissitudes, and assuming so many different complexions, required the greatest address and firmness to manage it; and the dame of *Beaujeu* discovered both. The parliament of *Paris*, and the assembly of the states, still continued to be in her interest; and the duke of *Orleans*, with the counts of *Longueville* and *Comminges*, with other noblemen, received summonses to appear before the parliament, and to answer for their conduct. The voice of authority is so powerful, that they were afraid of being treated as rebels; and they thought that they had now no other safety but the success of their arms.

The *French* army besieged *Fougeres*, the strongest frontier town belonging to *Bretagne*, and garrisoned by two thousand men. It held out only for eight days, which was a great disappointment to the duke of *Orleans* and the *Breton* lords; and the loss of *St. Aubin de Cormier* immediately after, determined them to venture a general engagement; which accordingly happened, on the twenty-eighth of *July*, at *St. Aubin*. The first line of the *Bretons* was commanded by the lord *d'Albret* and the marshal *Rieux*. In the second line, the *English* lord, *Woodville*, or, as some call him, the lord *Scales*, commanded a body of four hundred *English* volunteers; and, so great was the dread of the *English* arms, at that time, that the *Breton* generals ordered sixteen hundred of their own men to wear red crosses; which were the badges of the *English*, in hopes that it would intimidate their enemies. The prince

prince of *Orange* commanded the *Breton* infantry, and the duke of *Orleans* the *German* auxiliaries sent him by *Maximilian*. As to the army of *Charles*, it was chiefly composed of horse, the whole commanded by *Trimouille*, and both armies were pretty equal in their numbers, each amounting to about twelve thousand. Many of the *Breton* horse disliked the service they were engaged in, and they left their foot, who behaved better, to be cut in pieces, so that *Trimouille's* victory was complete. As *Henry*, from his natural caution, had formally disowned the conduct of *Woodville*, we are not to be surprized that neither he nor the *English* under him received any quarter; nor did any of the *Bretons* who fought under the *English* badges; so that about five thousand five men hundred lay dead upon the field.

The duke
of *Orleans*
and the
prince of
Orange
taken
prisoners.

The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Orange* were taken prisoners, and carried to *St. Aubin*, where *Trimouille* entertained them in his apartment; but after supper two cordeliers came in to prepare them, as they said, for immediate death, by *Trimouille's* orders. He relieved them, however, by acquainting them, that he would suspend their fate till he should receive orders from his court; but he told them at the same time, that he had, by his own authority, ordered the heads of some of the *Bretagne* noblemen, who had been taken in arms, to be struck off, as rebels. The battle of *St. Aubin* proved fatal to the confederate princes. The duke of *Orleans* continued three years a prisoner in the castle of *Bourges*. The king of the *Romans* was so far from being able to assist the old duke of *Bretagne*, that he himself had been made a prisoner by the *Ghentois*, and the dame of *Beaujeu*, who by the death of her husband's elder brother, was now dutchess of *Bourbon*, omitted nothing that could improve the victory. She pretended to repose great confidence in *Henry*, that her views were extremely moderate, and that her brother had only attacked the duke of *Bretagne* in order to disable the malecontent princes during the absence of *Charles* in an expedition, which he was meditating for making good his family claim upon the crown of *Naples*.

An ac-
commo-
dation.

All this while, however, the old duke was losing *St. Malo*, and so many other places, that he at last shut himself up in *Nantes*; from whence he sent the count of *Longueville* to obtain the best terms he could from *Charles*. Though that nobleman was excessively obnoxious to the *French* court, yet he was favourably received, and commissioners were appointed on both sides for a treaty. The *Bretons*, before they would enter upon the negotiation, insisted upon those of *France* giving them some categorical satisfaction with regard to the succession of their dutchy, in their master's daughters; and the others made so many difficulties on that head, that the conferences were on the point of breaking off; but the difference was at last compromised, by the duke

duke of *Bretagne* and his states agreeing that he should marry neither of his daughters without the consent of *Charles*. A treaty was then concluded on the twenty-eighth of *August* 1488, which restored the peace of *Bretagne*; but, ten days after, the duke of *Bretagne* died, of the hurts he received by a fall from his horse; and soon after died the youngest princess of *Bretagne*, so that the eldest was now the sole possessor of that dutchy.

Death of
the duke
Bretagne.

Her father, on his death-bed, had left her an excellent council, and had desired her to be chiefly guided by the advice of the count of *Longueville*, and next to him, by the marshal *de Rieux*, and the count of *Comminges*. The marriage of the young dutchess was most singularly perplexed. The late duke had been so far engaged with *Maximilian*, that he had married her by his proxy the prince of *Orange*, who in the name of his principal, had put one of his legs into bed with the princess. After that, the old duke seeing the perplexity of *Maximilian's* affairs, had promised her to the lord *d'Albert*, who was forty five years of age, disagreeable in his person, and already the father of seven legitimate children; therefore we cannot suppose he was agreeable to the young lady, who was no more than thirteen years of age. *Charles* had marked her out for himself; but *Henry VII.* upon whom all her hopes now rested, had never entertained an idea that such a marriage could take place, as *Margaret* of *Burgundy* was still at the *French* court, with her father, *Maximilian's* consent, and was in every respect, but that of age, considered as the wife of *Charles*.

Perplexi-
ties of his
heirefs,

The reader is here to observe, that *Charles* in his right as sovereign, had a strong claim upon the dutchy of *Bretagne*. The heirs of the house of *Penthievre* had ceded to his crown all their rights, which, by the extinction of the male line of the *Mountfort* race, were become now at least very plausible; a process for treason against the late duke was still depending in parliament, nor was *Charles* debarred from re-examining whether the fief of *Bretagne* could descend to females.

who is
assisted by
England.

Such were the considerations, and not the apprehensions of a marriage between *Charles* and the young dutchess, that determined the king and people of *England* to interest themselves seriously in her favour. *Henry* sought, according to his genius, to do it by ballancing parties upon the continent, and by setting numerous negotiations on foot; but to give them weight, he not only connived at his subjects serving in the armies of the dutchess, but raised a noble army for her defence, the command of which he gave to the lord *Brook*, and Sir *John Hawkwell*. He then concluded with her a treaty offensive and defensive at *Rhedon*; by which he was to send over immediately to her assistance six thousand men, but she was to pledge two of her towns, and

and give hostages for repaying his expences, and to engage not to marry but by his consent. After the conclusion of this treaty, which on the part of *Henry* was mean and mercenary, he concluded a treaty with the court of *Spain*, and *Maximilian*, to whom he sent succours for suppressing a fresh insurrection of the *Flemings* against him. He then threw off the mask he had hitherto worn towards *France*, and not only sent over the six thousand *English* auxiliaries to *Bretagne*, but told the archbishop of *Sens*, the *French* ambassador at his court, that he would employ all the force of *England* to prevent any reunion of that dutchy to the crown of *France*,

Upon the landing of the auxiliaries some hostilities past between them and the *French*. The dutchess herself was then in the hands of her chancellor, who had declared for none of her suitors. The marshal de *Rieux* continued to favour *D'Albret*, and kept possession of *Nantes*, but was opposed by the *German* and the *Orleans* party.

Artful conduct of *Charles*. It was now high time for *Charles* to strike the blow he had meditated so long. He quieted all suspicions in the breast of *Maximilian*, to whom he offered to refer all his concerns in *Bretagne*; and brought *John de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, over wholly to his interest, by generously setting him at liberty and sending him back to *Bretagne*; where he had a great interest, and ballanced those of *D'Albret* and the chancellor. The latter had prevailed with the dutchess to prefer her engagements with *Maximilian* to all other; and looking upon him as her husband, she had suffered acts of government to pass in their joint names, in which she was encouraged by *Henry VII*.

This coming to the ears of *Charles*, he proposed setting the duke of *Orleans*, who, by this time, had dropped all pretensions to the dutchess, at liberty; and employing him, and the count of *Longueville*, as his agents at the *Breton* court. The dutchess of *Bourbon*, though she was said to have an affection for the duke of *Orleans*, and though the marriage had been originally planned by herself, opposed his being set at liberty; but *Charles*, by the advice of his favourite, *Meolan*, paid the duke a visit, and delivered him from his confinement with such an air of frankness and affection, as gained him entirely over to his service in the affair of the marriage. But it is now necessary that we should take a view of the conduct of the *French* ministry.

Terms of the treaty of *Frankfort*. A treaty was still depending at *Frankfort* between *Maximilian* and *Charles*. The latter agreed to compromise the differences concerning the earldom of *Charolois* and the dutchy of *Burgundy*, which *Maximilian* still continued to claim in right of his marriage; and that he should employ his best offices in *Maximilian's* favour with the discontented *Flemings*. *Charles*, at the same time, dissembled so well, that

that he agreed to the dutchess of *Bretagne* enjoying all the estates her father died possessed of; provided the *English* should immediately evacuate *Bretagne*; and that those places there which were in the hands of the *French* should be sequestered into the hands of the duke of *Bourbon* and the prince of *Orange*. *Charles*, the better to disguise his real intentions from *Maximilian*, had, during the dependence of this treaty, given him the title of father; and the whole of the negotiation lulled the *Bretons* into security.

Henry VII. alone saw through the duplicity of the *French* court; and not only put the dutchess of *Bretagne* on her guard, but sent her fresh reinforcements; and represented to her, that she had gained, in reality, nothing by the treaty of *Frankfort*; as the execution of the most important interests was referred to future discussions, not to mention that it was absolutely inconsistent with the treaty of *Rhedon*. The secret attachment of the dutchess to *Maximilian*, rendered all *Henry's* representations ineffectual; and she not only made dispositions for carrying the treaty of *Frankfort* into execution, but dismissed her *English* auxiliaries. Even this compliance did not satisfy *Charles*; for, pretending that the *English* ought to evacuate the cautionary towns they held in *Bretagne*, he prepared to renew the war in that dutchy.

The dutchess now found herself in a worse state than ever. Difficulties of the She again flew for relief to *Henry*. He refused to do any thing but negotiate; but, at last, he concluded a treaty with *Maximilian* for recovering, out of the hands of *Charles*, of *Bretagne*, all the places formerly belonging to the dutchies of *Burgundy*, or *Bretagne*. The emperor and the crown of *Spain* acceded to this treaty; and it might have operated powerfully against *France*, if *Henry* could have been persuaded to part with his money. *Charles* knew his weak side, and sent a magnificent embassy to *London*, with *Francis* of *Luxembourg* at its head; the famous *Robert de Gaguin* being appointed speaker for the ambassadors: and, if the speech put in his mouth by lord *Bacon* was actually delivered by him, *Charles* could not have made a better choice.

Henry, at first, was very high in his demands, which amounted to a restitution of all the antient patrimony of the *English* kings in *France*. This being peremptorily refused by the ambassadors, *Henry* was afraid he had gone too far; and, by way of apology, he nominated a fresh embassy to the court of *France*.

Charles, in the mean time, made such dispositions as entirely pent the dutchess of *Bretagne* into a very small district of her dominions; and her contract, or rather marriage, with *Maximilian*, being now public, *d'Albret*, and the marquis de *Rieux*, chose that *Charles* should be her husband rather than *Maximilian*; and, notwithstanding all opposition made by *Henry VII.* they delivered up the city of *Nantes* to *Charles*, who now began to unfold his real intentions of annex-

annexing *Bretagne* to his crown either by arms or marriage. He assembled a large army, and actually blocked the dutchess up in *Rennes*.

who takes the title of *land* was, seems to have been owing to the dutchess of *Bourbon*; but the favourite of *Charles* persuaded him to cast himself entirely upon the affections of his subjects; and that the plan of the dutchess was to rule by a party. The *English* ambassadors were in *France*, and the dutchess applied to them for that protection which their master ought to have given her before. She had, for some time, assumed the title of queen of the *Romans*; but the *French* had so artfully embarrassed *Maximilian* with his *Flemish* and other subjects, that she derived no support from her husband. Under all these discouragements, she behaved with undaunted courage, till the duke of *Orleans* and the count of *Longueville* took the part of *Charles*, exposed her defenceless condition, the disproportion of age between her and *Maximilian*, his needy circumstances, being a king only in name, and all the horrors that must attend her and her country, if *Charles* should acquire *Bretagne* by the way of arms.

To give force to their arguments, *Charles* was now actually besieging *Rennes*; and the dutchess, at last, after some apparent reluctance, consented, that her marriage with *Charles* should be examined by her council. The truth is, she began now to have a mean opinion of *Maximilian's* person as well as power; and she was easily convinced, that there could be no validity in the empty forms of a marriage that he had never consummated; which was precisely the case with *Charles* and *Maximilian's* daughter. In short, all her council had been gained by *French* gold, hostilities ceased, and the marriage between her and *Charles* was consummated.

but is married to *Charles*. The reader can easily figure to himself the astonishment into which this match, said to have been proposed to the bride, and concluded, in one day, threw all *Europe*. It is a circumstance hardly paralleled in history, that a young prince, scarcely twenty, under so many disadvantages, both of person and education, should deprive his father-in-law, for so *Maximilian* had been long considered by the public, of his bride; but it was in vain for *Maximilian* to rave, for he could do little more. The resentment of *Henry* was more dangerous. He had been imposed upon by madam *Laval*, sister to *d'Albret*, and the marshal *de Rieux*, who was, at that time, at his court, and was secretly in the interests of *Charles*. He assembled his parliament, and, in a formal speech, he endeavoured to persuade them of what he did not himself believe; that the *French* were a ruined and divided people; that it was easy for him to form a confederacy with the other princes of *Europe*, which would reinstate him in all that the kings of *England* formerly held in *France*. In short, he

he told them that he was resolved to lead an army in person against *Charles*.

The king of *Spain* was, at that time, actually treating *Henry VII.* with *Charles* about the recovery of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*. *Henry*, however, had gone too far with his parliament not to appear to do somewhat answerable to his engagements. He fitted out a fleet for the assistance of *Maximilian*, whom he found to be so poor that he could not contribute a penny toward his own relief. This cooled *Henry's* ardour, and he began afresh to negotiate with the *French* court; but, at the same time, he went over with a noble army to *Calais*, tho' too late in the year for fighting; it being the sixth of *October* before he landed there. Though he carried over with him thirty thousand well appointed troops, and though he took *Ardres* and besieged *Boulogne*, yet *Charles*, who lay with his army at *Tours*, seemed not to be alarmed; and it soon appeared, that, on the side of *Henry*, he only wanted to save appearances with his subjects; to whom he rendered the siege of *Boulogne*, at so advanced a season, very expensive and fatiguing.

It was not long before *Desguardes*, who had lately been made a marshal of *France*, appeared at *Henry's* head-quarters, and produced full powers from *Charles* for accommodating all differences between the two crowns; and, in a few days, the preliminaries of the famous treaty of *Estaples* were settled. The contents were, That *Henry* should be paid an hundred and fifty thousand pounds for his expences, and that the allies of both crowns should have four months time to be included in the treaty.

This dishonourable negotiation being concluded, *Charles* found himself in the full and secure possession of *Bretagne*; while *Maximilian*, the only power he was now at war with, was unable to prosecute some advantages he had obtained by surprizing *St. Omer* and *Arras*. He therefore was obliged to enter into a treaty with *Charles* at *Senlis*; which turned out greatly to his honour, on account of the passion with which *Charles* still prosecuted his *Neapolitan* expedition. By this treaty, *Maximilian* recovered the person of his daughter; and the counties of *Burgundy*, *Artois*, *Charolois*, with the lordship of *Negent*, were to be restored to *Maximilian*, as father and guardian to *Philip* of *Austria*; who, when he was of age, was likewise to receive *Hedin*, *Aire*, and *Bethune*; but to hold the whole of the crown of *France*; and *Arras* was to be restored to *Charles*.

The incident of the famous *Perkin Warbeck's* appearance, was now of service to the *French* court. It is certain that he was invited thither by *Charles*, who believed him to be the real son of *Edward IV.* and assigned him appointments suitable to that quality. A strong presumption that *Perkin* was no impostor, arises from *Charles* not having secured his person, and given him up, at the time of the treaty of *Estaples*;

ples ; which he might easily have done. Be this as it will, *Henry* sent a most magnificent embassy to *Maximilian's* court, requiring that *Perkin* should be driven out of his dominions ; but receiving no satisfaction, he interdicted all intercourse between *England* and *Maximilian's* subjects.

This step was greatly to the advantage of *Charles*, who now proceeded in his negotiation with *Ferdinand the Catholic*, for the restitution of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne*. *Ferdinand* was the most faithless, but the most politic, prince of that age ; and perceiving that the restitution of those two counties met with vast difficulty, he is said to have employed a cordelier to corrupt the famous *Oliver Maillard*, confessor to *Charles* ; who pretended that the only thing which troubled his father, *Lewis*, on his death-bed, was his not having restored those two counties to the crown of *Spain*. It is said that the dutchess of *Bourbon's* confessor, who was corrupted likewise, employed the same arguments with her ; and both the confessors added, that *Lewis* was suffering intolerable pains in purgatory on that account. But the truth is, that *Charles* was so unaccountably bent upon his *Neapolitan* expedition, that there required little management to persuade him to restore the two provinces, as he did, to *Ferdinand*, upon the latter promising to pay him three hundred thousand crowns ; which sum was likewise remitted upon *Ferdinand* engaging not to make war upon *France*, or to assist any of her enemies.

Vol. X. p. 216, 217. *Henry VII.* in the mean time, put *Charles* out of all apprehension with regard to the safety of his dominions, by acceding to the treaty of *Senlis* ; to which he was now, in part, necessitated by the situation of his affairs. We have already, in the passages quoted in the margin, given a full account of the grounds and pretensions of *Charles's* expedition to *Naples* ; and we shall here only supply what the nature of our undertaking obliged us to omit before.

Charles abused by deceitfuls, was swayed by undeserving favourites. He had been long disgusted with the wise counsels of the dutchess of *Bourbon* ; and he had, for some time, given himself up to his valet de chambre, *Stephen de Vers*, and one *Brissonnet* ; men equally mean in their abilities as their birth ; who, finding that his ruling passion was to conquer *Naples*, had flattered it ; and, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, they had encouraged him to accept of the invitation made him by *Lewis the Moor*, who governed *Milan* in right of his nephew *John Galeazzo*.

Lewis was noted for infidelity, perjury, and every vice that can stain a prince or a man. We have already mentioned the character of *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples* ; but, above all, pope *Alexander VI.* to whom *Charles* trusted, was a monster of mankind. *Ferdinand* died while *Charles* was hastening his preparations ; and *Alexander VI.* not only gave his son *Alphonse*,

Alphonso, who was so immensely rich that he was able to bribe him, the investiture of *Naples*, but sent a message to *Charles*, commanding him not to proceed in his expedition.

Charles, before he set out, might have obtained a tribute *ibid*, 218. of fifty thousand crowns a year, and the superiority of the kingdom of *Naples*; but he rejected them, and appointed the duke of *Bourbon* to be regent of *France* during his absence. When he was at *Asti*, waiting for his artillery, he fell ill of the small-pox; but, upon his recovery, his ambition was flattered by his worthless favourites; who informed him, that *Paleologus*, the nephew and heir of the late emperor of *Constantinople*, had resigned to him all his right to the *Greek* empire.

This chimerical resignation inspired *Charles* with the His right thoughts even of universal monarchy; but he little knew, to the that, by this time, pope *Alexander* had strengthened himself *Greek* empire by an alliance with the emperor *Bajazet* II. and with the *Venetians*; and that *Ferdinand*, king of *Spain*, notwithstanding his late engagements, had sent to sea a fleet for the assistance of *Alphonso*; and was taking measures for forming a very powerful confederacy against him. *Charles*, as we have already seen, marched to *Italy*; and was at the head of an army which the feeble *Italian* troops could not withstand. The duke of *Orleans*, who commanded his fleet, beat that of *Alphonso*; and *Stuart*, lord of *Aubigni*, who commanded the van of his army, prevented *Alphonso's* son, *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, from entering *Romania*.

But *Charles*, with all these specious appearances of success, His needy was soon in the most despicable circumstances. He had no circumstances. money; and the flower of his army, which was composed of *Swiss* soldiers, could not live without pay. He raised a sum upon the jewels which the duchess of *Savoy* and the marchioness of *Montferrat* lent him; and he forced *Peter de Medici* to advance him two hundred thousand crowns. He then entered *Florence* as a conqueror, and demanded of the citizens terms that were equally rash and unreasonable; but they were rejected with great spirit by the *Florentine* magistrates, who had banished *Peter de Medici*, and desired *Charles* to beat his drums, while they would ring their bells, if he pretended to proceed to military execution. *Charles* wanted only money, and making up a hasty agreement with the *Florentines*, he restored *Sienna* and *Pisa* to their liberty. He continued, however, still deaf to all proposals of accommodation; and, on the last day of the year 1493, he entered *Rome* in triumph, armed at all points, in the midst of his army, and by torch light; while the pope thought proper to shut himself up in the castle of *St. Angelo*. *Charles* had, at this time, two opportunities of signalizing his justice; but he neglected both: for he neither punished *Lewis the Moor*, who had poisoned his nephew and usurped his dukedom; nor deposed

deposed the pope, according to the advice of the best and wisest of the cardinals.

His great
success.

Vol. VIII.
p. 114. et
seq.

While *Charles* remained in *Rome*, he affected to behave as its master, by performing within it several acts of sovereignty; but, in reality, he was, in his heart, the slave of the pope. His favourite, *Brissonnet*, had been made bishop of *St. Malo*, and had been promised a cardinal's hat. This prevailed with him to interpose his good offices in favour of the pope with *Charles*, who was ready to have pointed his dreadful artillery, then the terror of all *Italy*, against the walls of *St. Angelo's* castle. Upon the pope's offering to capitulate, a negotiation was set on foot. The pope put *Charles* in possession of several strong places; gave his son, *Cæsar Borgia*, as an hostage for his good faith; bestowed the investiture of *Naples* upon *Charles*; and resigned into his hands *Jem*, the *Turkish* prince; whose adventures and life we have already recounted at large.

Charles having concluded this treaty, set his holiness at liberty; and, monster as he was, he appeared with greater splendour than ever upon the pontifical throne, borrowing lustre from the weakness of *Charles*. That prince paid him his homage of obedience, as the eldest son of the church, attended by *Gannay*, first president of his parliament at *Paris*. He kissed his feet; he served him at high mass; and he took his seat in the church below the cardinal-dean.

He con-
quers *Na-*
ples.

In the mean while, *Alphonso*, finding that he was detested by his subjects, resigned his crown to his son *Ferdinand* and turned monk; and *Charles*, who had caused himself to be declared emperor of the *East* at *Rome*, proceeded to *Naples*; which he entered in triumph without the least resistance; while its late king, *Ferdinand*, absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the island of *Ischia*.

His mis-
manage-
ment.

Charles was now in a situation that portended a triumph of folly over wisdom. He had, by the prosperous career of his affairs, shewn the fallibility of those counsellors who had endeavoured to dissuade him from passing farther than the *Milanese*, or *Rome* at most. A little steadiness, foresight, and condescension, might have fixed him upon the throne, which he had so unaccountably mounted; but, by his dissipation, he lost his acquisitions and glory. His time was spent in empty shews and diversions; and, instead of applying himself to the regulation of his new conquest, he gave himself up to his worthless minions, who bartered all his favours for money; and he expressed such a contempt for his new subjects, that, within ten or twelve days after his arrival, they were ripe for a revolt.

Vol. X.
p. 219.
Confede-
racy

All this while, the confederacy against him was forming at *Venice* in the manner we have already seen. The parties were, the faithless pope; *Maximilian*, the emperor of *Germany*; and his son, the arch-duke *Philip*; *Ferdinand*, king
of

of Spain; *Lewis the Moor*; and the republic of *Venice*. So against formidable an alliance roused him from his delusion; and, him. upon being assured by *Commines*, his resident at *Venice*, that the league had been, for some time, signed, he prepared to return to *France* by the way of *Rome*. He had been infatuated enough to discover to the pope his designs upon the *Greek* empire, and to name the friends there on whom he depended. His holiness betrayed all he knew to *Bajazet*, who immediately seized and put them to death.

Charles left the count of *Montpensier*, viceroy, and *d'Aubigny*, constable, of *Naples*, but with no more than five, some say four, thousand men, to maintain their authority; and he gave the duchy of *Nola* to his favourite *Stephen Vers*.

Charles then marched towards *Rome*; and was convinced He de- of the treacherous part the pope had acted, by his flying to seats the *Perugia*. His army did not amount to above nine thousand confederates; while that of the confederates, consisting of thirty rates, thousand, lay near *Fornovo*, in *Placentia*, commanded by the prince of *Mantua*, who had lined the banks of the *Taro*, which *Charles* intended to pass, with eight thousand choice *Venetian* and *Milanese* troops. *Charles* engaged them, and killed three thousand of their best men; with the loss, according to some writers, of no more than fourscore of his own; though the prince of *Mantua* plundered his baggage, and prevented his passing the *Taro*.

The duke of *Orleans* was, at this time, besieged in *Novara* by *Lewis the Moor*; who being unfaithful to all parties, the king- secretly made his peace with *Charles*; which prince was ad- dom of vancing from *Asti* to disengage the duke. *Lewis the Moor Naples*. was induced to this conduct by the certainty he received that *Charles*, in a few days, would be joined by sixteen thousand *Swiss*; which he accordingly was. *Lewis* bought his peace with a large sum of money; which he gave to *Charles* and the duke of *Orleans*, together with *Novara* and the port of *Spezzia*, with a promise to send succours to the *French* in *Naples*.

We have already seen the mortifications that *Charles* un- *ibid.* derwent on this occasion; and how *Ferdinand*, by the assist- p. 220, ance of *Gonsalvo*, the great captain, and his *Spanish* troops, recovered that kingdom almost as rapidly as *Charles* had acquired it; though his constable, *d'Aubigny*, had gained a victory in *Italy*.

Upon the return of *Charles* to *France*, *Vers*, the new duke of *Nola*, attended him, and endeavoured to re-inspire him with the thoughts of resuming his *Italian* expedition; but to profit by what was past. He represented to him, that the *Italian* states, having just tasted of liberty by his late expedition, would repair to his standards like one man; that *Florence* especially would advance him money to pay his *Swiss* troops; and, that the confederacy against him, being composed

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His reformation.

composed of members who had different views and interests, was now, in a manner, dissolved. On the other hand, the cardinal-bishop of *St. Malo*, who had been the chief adviser of the late expedition, dissuaded him, from a view of the ruined condition of his affairs in *Naples*. *Montpensier*, after being obliged to capitulate, died of the plague; and *d'Aubigni*, after defending *Agropoli* with great courage and conduct, could obtain no more than an honourable retreat. The emperor, *Maximilian*, had been invited by *Lewis the Moor* into *Italy*, where he recovered *Pisa*; and the *Florentines* had deserted the *French* party.

Charles was, at this time, divided between the pursuit of pleasure and that of ambition; but he discovered no badness of heart. He sought to reconcile the passions of love and power; and he resided chiefly in the southern parts of his dominions, that he might be ready to enter *Italy* as soon as his affairs called upon him. His generals had defeated an army which *Ferdinand* of *Spain* had sent to attack his dominions on the side of *Arragon*; but he soon made a treaty which accommodated all differences with that court.

The weaknesses of *Charles* seem chiefly to have been owing to his want of education; and the bad choice he made of favourites, towards the close of his reign, leaves no room to believe that they had any hand in many excellent measures which he executed for the benefit of his kingdom. He founded the great council which still subsists in the *French* monarchy; and, being sensible of his want of education, he attempted to repair it by applying to the study of history, especially that of his own kingdom. His affability and courtesy gained the affections of all who approached him; and, at last, his worthless favourites found themselves obliged to employ every art to divert him from his application to business. He intended to have united the parliament of *Dijon* to that of *Paris*; but being made sensible of the inconveniences that must attend such a union, he retracted the edict he had published for that purpose. He blamed the keenness which the duke of *Orleans*'s impatience to possess himself of the *Milanese*, to which he had a family right, for his miscarriages in *Italy*; and he set apart two days in a week for giving audience to all persons who addressed him. While he was thus endeavouring to retrieve his former faults, his favourites redoubled their assiduities to recall him to the pursuit of pleasure.

After he had made proper dispositions for entering *Italy*, a second time, with an army; and fortified himself by engagements which, probably, would have been successful; he was diverted by an amour with one of his queen's maids of honour; and he offered the command of his army to the duke of *Orleans*; who, being sensible that he had many enemies, especially in his government of *Normandy*, and that the health of *Charles* was daily declining, refused it. By
this

this time, *Charles's* young son the dauphin, who was but three years and a half old, was dead, and *Charles* was his only childless. As he was now more exasperated than ever at the duke of *Orleans*, who being the next heir to the crown, did not behave with a proper decency; upon the dauphin's death, *Charles* applied himself with more attention than ever to the affairs of government. Being convinced of the integrity and wisdom of the duke and dutchess of *Bourbon*, he recalled their friends to his council board; he eased his subjects of some of their heaviest taxes; he reduced the expences of his court; he formed a plan for living upon the revenues of his domains, and of raising no extraordinary taxes but by the advice of his states.

But all those excellent resolutions were frustrated by his death, which happened by a fit of apoplexy, on the sixth of *April* 1498, at the castle of *Amboise*, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Some minutes before his death, he had struck his head against a balcony, as he was leading his queen into a gallery to see some of his lords playing at tennis; and being suddenly seized with the apoplectic stroke, he died upon a wretched couch.

From what has been said, the reader can easily form a just idea of this prince's character, and that the root of all his misconduct lay in his want of education, which was entirely owing to the jealousy of the king his father. His wife, the heiress of *Bretagne*, notwithstanding her former aversion to his, and his repeated infidelities to her, bed, was inconsolable at his death, and changed the usual mourning of the queens of *France* from white to black. He was most sincerely bewailed by all his domestics, two of whom died of grief, upon seeing his dead body deposited in his tomb at *St. Dennis*. Before we close this character, we must observe, that it was owing to *Charles VIII.* that the kingdom of *Provence* was finally annexed to the crown of *France*.

Lewis XII. surnamed *the Father of his People*.

CHARLES V. or *the Wise*, had two sons, the unhappy *Charles VI.* who succeeded him, and *Lewis*, duke of *Orleans*, who was killed by the duke of *Burgundy*, and who, by his wife *Velentina*, daughter and heiress to the duke of *Milan*, had three sons, *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, *Philip*, count of *Vertus*, and *John*, count of *Angoulesme*. This *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, was the same who remained so long a prisoner in *England*, and, who, on his return to *France*, claimed the duchy of *Milan* as his birthright. His son, by his third wife, daughter to the duke of *Cleves*, was

Accession
and right
of *Lewis*
XII. to
the French
crown.

Lewis duke of *Orleans*, of whom we are now to treat, and who, according to the *salic* law, was the undoubted successor to *Charles VIII.* in the crown of *France*. He had been contracted at the solicitation of his father, to the second daughter of *Lewis XI.* almost at the moment of her birth; but that princess, as she grew up, appearing to be deformed, the duke would have gladly declined the match, had he not stood in awe of her father's displeasure. He spent the more early part of his life in gaiety and dissipation; but he possessed so winning a manner, and was so agreeable in his deportment towards all ranks of subjects, that he had few or no personal enemies. His friendships were lasting, as appeared by the attachment he always had to the count of *Longueville*, and *George d'Amboise*, on whose account he quarrelled with the late king, because he did not obtain a cardinal's hat for him at the time he got one for *Brissonnet*. Upon his accession to the crown he discovered every amiable quality of heart, and the most exalted principles of virtue. He was then thirty-six years of age, and when one of his courtiers put him in mind that lord *Trimouille*, who had made him prisoner at the battle of *St. Aubin*, was still in being, he made that memorable answer, "That it was unbecoming in a king of *France* to resent the injuries that had been done to a duke of *Orleans*." Though he never lived in good terms with the duke and dutchess of *Bourbon*, who had been long laid aside, yet he shewed his great sense of their merit, by recalling them to court, and leaving them at liberty to dispose of their great estate, (which, if they should die without heirs male, was to revert to the crown) to their daughter, who was betrothed to the young count of *Montpensier*. He shewed great regard for the queen dowager, and he even left her the sovereignty of *Bretagne*, to which she chose to retire. Immediately upon his coronation at *Rheims*, on the twenty-seventh of *May* 1497, he abolished a tenth of the public imposts, and continued all officers of state, and magistrates in their places. Those acts of benevolence were attended by some of vigour and public justice. He chastised the petulance of the university and preachers of *Paris*, who were then the most insolent of mankind; he re-established military discipline in the army, and executed an excellent civil police all over his kingdom.

He obtains a divorce from his queen.

Lewis, sensible that he was not upon good terms with the late king at the time of his death, effaced the memory of their differences in the minds of the people, by ordering him a most magnificent funeral. Having no prospect of heirs with his wife *Jane*, daughter to *Lewis XI.* he applied to the infamous pope *Alexander VI.* for a divorce. The execrable ambition of that pope rendered him a proper instrument for that purpose, as *Lewis* thought he could not purchase what he solicited at too dear a price. His holiness

ness sought to aggrandise his family, especially his favourite son, the famous *Cæsar Borgia*, and his friendship was necessary to *Lewis*, who, besides the divorce, was meditating the conquest of *Milan* and *Naples*. *Alexander* resolved to gratify him, but upon his own terms. He gave his son, *Cæsar*, a bull, appointed the bishops of *Alby*, and *Ceuta*, with the cardinal of *Luxembourg*, commissioners for trying the validity of the king's marriage. The queen was persuaded by the university and people of *Paris*, who venerated her father's memory, to oppose the divorce, she having been now married for twenty years; but she shewed no concern when it took place, and the king allowed her the revenues of the dutchy of *Berry*, which she employed in charitable purposes. *Lewis*, in return for this favour, gave *Borgia* a pension of twenty thousand crowns, with a company of a hundred armed men to attend him as guards; besides a promise of matching him with *d'Albret's* daughter, a lady of high quality and fortune; upon which, the pope gave him leave to quit the church, and he was made, by *Lewis*, duke of *Valentinois*.

Lewis then married the widow of his predecessor, who and married the still retained an affection for his person, and he thereby re-ries the covered *Bretagne*, which by the articles of marriage between queen *Charles* and that princess, might have been for ever alienated from the crown of *France*. After this marriage, *Lewis* took upon himself the title of king of *France*, the *Two Sicilies*, and *Jerusalem*; which he claimed in right of his predecessor, and as heir to the house of *Anjou*, being duke of *Milan*, as heir to the *Galeazzo* family, and duke of *Bretagne*, in right of his wife.

The emperor *Maximilian* had invaded *Burgundy*, on account of the non execution of the treaty of *Senlis*, with regard to the towns that were to be given up to the archduke, who was then of age. *Maximilian's*, or rather his *Italy*. son's, troops were defeated; but *Lewis* was so intent upon his *Italian* expedition, that every thing between him and the archduke was amicably adjusted, and the latter performed homage to *Guy de Rochefort*, chancellor of *France*, for the counties of *Flanders*, and *Artois*. *Lewis* next addressed himself to *Henry VII.* of *England*, who was easily prevailed upon to give him the strongest assurances that he would not attack his dominions in his absence. He likewise renewed his alliances with the *Scots*, and engaged to give the *Venetians*, who had made already great progress against the *Milaneses*, part of that dutchy. By the advice of *George d'Amboise*, who was now archbishop of *Rouen*, and the cardinal legate in *France*, he gave the command of his troops to *Aubigni*, *Lewis* duke of *Luxembourg*, and *Trivulzi*, a native of *Milan*, but a general of unquestioned abilities.

We have already seen the rapid progress of the *French*, *ibid.* who made themselves masters of all the *Milaneses*, excepting the

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the

His great the country beyond the *Adda*, which was possessed by the
 success. *Venetians*, and at last of the citadel of *Milan* itself, then
 reckoned the strongest of any in *Europe*, which was sold to
 them by *Lewis the Moor's* governor. *Lewis XII.* remained
 in *France* till he heard of his great successes in the *Milanese*,
 and then he and his minister, the cardinal *d'Amboise*, passing
 the *Alps*, arrived at *Milan*, which *Lewis* triumphantly en-
 tered in ducal robes. By this time, *Trivulzi*, with a detach-
 ment of the *French* army, had recovered *Genoa* from the
 power of *Lewis the Moor*; and it again fell under the *French*
 government. *Trivulzi*, was next appointed governor of
Milan, and a new administration of justice was introduced
 into that dutchy by the cardinal *d'Amboise*, who advised
Lewis to abolish all distinction of party; to diminish the
 taxes of the natives, and to restore to their country such of
 them as had been banished by the *Moor*. After the conquest
 of *Milan*, *Lewis* received the compliments of all the foreign
 ministers, the *Neapolitans* excepted, and acted in every re-
 spect as arbiter of the *Italian* states.

ibid.

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Lewis then applied himself to preparations for the con-
 quest of *Naples*, by making a league with the *Florentines*,
 and another in the nature of a treaty of partition, with the
 perfidious *Ferdinand* the catholic king of *Spain*; who had
 himself an eye upon that crown, and who, unknown to
Frederic, king of *Naples*, whom he pretended to assist and
 defend, bargained for the possession of *Apulia* and *Calabria*.
 The unhappy *Frederic* more than suspected *Ferdinand's*
 perfidy, and even offered to become tributary to *Lewis*, if
 he would defend him in the possession of his crown; a re-
 quest which *Lewis*, who was passionately fond of the title,
 most impolitically rejected.

Takes

Lewis the Moor.

prisoner.

While the *French* were conquering *Naples*, *Lewis the Moor* had applied to *Maximilian* for assistance; but ob-
 taining none, he took into his pay eight thousand *Swiss*.
Lewis, on this occasion, was guilty of the same fault that his
 predecessor had committed after he had conquered *Naples*,
 by suffering his officers and soldiers to oppress the inha-
 bitants, who therefore detested them. As to *Lewis*, he re-
 turned to *Lyons*; but the *Moor* marched with his *Swiss* to
Milan, and was readily received into that capital, from
 whence he forced *Trivulzi* to fly, and to shut himself up in
ibid. ibid. *Novara*, where he was besieged. *Pavia* and *Parma* follow-
 ed the fate of *Milan*, and submitted to the *Moor*; but,
 upon the advance of the *French* and *Venetians* to relieve
Novara, the *Moor* was betrayed by his *Swiss* officers, and
 delivered up to the *French*, who sent him prisoner to *France*.
Lewis was so pleased with the recovery of *Milan*, that he
 sent a reinforcement of *French* troops to *Borgia*, with which
 the latter conquered almost all *Romania*. This gave um-
 brage to the *Venetians*, and they persuaded *Lewis* to recall
 his

his auxiliaries, on pretence that he wanted them for the conquest of *Naples*.

Frederic had not yet full proof of *Ferdinand's* intentions. He con- to conquer *Naples*, and *Gonsalvo* remained in possession of quers great part of *Calabria*, which *Ferdinand* had engaged himself *Naples* and to deliver up. Pope *Alexander* acceded to the secret treaty gives a between the two kings, and gave to each the investiture of pension to the territory he had portioned out for himself. *Frederic* its king. being now certain of *Ferdinand's* treachery, and unable to prevent its effects, resolved to throw himself upon the gene- rofity of *Lewis*. He had garrisoned *Capua*, which the *French* army then on its march against him, took and plundered. *D'Aubigni* soon after entered *Naples* without resistance, and *ibid.* *Frederic* signed an order for all his places of strength to be p. 224. surrendered to *d'Aubigni*, while he himself, with the appro- bation of *Lewis*, took shipping for *France*, where he lived and died, upon a pension. *Lewis* appointed *Lewis* of *Ar- magnac*, duke of *Nemours*, to be viceroy of *Naples*, and he soon quarrelled with *Gonsalvo*, the *Spanish* general, about the limits of their several divisions. The duke of *Nemours* was hot-headed, and entered upon hostilities against *Gon- salvo*, who was obliged to retire to *Borletta*; so that the *French* got possession of almost all his government.

We have already related the compromise entered into *ibid.* between *Lewis* and *Philip* of *Austria*, which *Gonsalvo*, who had now received reinforcements, refused to regard, and he beat and killed the duke of *Nemours* in a battle, which was attended with the surrender of all the cities, in the kingdom, to the *Spaniards*. *Ferdinand* likewise disowned what had been done by his son-in-law, *Philip* of *Austria*, and *Lewis*, who was exasperated beyond measure at his proceedings, resolved to invade his dominions. As the remains of his But loses *Neapolitan* army still kept possession of *Gaeta*, *Lewis* sent an it. army to their assistance, but it was beaten on the twenty- sixth of *December* 1503, by *Gonsalvo*, who immediately after reduced *Gaeta*, by capitulation, which suffered the *French* officers and soldiers to return home. *Lewis d'Ars*, one of the former, disowned the capitulation, and being joined by such of his countrymen as still remained in *Naples*, he marched in good order, in the face of the *Spanish* army, through the heart of *Italy*.

While *Lewis* was suffering those disasters in *Italy*, he His war attacked *Spain* by sea and land. One of his armies was with *Spain* commanded by the lord *d'Albret*, and the marshal *de Gie*; unsuccess- but, though it penetrated as far as *Fontarabia*, it did nothing ful. worth mentioning, and on its return it joined another army under marshal *de Rieux*, which had laid siege to *Saluces*, but was obliged by the *Spaniards* to raise it. The fleet of *Lewis* was no more fortunate than his land troops had been, for after cruising for some time on the coasts of *Spain*, it returned to *Marseilles*.

Lew

His a- *Lewis XII.* at this time, had no sons, but by his marriage contract with his wife, his eldest daughter *Claude*, was about the to inherit the dutchy of *Bretagne*. It was natural for *Lewis* marriage to make an ample provision for her, as she could not succeed to his crown; but he agreed to give her in marriage of his daughter, to *Charles*, the son of *Philip* of *Austria*, a child of two years old, upon condition that *Maximilian* should give him the investiture of the *Milaneze*, which was to be declared a female fief, holding of the empire, and therefore capable of descending to *Claude*. This match has been generally condemned, as tending too much to aggrandize the house of *Austria*. *Ferdinand the Catholic* likewise took umbrage at *Philip* affecting an independency upon himself, and he prevailed upon *Maximilian* to refuse to ratify what had been agreed upon by *Philip*; but at last it was agreed, that the match should take place, but that *Lewis* and *Ferdinand* should give up to *Charles* and *Claude*, their respective rights to the kingdom of *Naples*. *Ferdinand* refused, as *Gonsalvo* had done, to ratify this agreement; and as we have already seen, *Gonsalvo* expelled the *Spaniards* out of *Naples*. So faithless a conduct rendered the *Catholic* king detested by all parties; and *Lewis*, *Maximilian*, and *Philip*, resolved to negotiate without him.

by the treaty of *Blois*. A treaty was according concluded at *Blois*; by which it was agreed, that *Charles* of *Luxembourg* should marry madame *Claude*, and that the king of *France* should receive the investiture of *Milan*, to descend to his heirs male, and, in default of them, to the females. It was likewise agreed, that room should be left for *Ferdinand* to accede to the treaty, provided that, four months after the ratification, he should yield up the government of *Naples* to the archduke *Philip*, to be held by him till the marriage should be consummated. Those stipulations were equally impolitic and unjust on the part of *Lewis*. It excluded *Frederic* of *Arragon*, and his son *Alphonso*, who were the true heirs of the kingdom of *Naples*, from all succession to that crown; and it dismembered from the crown of *France* *Milan*, *Burgundy*, *Bretagne*, and many other estates.

Julius II. chosen The death of pope *Alexander VI.* gave a new complexion to the affairs of *Lewis* in *Italy*. He was succeeded by *Pius III.* who reigned but a few days. The *French* army lay then near *Rome*, and the cardinal *d'Amboise*, who governed *Lewis* with an absolute sway, aspired at the papacy, which he probably would have carried, had he not been persuaded by the *Italian* cardinals to order the *French* army to retire to a distance, that his election might have some appearance of freedom; but this order was no sooner obeyed, than cardinal *la Rovere*, the warlike pope *Julius II.* was chosen. It was thought, not without reason, that this false step of the cardinal not only lost him the popedom, but cost his master the kingdom of *Naples*, because the *French* lost the season for

for relieving their countrymen there. While the treaty of *Blois* was negotiating, *Ferdinand* amused *Frederic*, the late king of *Naples*, with the hopes of being restored to that crown, and concluded with *Lewis* a truce for the countries near the *Pyreneans*.

By this time, all *France* condemned the treaty of *Blois*; and when *Lewis* began to reflect upon it seriously, together with the defeats and the ill usage he had received from *Ferdinand*, he resolved by all means to break through his engagements. He had, by cardinal *d'Amboise*, dropt to *Maximilian's* and *Philip's* ambassadors at *Blois*, a hint of a general confederacy against the *Venetians*, who were then formidable to all the crowned heads in *Europe*, and particularly obnoxious to *Charles*, on account of their possessions in the *Milanese*. He sent the cardinal *d'Amboise* into *Germany* to receive the investiture of *Milan* from *Maximilian*, and he succeeded at a considerable expence of money, paid to that needy emperor, who seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of the confederacy against the *Venetians*. So many disappointments and difficulties, had, at this time, a most unfavourable effect upon the health of *Lewis*, who fell ill, and his life was despaired of by his physicians. When he was thought to be past recovery, his queen gave orders that all her richest moveables should be sent to the castle of *Nantes*; but they were stopt at *Saumur*, by the marshal *de Gie*, which the queen resented so much, that she prevailed with *Lewis*, upon his recovery, to remove the marshal from all his employments.

The death of *Isabella* of *Castile*, soon after the treaty of *Blois* was concluded, gave a new turn to the affairs of the continent. She had named her husband *Ferdinand*, to be the administrator of all her inheritance, during the minority of duke *Charles*, who was not to be of age till his twenty-first year. *Philip* of *Austria*, who had married her daughter, looked upon this as a fraudulent act, obtained by *Ferdinand's* interest, and *Philip* made preparations to take possession of *Castile* and *Leon*, in his wife's right, and intimated the same to *Ferdinand*, who saw that he must resign the best part of his kingdom. That crafty prince made *Henry* of *England* his friend, and found means to conciliate the friendship of *Lewis* likewise. *Lewis* had a sister, *Mary*, who had been married to the viscount of *Narbonne*, second son to *Gaston*, count of *Foix*, by whom she had *Gaston de Foix*, and a daughter, *Germana*, of whom her uncle *Lewis* was excessively fond. This lady had been destined to be the wife of *Ferdinand*, duke of *Calabria*, the true heir of the crown of *Naples*; but *Ferdinand*, the Catholic, found means to defeat that project, and he sent an artful ecclesiastic, but without any character, to propose to *Lewis* a match between himself and *Germana de Foix*, and offering to settle the crown of *Naples* upon the heirs of

of the marriage. *Lewis* received the proposal with great pleasure, and renounced all pretensions to that crown; upon receiving from *Ferdinand* a hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the war. He insisted, however, that all the *Neapolitan* nobility, whose persons had been imprisoned, or estates confiscated, should be reinstated in their country and possessions; to which *Ferdinand* agreed.

And
Lewis
evades the
execution
of the
treaty of
Blois.

The ambition of the house of *Austria* being thus defeated with regard to *Naples*, the next care of *Lewis* was how to evade the performance of the treaty of *Blois*. He dissimulated so well, that it was with an apparent reluctance he consented to call an assembly of the states at *Tours*, in order to deliberate upon its validity. After a pretended examination, it was disapproved and rejected, and before the assembly broke up, *Lewis* married his daughter *Claude* to the count of *Angoulesme*, the heir of his crown. Though this marriage gave a terrible blow to the hopes of *Philip*, yet he considered it as the effect of his father-in-law, *Ferdinand's* policy, and being now upon his death-bed, he appointed *Lewis* to be the guardian of his infant son, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, afterwards the famous emperor *Charles V.* *Ferdinand the Catholic*, had by this time, punctually executed all his engagements with regard to *Naples*, to which country he repaired, with his new queen; and upon his return to resume the government of *Castile*, after the death of *Philip*, he had a conference with *Lewis*, who was then at *Savona*, and he advised the *Genoese* to be easy under the *French* government. They did not, however, take his council, for in the year 1506, they expelled the *French* governor, and new modelled their constitution, under pretence that the power of the nobility was become too intolerable to be longer born, and seized upon *Spezzia*, which they delivered back to *Lewis*. He resolved to chastise in person the ring-leaders of this revolution, especially as the insurgents behaved with the most brutal cruelty towards the *French*. He advanced with his army to *Asli*, where the *Genoese* offered to submit, but it was only with a view of gaining reinforcements. *Lewis* rejected their suit. His general, the marquis of *Mantua*, attacked them in the rear, as he himself did in the front, and they were defeated, with the loss of three thousand killed and taken prisoners. He then besieged their city, and the senate sent a deputation out to implore his compassion. *Lewis*, exasperated at the citizens having chosen a silk-dyer for their duke, and at the indignities they had done to his majesty, refused to see them; but by the intercession of marshal *d'Ambcise*, it was resolved to pardon the mutineers, if they would lay down their arms. They were so far from agreeing to this, that, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the senate and nobility, they again attacked the *French*, and were defeated with considerable loss.

loss. Upon this, the most forward of the mutineers left the *Lewis* city, into which, *Lewis* made a triumphal entry, and par-becomes doned the senate. He then took the city and republic into master of his protection; but declared it to be unalienably annexed *Genoa*, to his crown, and that it should have no laws but such as he should prescribe, by his governor the marshal *d'Amboise*, or his successors. To those important conditions he added many others, equally mortifying to the inconstant *Genoese*, and obliged them to pay the expences of the expedition.

Lewis having gloriously finished this war, had the inter-and is review we have already mentioned with *Ferdinand the Catholic*, conciled at *Savona*; and as an undoubted testimony of the merits to the of *Gonsalvo*, the great captain, who had driven his troops emperor out of *Naples*, he honoured him with a gold chain from his own neck, though he knew *Ferdinand* to be so jealous of that general, that he was carrying him back little better than a prisoner to *Spain*. The empire of *Germany* was alarmed at the progress of the *French* king in *Italy*, and put *Maximilian* at the head of an army to oppose his progress, and to attack the *Venetians* his allies.

By this time, *Lewis* and *Ferdinand* had secretly resolved upon the league which was afterwards formed at *Cambray* against the *Venetians*. The motives and progress of which Vol. X. we have already fully described in the passages referred to p. 226, in the margin. *Maximilian* had offered the *Venetians* a 227, truce. The marshal *Trivulzi*, who commanded for *Lewis*, et seq. rejected it, because it was not to be general, but the *Vene-* Vol. IX. tians accepted of it, notwithstanding his dissent; by which p. 86, 87. the duke of *Gueldres*, *Lewis's* ally, was in the most immi-et seq. nent danger of being crushed by *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*. *Maximilian*, who had flattered himself with great expectations in *Italy*, was still more exasperated than *Lewis* was, at being obliged to accept of so disgraceful a truce. The emperor and *Lewis* were easily reconciled to each other by the ministry of the cardinal *d'Amboise*, and *Margaret*, dutchess dowager of *Savoy*; and there scarcely was a state in *Europe* who had not some demand upon, or some matter of resentment against the *Venetians*. It certainly was against all the maxims of policy, for *Lewis* to enter so warmly as he did into the league of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* were his natural allies, and it was natural in them to maintain him in the possession of the *Milaneze* against *Maximilian*, who in fact aspired to the monarchy of all *Italy*, and who, with the pope, was to be the almost only gainer by the war.

The bishop of *Pavia* was the only counsellor *Lewis* had who had the honesty to represent this, and much more, against his entering into the league; but *Lewis*, and his minister the cardinal, had conceived so rooted an aversion to the *Venetians*, that the latter was sent to the court of Vol. X. *Margaret* of *Savoy*, who by virtue of the full powers she p. 228 had

had from *Maximilian*, agreed that *Lewis* should receive the investiture of the *Milanese* simply for himself, his heirs, and successors. *Lewis* was likewise flattered with the hopes of recovering all that the *Venetians* possessed beyond the *Adda*, in the *Milanese*.

He defeats
the *Vene-*
tians,

By the indefatigable pains of the cardinal *d'Amboise*, a body of *Swiss* was taken into *French* pay; and the army of *Lewis* was ready to march by the first of *April*, 1509. The queen, whom *Lewis* loved, opposed his passing the *Alps* in person; but the cardinal's counsels, and the king's hatred of the *Venetians*, prevailed over her remonstrances; and he set out with a full resolution of taking the first opportunity to fight the enemy. His army, in which were eight thousand *Swiss* foot, was one of the best that had ever marched from *France* to *Italy*. Its van was commanded by the marshals *Chaumont* and *Trivulzi*; the main body by himself; and the rear by the count of *Longueville*. *Lewis* was so unhappy, that he completely defeated the *Venetians* at the battle of *Ghiarra d'Adda*; where they lost their brave general *Alviano*, and five thousand, some say nine thousand, men, besides prisoners; and *Lewis*, by the rapid progress of his arms, reduced all the *Venetian* part of the *Milanese*.

and is de-
ceived by
his allies.

Cardinal *d'Amboise*, though ill of a slow fever, had followed his master, in a close litter, over the *Alps*; and had, before this time, perceived his bad policy, in pressing *Lewis* to enter into the league of *Cambray*. The *Venetians* would have yielded up all the territory he wanted, to have purchased his friendship; and he found that the whole stress of the war must lie upon him. He complained of this to *Maximilian*, who was too weak, and too indolent, to fulfil the engagements he had entered into, though he was to be the chief gainer by the war. The pope equally hated *Maximilian* and *Lewis*, and had already shewn his disgust at the latter receiving the investiture of the *Milanese*. *Lewis* was sensible of all this; and, by giving peace to *Venice*, might have still retrieved the false step he had taken: but, from a mistaken delicacy, and the fondness he had for the simple investiture of the *Milanese*, which he actually had not yet received, he refused the offer made him by the *Venetians*, of yielding up to him all the towns claimed by the emperor.

Maximilian arrived, at last, at *Trent*; where he bestowed, on the cardinal *d'Amboise*, in his master's name, the so much desired investiture of *Milan*; but not before he had received from the cardinal the sum of sixty thousand crowns. *Lewis*, notwithstanding the delicacy he affected towards the emperor, shewed more moderation than he had done in the beginning of the war, towards the *Venetians*. He, indeed, concluded a treaty with the pope; who was forced to allow him the disposal of all the vacant benefices in his dominions; but, by refusing to accept of, or garrison, *Maximilian's* towns, he saved the republic of *Venice*; which had actually
given

given orders for all her troops and garrisons to withdraw from the continent. *Maximilian* had sent a commissary to take possession of *Padua*; the inhabitants would not receive him; they had expelled all the *Germans* from their city, and they were supported by the *Venetians*, about the time that *Lewis* returned with a part of his army to *France*; and from that period we may date the recovery of the *Venetian* power and commonwealth from their seemingly unavoidable destruction.

We have already related the differences that happened among the members of the league of *Cambray*, upon the return of *Lewis* to *France*. The ends of pope *Julius* had been answered, by his recovering all the towns and territories in *Italy* that had been dismembered from the holy see. *Ferdinand* had likewise succeeded in his views; and *Maximilian* was baffled in his attempts to take *Padua*, though he besieged it with forty thousand men for seventeen days.

The pope now began to unmask his real intentions; which were to drive all the barbarians, as he called the *French* and *Germans*, out of *Italy*. He insisted upon *Maximilian* making peace with *Venice*; and not succeeding with him, he applied to the electors, whom he brought over to his interest. *Maximilian* and *Lewis* were sensible of the pope's views, and united themselves more closely than ever. The former mortgaged to *Lewis* the city and citadel of *Verona* for fifty thousand ducats; but the *Venetians*, finding the alliance against them weakened, were the less solicitous about *Maximilian's* efforts.

The pontiff was indefatigable in his endeavours to break the lately cemented union. He gave the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples* to *Ferdinand*, in consideration of the yearly tribute of a palfrey and a purse of gold. He absolved the *Venetians* from their excommunication; and prevailed with the *Swiss* troops, in the service of *Lewis*, to demand an augmentation of their pay. *Lewis* refused to gratify them in this; upon which a very considerable body of them left his service, but he replaced them with *Grisons*. At last, his holiness openly broke with *Lewis*, who called an assembly of his clergy at *Tours*, to deliberate upon the measures he was to take against his holiness.

Cardinal *d'Ambois* was now dead; but his nephew, the marshal *de Chaumont*, had repelled the *Swiss*, in their attempts to penetrate into the *Milanese*. The assembly at *Tours* had formally pronounced, that the pope might be treated like any other temporal prince, if he was the aggressor in an unjust war; that his censures ought, in such a case, to be of no validity; that he ought to receive no money out of *France*; and, that the ecclesiastical benefices should be taxed to maintain a war against him. *Lewis*, in consequence of this declaration, renewed the treaty of *Cambray* with the emperor; and took measures for assembling a

general council, before which the pope was to be brought to judgment.

The affairs of *Lewis*, at this time, were managed with great abilities in *Italy*, where he lost the marshal *de Chau-mont*; who, though no more than thirty-eight years of age, was one of the most accomplished generals of that time. He was succeeded by *Trivulzi*; who likewise maintained the glory of the *French* arms with great success, and beat the pope's parties and armies whenever he engaged them. The famous chevalier *Bayard* was likewise distinguished for many glorious actions during this *Italian* war; but the successes of *Lewis* were more splendid than solid, for he was actually losing upon the main. *Julius* had excommunicated and attacked his ally the duke of *Ferrara*, whose defence cost *Lewis* vast sums. His new, and indeed unnatural, ally, the emperor *Maximilian*, was rather burthensome than serviceable to him. His enemy, the pope, was closely united with *Ferdinand the Catholic*, now king of *Naples*; and his holiness, notwithstanding his repeated defeats, and his labouring under all the diseases attendant upon old age, still continued to be the irreconcilable enemy of *Lewis*; to whose moderation it was owing that he retained, at this time, even the possession of *Rome*.

Errors of
Lewis.

Lewis saw his errors when it was too late to retrieve them; and he found all his attempts to convene a general council at *Pisa* to be ineffectual. His armies in *Italy*, though maintained at an immense expence, were under no discipline; and were composed chiefly of *German* and *Grison* mercenaries. The state of *Genoa* was daily making efforts to shake off his yoke; and the pope had prevailed with young *Henry VIII.* the richest and most spirited prince of his age, to declare against him. The root of all those misfortunes lay in the irresolution of *Lewis* himself. He was now chiefly governed by his queen, who thought it highly impious to make war against his holiness; and he thereby lost all the advantages that the valour of his generals in *Italy* had acquired. The pope had obliged the assembly at *Pisa*, where some prelates met, to retire, with disgrace, to *Milan*; and his proceedings, violent as they were, were seconded by the applause of all *Italy*, for the hatred he expressed against the barbarians, especially the *French*.

Vol. X.
P. 234.

It was about this time that *Maximilian* had formed his scheme of being himself made pope, and he began to act with a remarkable coldness towards *Lewis*. The pope had now framed the confederacy, which he called *the holy league*, and engaged in it the kings of *England* and *Spain*, the *Venetians*, the *Swiss*, and many *German* and *Italian* states. *Henry* of *England*, before he proceeded to hostilities, made a formal requisition of all the *French* territories formerly belonging to the crown of *England*. This demand was the more surprising, as he had just finished a treaty with *Lewis*, and had received

received all the arrears that had been owing to his father by *Charles VIII.* and *Lewis* had given him no pretext for a rupture; but the glory of being defender of the church, supplied, with *Henry*, all defects of policy and justice. He concluded a treaty with the king of *Arragon*, seemingly for the conquest of *Guienne* and the defence of the holy see; but, in reality, to give *Ferdinand* an opportunity of conquering *Navarre* for himself; and to oblige *Lewis* to recall his troops out of *Italy*; but *Lewis* wisely renewed the old leagues of his crown with the *Scots*, and engaged them to invade *England*.

John d'Albret had married the princess of *Navarre*; by Artificial which, that crown, so earnestly coveted by *Ferdinand*, was conducted transferred to the *Albret* family. The pope, to please *Ferdinand*, had put *Navarre* under an interdict; and had managed *nand*. so artfully, that, instead of *Guienne*, the *English* troops had landed in *Guipuscoa*; where he endeavoured to prevail with the marquis of *Dorset*, who commanded them, to act under the crown of *Navarre*. The marquis saw through his design, and disappointed it, by returning to *England*. In this expedition the *English* lost above three thousand men, without entering *Guienne*: but they preserved their superiority at sea; where they defeated the *French* fleet under admiral *Porfmoguere*, who blew up his ship as they were sailing out of *Brest*.

The emperor, *Maximilian*, who, for the reasons already *Gaston d's* specified, was the only ally that now remained to *Lewis*, *Foix*, general in began to cool in his alliance; and, under many pretexts, particularly that of having been no gainer by the league of *Italy*, *Cambray*, he began to side with the pope. *Lewis* perceived Vol. X. the importance of the blow that was aimed at him, and sent p. 235. orders to *Gaston de Foix*, duke of *Nemours*, his general in *Italy*, at all events, to hazard a decisive blow, that might overawe the confederates. *De Foix*, though no more than twenty-three years of age, was one of the best generals of his time. He had forced the *Neapolitan* and papal troops to raise the siege of *Bologna* with disgrace. He had retaken *Brescia* from the *Venetians*, and defeated them with the loss of eight thousand of their best troops. Those, and many other, glorious actions, encouraged *Lewis* to venture a general engagement, before his army in *Italy* was farther reduced; and *de Foix*, in order to bring it on, besieged *Ravenna* with about twenty-two thousand men.

The confederates were commanded by *John de Medici* is killed; and the flower of the *Spanish* generals, who, afterwards, but gains made the greatest figures in *Europe*; but they were entirely the battle defeated with the loss of seven thousand men; and *de Foix* of *Ravenna* lost his life in following the pursuit too far. *Palice* succeeded to the command of the *French* army, and took *Cosena*, *Imola*, *Forli*, and *Ravenna*: all which he delivered into the hands of cardinal *Sanseverino*, with whom he soon after broke.

The victory of *Ravenna* might have been of the utmost advantage to *Lewis*, had *de Foix* been succeeded by a general of equal ability to himself; or had not *Lewis*, from an ill-judged frugality, left his troops destitute both of pay and support. The emperor began to repent of his new connections, and the *Venetians* to treat with *Lewis*. *Henry VIII.* roused them out of their despondency, by promising to embark, with more vigour than ever, in the alliance; and he and the pope, at last, prevailed with *Maximilian* to publish his avocatory letters; commanding all the *Germans*, in the *French* pay, to leave that service; by which *Lewis* lost the flower of his army in *Italy*.

Thus the face of affairs was changed in *Italy*. The *Venetians* broke off all connections with *Lewis*, and took a body of *Swiss* into their pay. Another body of those mercenaries, to the number of twenty thousand men, reinstated young *Maximilian Sforza*, son of the *Moor*, in the duchy of *Milan*. The *Genoese* expelled the *French*, and received *Fregosa* for their duke. The *Venetians* took possession of *Cremona* and *Bergamo*. The pope recovered *Bologna*, and all that the *French* had seized in *Romania*; while *Palice*, at the head of scarce four thousand men, retired towards the *Milanese*. This wonderful revolution was brought about by the determined spirit of pope *Julius II.* and the gold of *Henry VIII.* who spent immense sums for the reduction of *France*, through the instigation of his minister, *Wolfey*; who was in hopes, thereby, of obtaining the papal tiara.

Avarice of *Lewis*, The avarice of *Lewis* still continued, more and more, to distress his affairs. *Palice* had been obliged to evacuate *Pavia* and *Lodi*, which the *Venetians* took possession of. *Trivulzi*, after being forced to abandon *Milan*, had retired towards *Piedmont*; all the military skill and courage of the chevalier *Bayard* did not enable him to keep his ground; and, in three months after the glorious battle of *Ravenna*, *Lewis* had scarcely a foot in *Italy*, except the citadel of *Milan*, that he could call his own. A misunderstanding, which was renewed between him and the *Venetians*, bade fair to put him, once more, in possession of the *Milanese*. The pope had pressed the *Venetians* to cede to the emperor all that they had offered him, when *Lewis* had beaten their troops, after the league of *Cambray*; but, as they hated and distrusted both *Maximilian* and the pope, they rejected the proposal, and renewed their engagements with *Lewis* for his receiving the *Milanese*, upon their keeping all that they had beyond the *Adda*.

The warlike pope *Julius II.* was now dead, and succeeded by *Leo X.* who pursued his predecessor's plan, for driving all foreigners out of *Italy*. For this purpose, the holy league was renewed; and it was agreed by the confederating parties, that *France* should be invaded by the pope, the emperor, and the king of *England*. The contents of
this

this league was communicated to *Lewis* by *Ferdinand*, who betrayed all parties ; and who, upon *Lewis* promising to give up *Navarre*, concluded a neutrality.

Nothing could be more impolitic than the passion which *Lewis* shewed for the recovery of the *Milaneſe*, at this time, by disfurniſhing his kingdom of troops, at a juncture when it was to be attacked by a powerful confederacy. He trusted to the assurances of *Ferdinand*, who promised to favour him ; and to the abilities of his general, *la Trimouille*, which undoubtedly were great. This general was then at the head of sixteen thousand foot, and about eight thousand horse ; and, paſſing the *Alps*, he and *Trivulzi*, who ſerved under him, ſoon reduced all the *Milaneſe*, excepting *Como* and *Novara*, which laſt place they beſieged. It was garrifoned by fix thousand *Swiſs*, a nation which was now become the inveterate enemies of the *French*, commanded by *Francis Sforza*, brother to the deceased duke *Maximilian*. Notwithſtanding the brave defence made by the garrifon, the place muſt have been taken, had not a freſh army of *Swiſs* advanced to its relief, who cut *Trimouille*'s army in pieces ; and thus the *French* once more loſt *Milan*. *Lewis*, in vain, exclaimed againſt *Ferdinand*, whom he accused to have failed in his engagements ; and the *Venetians* entered into a treaty with the pope ; who, however, could not ſucceed in his attempts to reconcile them with the emperor, or entirely to detach them from *Lewis*.

who is
fond of re-
covering
the *Mila-
neſe*.

The time was now come for the confederates againſt *France* to begin their operations. The *Swiſs* had acceded to their alliance, and *France* was now in more danger than ſhe had known ſince the reign of *Charles VI*. *Lewis*, as uſual, had recourſe to negotiations and concessions, and made the pope his friend by giving up the ſchiſmatical prelates of the council of *Piſa*. It is thought that *Lewis*'s queen, who always abhorred his being at war with the pope, was highly instrumental in this reconciliation ; but the confederates ſupplied the loſs of the pope, by the activity of *Henry VIII*. the valour of the *Swiſs*, and the treachery of *Ferdinand*, who once more abandoned *Lewis*. *Henry VIII*. had the glory of advancing a hundred thousand crowns to the emperor *Maximilian*, and of being ſerved by him as a mercenary, in his army, at the rate of an hundred crowns a day. By the league of *Mechlin*, ſo called from the place where it was concluded, the emperor, *Maximilian*, was to have *Burgundy* ; the pope, *Provence* and *Dauphiny* : *Henry*, *Normandy* ; and *Ferdinand*, *Guienne*.

Danger of
France,

About the middle of *May*, 1513, the *Engliſh* army landed at *Calais* ; and, on the ſeventeenth of *June*, it marched towards *Terouenne* (which had a garrifon of about two thouſand men, under *Teligni*) and inveſted it. *Lewis* gave orders that it ſhould be relieved. *Henry* landed in perſon at *Calais*, which is invaded by the *Engliſh*.

at *Calais*, on the thirtieth of the same month, with a great reinforcement of troops; and being joined by the emperor, who pleaded his inability to execute the engagements he had entered into by the treaty of *Mechlin*, the *English* army before *Terouenne* is said, by *French* historians, to have amounted to fifty thousand men; but this seems far to exceed the truth.

who gain
the battle
of the
Spurs.

Lewis was then at *Amiens*; and the duke of *Longueville*, who had under him *Palice*, *Bayard*, and some of the best *French* officers, commanded the army that was to act against the *English*. Several small engagements had passed between the two armies; but, at last, the duke of *Longueville* threw into it some troops; and, on the sixteenth of *August*, both armies, by chance rather than design, came to a general engagement; in which the *French* were entirely defeated. This battle, which we have reason to believe was chiefly owing to the excellent dispositions made by *Maximilian*, was termed that of *the Spurs*, because the consternation of the *French* was so great, that they shewed no alacrity but in flying. The duke of *Longueville*, *Palice*, the chevalier *Bayard*, *Bussy, d'Amboise*, and most of the *French* general officers of note, were taken prisoners.

Perhaps historians, the *French* especially, have been too careless in their relations of this battle; which, in fact, was attended with little loss to the *French* but that of reputation. *Lewis* had ordered his generals not to fight, unless they were certain of victory. They had made such dispositions, that they thought they could not fail of it; and had begun the engagement before they discovered that all the measures they had taken had been counter-acted by the enemy; so that, instead of fighting, they fled. *Lewis* replaced the duke of *Longueville* with the duke of *Angoulesme*, the presumptive heir of his crown; and gave him the like orders: but, on the twenty-fourth of *August*, *Terouenne* was surrendered, and its fortifications razed.

Lewis re-
news his
engage-
ments
with the
Scots.

About the time that the league of *Mechlin* was formed, *Lewis* had renewed his engagements with *James IV.* king of *Scotland*; and, though that prince was married to *Henry's* sister, prevailed with him to declare war against *England*. The event was, that *James* lost his life at the battle of *Flodden*; where almost all his nobility were cut off. His death and defeat made a prodigious impression upon *Lewis*, especially when *Henry* was prevailed upon, by his imperial mercenary, to besiege *Tournay*; which he soon took. It is thought, not without reason, that *Lewis* had a secret correspondence with *Maximilian*; and, that he made *Tournay* the price of his not being attacked by *Henry* in a more dangerous quarter than the *Low Countries*. *Tournay* capitulated in a few days, as *Lewis* had given the duke of *Angoulesme* no orders to relieve it; and its bishopric was given to *Wolsey*:
upon

upon which, *Henry* returned to *England*, and the campaign was closed on that side.

It seems to be next to certain that *Lewis* had, by this time, secretly gained over *Wolsey* to his interest; otherwise it is difficult to account for the reasons why *Henry* did not march from *Calais* to the gates of *Paris* with his army, which was the most numerous any king of *England* had commanded in *France*. This was the more practicable for *Henry*, as he had advanced four hundred thousand crowns to *Maximilian*; which he employed in hiring twenty thousand *Swiss*, and a large body of *German* cavalry, under *Ulric*, duke of *Wurtemberg*, to invade *Burgundy*; where they laid siege to *Dijon*. *Trimouille* commanded in the place, and did *Lewis* the most eminent services; even, perhaps, to the saving of his crown.

Having taken some *Swiss* officers prisoners, he treated Policy of them with so much address and politeness, that they frankly *Trimou-* owned, that all the antipathy of their nation against the *ille*.

French was owing to the avarice of *Lewis*, who had neglected to pay the great arrears due to them from himself and predecessors, amounting to four hundred thousand crowns; that they could not depart from their engagements with the holy see, and *Sforza*, duke of *Milan*; and they thought, that *Charles*, prince of *Spain*, the same whom we have before called *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, had a good right to that part of *Burgundy* which was stipulated to his family by the treaty of *Blois*. *Trimouille* finding all that his prisoners said to be true, employed them to prevail with their chiefs to enter into a negotiation; and it soon terminated in a treaty; by which *Trimouille* engaged, in his master's name, to gratify the *Swiss* in all their demands; and paid them twenty thousand crowns of their arrears, by way of advance, besides putting into their hands his own nephew, one of his general officers, and four of the principal citizens of *Dijon*, as hostages.

Upon the conclusion of the treaty, the *Swiss* raised the siege, but *Lewis* refused to ratify the treaty. This exasperated the *Swiss*, and the hostages were condemned to death. As the whole kingdom of *France* agreed that *Trimouille's* conduct had saved their crown, the avarice of *Lewis* was universally exclaimed against; and he was obliged to ratify the treaty, so far as related to the money; but, before it was paid, the prisoners made their escape.

The system of power in *Europe* received, at this time, a *Lewis* re- new turn, through the jealousy which the pope, with great lieved reason, now entertained of the house of *Austria*. He had, from his in vain, pressed *Lewis* to ratify that part of the treaty of *Di-* embarrass- *jon* which related to the establishment of the *Sforza* family ment. in the *Milanese*. *Lewis* could not be brought to this, and struck into a plan for totally disuniting the confederacy against him; for he offered his daughter *Rene* in marriage to the prince of *Spain*, who was grandson both to *Ferdinand* and

Maximilian, with all his right upon the *Milanese* and *Genoa* for her portion. The proposal was greedily embraced by both those princes, though they had already, as far as was in their power, married *Charles* to the princess *Mary* of *England*, *Henry's* sister. This negotiation was discovered by *Acton*, *Henry's* minister at the *French* court; and the pope, who was alarmed at the thoughts of an *Austrian* prince being in possession of the *Milanese*, was soon informed of it.

From the short sketch we have given, the reader will easily perceive, that *Henry*, who had been, all this time, fighting *Ferdinand's* and *Maximilian's* battles, must be enraged beyond measure, at their treachery; that it was the interest of the pope to preserve the ballance of power in *Italy*, by preventing the proposed match from taking place; and, that the business of *Lewis* was, to disunite his enemies by any means. The pope prevailed with the latter to enter into a correspondence with *Henry*, who appeared now to be very placable towards *France*; and *Lewis*, who detested, as much as he did, both *Maximilian* and *Ferdinand*, laid before *Henry*, as a pledge of his sincerity, the whole negotiation about the marriage; but it is hard to say what turn affairs might have taken, had it not been for an unexpected event, which happened, about this time, by *Lewis* becoming a widower.

Manage-
ment of
the duke
of *Longue-
ville* in
England.

French generals, when prisoners in *England*, have often proved successful negotiators; and been more useful to their country in their civil, than they could have been in their military, capacity. The duke of *Longueville*, ever since the battle of the *Spurs*, had been a captive in *England*; and being a kind of favourite with *Henry*, he artfully hinted at a match between the princess *Mary* and *Lewis*, who was but fifty-six years of age, and therefore might possibly have by her an heir to his kingdom. *Henry* agreed to the proposal, upon *Lewis* engaging, instead of receiving from him a fortune with his sister, to pay him an hundred thousand crowns annually for ten years. This negotiation was concluded on the second of *August*, 1514.

Lewis, while he was yet uncertain as to *Henry's* determination, had given *Richard de la Pole*, the nearest heir to the crown of *England*, of the *York* branch, the command of ten or twelve thousand troops on the coast of *Picardy*, probably with a view of his making a descent upon the coast of *England*, if the negotiation did not succeed; but, upon the treaty being signed, *de la Pole's* commission was recalled, and he himself retired to *Metz* upon a pension of six thousand crowns a year allowed him by *Lewis*.

Lewis
marries
the prin-
cess *Mary*
of *Eng-
land*.

The duke of *Norfolk* carried the bride over to *Abbeville*; where she was received with raptures by the bridegroom, who was more infirm than he was aged. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmost magnificence; and the charms of the bride, who was then but in her seventeenth year, touched the heart of the duke of *Angoulesme* so much, that

that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon, by a friend, to desist from an attempt to exclude himself from the succession to the crown of *France*. There is, however, some reason for suspecting that *Mary*, even at this time, looked upon her future husband, *Charles Brandon*, who attended her, with no unfavourable eyes. The pope was, by no means, displeased with a match which seemed to defeat the views of the house of *Austria* in *Italy*; but he applied himself now to prevent the *Swiss* from re-entering into the service of *France*: his great plan being, that all *Italy* should be governed by *Italian* sovereigns. He succeeded so far, that *Lewis*, in pursuit of his favourite measure (that of recovering the *Milaneze*) by his general, the duke of *Bourbon*, was obliged to take into his pay sixteen thousand *Germans*; and, placing himself at their head, with a body of *French*, he marched to *Italy*. In the mean while, the *Adornas*, who commanded *Genoa*, under *Lewis*, were deposed from that dukedom; and the *French* were besieged in the castle of the *Lanthorn*, which was taken; and the *French* thereby lost all footing in *Genoa*.

The constitution of *Lewis* was then broken so much, that His death, it was irrecoverable; and it was naturally, perhaps justly, thought that his being married, when he was fifty-six years of age, to the most beautiful princess in *Europe*, contributed to his death; which happened in *January*, 1515 (he having lived but eighty days with his third wife) in the seventeenth year of his reign.

The kingdom of *France*, under *Lewis XII.* was happier character, than, perhaps, it would have been, if governed by a prince of greater genius and ambition. He was, in his private character, a worthy man; and his sole aim was the good of his people. He had his family weakness, that of coveting the sovereignty of the *Milaneze*; but it was far from costing him so dear as it did his predecessor. His chief stain was avarice, which prevented his counter-acting his enemies; for it is certain, that money, well disposed, might have enabled him to retain *Milan*; but, at the same time, he was magnificent, if not profuse, in his expences upon his own court and person. The league of *Cambray* was certainly a wrong measure; but he shewed a particular regard to *Ponchier*, bishop of *Paris*, who opposed it; as he did to several other ministers who were of the same sentiments. In short, he had a sincere desire to render his people happy; and he was not ashamed to acknowledge and reform the errors of his government, even when they took their rise from his own obstinacy.

He pushed, perhaps, the principle of frugality too far, because he did not raise upon his people taxes sufficient to maintain his foreign interest against the *English* and *Swiss*, or to resent the gross affronts put upon him by the king of *Spain*. His frugality led him into another error, which was
that

that of selling the lucrative places in his government, by which he raised, in his reign, twelve hundred thousand livres in the diocese of *Paris*. A moderate tax upon the subject would have been less burdensome than such a venality of places; as the purchaser, undoubtedly, raised upon the people what he paid for his employment. This venality, however, did not extend to the courts of law, the expences of which were then very moderate. The whole of his revenue amounted to above thirteen million of livres, which at that time, were equal in value to six hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but the proper deductions and considerations being made, the sum may be now equivalent to about two million, five hundred thousand pounds, and with that inconsiderable sum he defrayed the civil and military expences of his kingdom and court, which was excessively magnificent. He accepted from his parliament a list of three persons to fill up any vacancy in the long robe, and he chose one of the three.

In the year 1499, he published one of the most patriotic edicts that, perhaps, ever issued from a sovereign; for he ordained that the law should always be observed, notwithstanding any orders contrary to law, which a sovereign might be induced to issue through importunity. He was the first *French* monarch who emancipated his subjects from the tyranny of the soldiers, who had before always laid the peasants under contribution; but by executing five or six of the gens d'armes, he put a stop to that atrocious practice. To conclude his character, though he was not a great genius, yet he was a most excellent king, and the people of *France* never lived so happy as under his government. Even during his life time, he had the glorious appellation of *the Father of his People*, and he put up the affronts of even being personally satirized for his parsimony, with the good natured reflection, that he chose the people should rather laugh at his frugality than mourn at his oppression.

and issue.

We have already seen that he was divorced in 1498, from his first queen *Joan of France*, who died in 1505. By his second queen, *Ann of Bretagne*, he had two sons, who died infants, and two daughters, *Claude*, who was married to his successor the duke of *Angoulesme*, and *Rene*, who after being offered and promised to various princes, was, in 1527 married to the duke of *Ferrara*, and was one of the most amiable women of her time. She died a protestant, in 1575. His third queen, by whom he had no issue, was *Mary of England*, who survived him eighteen years, and was married to *Brandon* duke of *Suffolk*.

Francis

Francis I.

WE have already mentioned the assassination of *Lewis*, See
 duke of *Orleans*, by the duke of *Burgundy*. His p. 152.
 son, was that duke of *Orleans*, who lived so long in *England*. Descent of
 His son, by *Margaret* of *Roban*, was *Charles*, who married *Francis I.*
Louisa of *Savoy*, the issue of which marriage was *Francis*,
 count, or as some, but falsely, call him, duke of *Angoulesme*.
 Thus, *Francis* descending lineally from the first duke of
Orleans, brother to *Charles VI.* was the undoubted heir to
 the *French* monarchy. His mother was an accomplished
 lady, but young, profuse, amorous and vain. Being mother
 to the presumptive heir of the crown, she had so much
 court paid to her that she disgusted queen *Ann* of *Bretagne*,
 and she retired from court to her husband's favourite castle
 of *Cognac*. It was generally thought that she had a passion
 for *Charles*, duke of *Bourbon*, which being slighted, it was
 converted into a most furious hatred, and created innume-
 rable calamities to her son and his kingdom.

The retired life in which the countess of *Angoulesme* lived His mi-
 at *Cognac*, for some time, enabled her to give an excellent nisters and
 education to her children; and her son *Francis*, at the time favourites.
 of his accession, was deservedly looked upon to be the finest
 gentleman in *France*. The two great posts of chancellor
 and constable being then vacant, he gave the former to
Anthony du Prat, and the latter to *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*.
 He favoured the marriage of *Charles Brandon* with the
 queen dowager, and confirmed his treaties of friendship
 with all the neighbouring powers, that he might be more
 at leisure to prosecute his family claim upon the dutchy of
Milan. His great minister was *du Prat*, but his favourites
 were *Arthur de Gouffier*, and *Florimond de Robertet*; the
 former master of his household, and the latter his secretary.
 The public treasury being empty at the time of his acces-
 sion, by *du Prat's* advice he raised money from the sale of
 offices, which he encreased, by adding a chamber to each
 of his parliaments. Even this was not sufficient to answer
 his exigencies, for he was obliged to revive the taxes which
 his predecessor had suppressed. He kept his intended ex-
 pedition into *Italy* a profound secret from all but his two
 favourites; and as a preparative to his success, he endea-
 voured to cultivate a friendship with pope *Leo X.* in order
 to regain the influence of his crown in *Genoa*. The pope
 had supported *Fregosa* in that dukedom; but *Francis*, by
 protecting the *Adorna*, and the *Fiesco* families, gave *Fre-*
gosa so much trouble, that he secretly embraced the interest
 of *France*; and a project was formed for putting *Francis*
 in possession of that republic. This being discovered by
 the *Spaniards*, they entered and pillaged *Genoa*, but by the
 assistance

assistance of *Andrew Doria*, a noble *Genoese*, who was admiral to *Francis*, the schemes of the *Spaniards* were frustrated, and the *Genoese* government put itself under the *French* protection.

His differences with the *Swiss*.

The vast preparations made by *Francis* for invading *Italy*, had alarmed all *Europe*, but he never discovered his intention till it was on the point of execution. *Don Pedro de Novara* raised ten thousand *Biscyaners* and *Gascons*, for the service of *Francis*, and the duke of *Guelders* an equal number of *Germans*; so that his army, upon a muster, appeared to consist of forty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. Before this great body began its march, the king erected his county of *Angoulesme* into a dutchy, which he gave to his mother; and, at the same time, he declared her regent. The *Swiss*, ever since they had been disgusted by the parsimony of *Lewis XII.* had continued to be the declared enemy of *France*. The *Venetians* were her friends, because they wanted to recover *Verona* from the emperor *Maximilian*. The famous cardinal of *Sion*, one of the most artful men of his age, undertook to mediate between the *Swiss* and *Francis*, whom he betrayed, and encouraged them in their enmity, that he might raise his own importance.

Ferdinand king of *Spain* was still alive, and being apprehensive that the great preparations of *Francis* were intended for the recovery of *Navarre*, he strengthened himself by an alliance with *Henry VIII.* of *England*, who was equally jealous that *Francis* intended to recover *Tournay*, of which *Wolsey* was still bishop. The preparations of *Francis* continued to be so mysterious, that a secret league was entered into between *Ferdinand*, *Maximilian*, and the pope, by which the *Swiss* were to be employed against the *French*; but the true designs of *Francis* were no sooner known, than the emperor and *Ferdinand* withdrew the contingencies they were obliged to furnish, and left the pope and the *Swiss* to oppose *Francis*.

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p. 241.
He invades
Italy.

Francis gave the command of the vanguard of his army to the constable *Bourbon*, and that of the rear to the duke of *Alençon*, while he himself, attended by the dukes of *Guelders*, *Lorraine*, and *Savoy*, commanded the main body. He began his march about the beginning of *August* 1515. He was then no more than twenty-one years of age; but so full of fire and spirit, that he had been known to cry on hearing the gallant exploits of *Gaston de Foix* at that age. The *Swiss* had guarded all the common passages over the *Alps*, so strongly, that *Francis* had been obliged to make a new road at *Roque-Perriere*, by which he descended into *Piedmont*, and surprised *Prosper Colonna*, the pope's general, who had been sent with a body of troops to observe the motions of the *French*, but without any declared intention to attack them. The *Swiss* were not dismayed at *Francis* penetrating into *Piedmont*, and continued to skirt his army; but

but by the mediation of the pope and the duke of *Savoy*, a negotiation was set on foot between them, and *Francis*, who, promised them seven hundred thousand crowns, as the purchase of their friendship. While this treaty was in agitation, it was broken off by the arrival of the cardinal of *Sion*, with a fresh body of troops and money; and they resolved to attack the *French* at *Marignan*, near *Milan*.

Though *Francis* had offered them an immense sum for their friendship, yet he disdained being their tributary; and perhaps, the indignation which his subjects conceived at their haughty and unreasonable demands, operated greatly to the victory he gained at *Marignan*. The *Swiss* were armed with long spears, and two handed broad swords, and till the day of that battle had been deemed invincible. They had indeed no horse in their army; but the strength and courage with which they fought supplied that defect. The battle began about four in the afternoon, on the thirteenth of *September*, and lasted for some hours after sunset, when both parties rested on the field of battle; *Francis* himself making use of the carriage of a cannon for his pillow. Next morning he made the necessary dispositions for renewing the engagement, and about nine, the *Swiss*, who were destitute of artillery as well as cavalry, were so galled by the *French* cannon, and the heavy armed horse, that they began their retreat, leaving twelve thousand, out of about twenty-five thousand, men, which their army consisted of, dead on the field. Their retreat was made in excellent order, and they defeated a body of *Venetians* who had joined *Francis*, and ventured to oppose them. The old marshal *Trivulzi*, who had seen more service than any general of his time, used to say, that all the preceding engagements he had been in were but the play of boys, but that of *Marignan* was a battle of giants. *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, whom the *Swiss* protected, was made a prisoner, but gently treated by the king, who allowed him to enjoy his liberty, and a pension in *France*.

and gains
the great
battle of
*Marig-
nan*.

The battle of *Marignan* inspired all parties with moderation, though it put *Francis* in possession of the *Milanese*, almost without resistance. *Sforza* seemed to be happy in his captivity, having been long a slave to the *Germans*, the *Swiss* and the *Spaniards*. *Francis* made a triumphal entry into *Milan*, where he settled a civil government in imitation of that of *France*. He now gave law to *Italy*. He obliged *Maximilian* to restore *Verona* to the *Venetians*; he made a treaty with the pope, with whom he had an interview at *Bologna*, and who resigned into his hands *Parma*, and *Placentia*, upon *Francis* accepting of the *Concordat*, which was a mitigation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*; but *Francis*, at the same time, restored *Urbino* to the holy see. Upon his return from his conference with the pope, who offered to create him emperor of the East, he reviewed his army

army at *Milan*, and finding that his victory at *Marignano* had cost him four thousand of his best troops, he resolved, if possible, to gain over the *Swiss*, and accordingly concluded a treaty with them, and made them his friends, by paying them six hundred thousand crowns. He then nominated the constable, *Bourbon*, to whose valour his victory at *Marignano* was chiefly owing, to be governor of *Milan*, and leaving with him a body of twelve thousand men, he returned to *France*, where he met with his queen and his mother at *Lyons*. His court there was excessively magnificent; but by that time, *Maximilian*, by the assistance and instigation of the pope, had taken twelve thousand *Swiss* into his pay, and invaded the *Milanese*, with so much fury, that the constable was on the point of abandoning that capital, where the *French* government was hated; when he was relieved by another body of twelve thousand *Swiss*, in the pay of *Francis*, who forced *Maximilian* to retire.

ibid.

p. 242.

et seq.

The constable recalled from his government of the *Milanese*.

The love which the dutchess of *Angoulesme*, (the first female of the royal blood of *France*, who was distinguished by the appellation of *Madame*) had for the constable *Bourbon*, was now converted into so rooted a hatred, that she prevailed with her son to recall him from his government, which was given to *Odet de Foix*, viscount of *Lautrec*, brother to *Francis's* mistress. *Lautrec* took *Brescia*, and gave it to the *Venetians*, but in the mean time, *Ferdinand the Catholic* died, which determined *Francis* to endeavour to recover *Navarre* for its king. By the death of *Ferdinand*, *Charles of Austria*, became heir to the crown of *Spain*, and the rival of *Francis* for the empire. Though he was then but sixteen years of age, he was provident, and sagacious, and he resolved, at all adventures, to make *Francis* his friend, before he departed for his new dominions. A treaty was accordingly entered into at *Noyon*, by which he engaged to marry *Francis's* daughter, who was no more than twelve months old; to pay *Francis* a hundred thousand crowns a year till the marriage was consummated, and to satisfy all the king of *Navarre's* demands in six months time. This treaty was so advantageous to *Francis*, that he himself did not expect the performance of it; but the affairs of *Charles*, in *Spain*, were at this time, so perplexed, that he would have even granted more advantageous terms to have secured the tranquility of the *Low Countries*, during his absence there. *Maximilian* acceded to this treaty, and upon *Francis* advancing him two hundred thousand crowns, and remitting to him a debt of three hundred thousand more lent him by *Lewis XII.* he promised *Francis* the investiture of the *Milanese*. *Francis* agreed to all those terms, the more readily, as *Maximilian* was now aged and infirm, so that a vacancy in the empire was every day expected.

Francis

With this view he had expended immense sums in bribing the *German* electors, and in bringing five cantons of the *Swiss*,
 pope.

Swiss, who still stood out against him, into his interest. He thought nothing too much to preserve the friendship of the pope, who hated him; and he maintained the *Concordat* against the universal consent of his people and parliament, as being a violation of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and the rights of the *Gallican Church*. The material difference between that *Concordat* and the *Pragmatic Sanction*, consisted in the pope's not being obliged by the former, as he was by the latter, to call a general council in a limited time; neither did the *Concordat* declare the general council to be superior to the pope. By the *Concordat*, the king was to nominate, under certain restrictions, to all benefices, in his kingdom; but he was to remit to *Rome* the annates, or twelve months revenue of each benefice. *Francis* had this measure greatly at heart; but he was opposed with vast firmness by the clergy, who refused to ratify the *Concordat* when it was presented to them, and affirmed, that they neither could nor would do any thing in an affair that affected the most valuable interest of the *Gallican Church*; demanding, at the same time, that an assembly of the clergy should be called. The chancellor was blamed for those violent proceedings, which *Francis* carried on in the most arbitrary manner; but in the mean time, the dispute was partly suspended by the birth of a dauphin, which overwhelmed the people and court of *France* with joy. *Francis* never lost sight of his *Italian* claims, in which he was encouraged by the pope, who ordered his kinsman, *Lorenzo de Medici*, to whom *Francis* had given the duchy of *Urbino*, to answer at the font for the young dauphin.

Upon the whole, it may be justly said, that *Francis* madly Conduct sacrificed to the pope the material interests of his kingdom, of *Francis* in order to purchase his friendship; so much was he set on the success of his attempt to conquer *Naples* and *Milan*. He gave to *Lorenzo de Medici*, *Magdalen* of *Boulogne*, one of the richest heiresses in *France* in marriage. He courted *Wolsey*, the *English* minister, in the most abject manner, with the same view, and entered with him upon a negotiation for the restitution of the bishopric of *Tournay*, which *Wolsey* still possessed. As *Francis* was resolved, at all events, to recover that city, and see, and to replace in it its old bishop, who was his subject, he paid *Wolsey* a large sum, and settled upon him an annuity of fourteen thousand livres a year.

Lautrec continued, at this time, governor of *Milan* under *Francis*; but being an interested man, he not only lost the affections of the people there to his master, but prepossessed himself so much against *Trivulzi*, that the gallant old general, when he was past eighty years of age, died of heart-break. The death of *Maximilian*, which happened about this time, broke all the cobweb engagements that subsisted between *Francis* and *Charles*. The former had

expended immense sums to be chosen emperor; but, notwithstanding all his profusion of favours to the see of *Rome*, he was secretly opposed by the pope.

Whatever encomiums *French* writers have bestowed upon *Francis*, it is certain that, in the great measures both of government and war, he acted like a weak prince. He distributed among the electors of the empire above four hundred thousand crowns, without being able to secure a single vote, except that of *Treves*. He sacrificed to the pope the liberties of the *Gallican Church*, without receiving the least return, but that of treachery and ingratitude. He gave himself up to flatterers, who betrayed him; and he discovered no judgment in the choice he made of his ministers. At the same time, it cannot be denied that *Francis* was naturally possessed of good qualities; but all of them were useless to his subjects, excepting his patronage of the fine arts, which were, however, far from compensating for the miseries which his dissipated conduct brought upon his people.

Who is
chosen
emperor.

The arbitrary manner in which *Francis* conducted himself towards his clergy, and his nobility, operated strongly to his prejudice with the electors of the empire. They dreaded their being degraded into *French* noblemen, if he should succeed in his competition, and therefore they chose *Charles*. This preference created a rooted hatred between *Charles* and *Francis*, and each of them endeavoured to make *Henry VIII.* of *England* his friend. *Francis* continued his profusion to gain *Wolsey*, and he agreed that the dauphin (though it is doubtful if he was then born) should espouse *Henry's* daughter, the princess *Mary*. Those ridiculous marriages were, the state tricks of that time, and only made use of as expedients for temporary purposes. *Henry* sent over the earl of *Worcester* and the bishop of *Ely*, that he might be certified whether a dauphin was then in being, and they were, ordered if an infant in that character was presented to them, to satisfy themselves as to its virility.

The ties of friendship between *Francis* and *Henry*, were confirmed by the disappointment of the former in his views upon the empire, to which neither *Henry* nor his minister were friends. *Wolsey*, on this occasion, acted with prodigious art and address. He was courted equally by *Francis* and the emperor, who settled upon him an additional pension, and secretly gave him hopes of succeeding to the popedom. This was the true reason why *Wolsey* persuaded his master to have an interview with both those princes; that with *Francis* was within the lordship of *Guisnes*, *Henry's* own territory, and held under a tent of cloth of gold. It was as useless as magnificent. *Henry* stood godfather to the young born dauphin; but *Charles* fixed *Henry* in his interest, at an interview, which they had at *Dover*, previous to that of *Guisnes*.

Wolsey,

Wolsey, notwithstanding all his dissimulation, could not interview *Francis* that he was in the interest of *Charles*, Between and he endeavoured to gain *Henry* over without the interven- *Francis* tion of his minister. With this view, he broke thro' all the and *Henry* restraints of formality, and surprized *Henry* with a friendly VIII. visit at *Guisnes*. *Henry* appeared to be greatly touched with that mark of confidence; and it is very probable, that each monarch might have conceived a sincere friendship for the other, had it not been for the intrigues of their ministers.

The vast designs that *Leo X.* had formed for the aggran- Conne- dizement of his family, was favourable for the views of tions of *Francis* upon the crown of *Naples*. His holiness promised *Francis* to refuse *Charles* the investiture of that kingdom, and to with *Leo* give it to *Francis*, on condition: First, Of *Gaeta*, and a X. large territory on the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state being ceded to the holy see, or the *Medici* family: Secondly, That the rest of the kingdom of *Naples* should descend to *Henry*, the second son of *Francis*, and be governed, during his minority, by a cardinal legate: and Thirdly, That *Francis* should assist his holiness in reducing the rebel feudatories to the holy see. *Francis* having thus (as he thought) secured the pope in his interest, prepared for a breach with *Charles*, who, in his turn, had great complaints. He pretended that *Francis* was little better than the usurper of the *Milanese*, because he had not yet received the investiture of it from him, as emperor; that he detained the dutchy of *Burgundy*, which was his birth-right, and that all his obligations by the treaty of *Noyon* were void, as having been extorted from him by necessity. *Francis* answered those complaints, by the immense preparations he made for regaining *Navarre* from *Charles*. For that purpose, he sent an army into that His wars country under *Andrew de Foix*, baron of *L'Esparre*, who with the was brother to *Lautrec*, and at first, meeting with little or emperor. no opposition, he took *Pampeluna*, and might have secured *Navarre* for the *d'Albret* family, had he not, by inconsiderately besieging *Legrognon*, which belonged to the crown of *Castile*, united the nobility of that country against him, though they were then actually at war with *Charles*. They were headed by the admiral of *Castile*, and *L'Esparre* was obliged to raise the siege, and retire towards *Pampeluna*. A general engagement followed, in which *L'Esparre* was defeated, and taken prisoner; and it appeared from his papers, that *Francis* was resolved to come to extremities with *Charles*. The latter appealed to all the courts of *Europe* for this infidelity; for which *Francis* apologized, because the other had refused to execute the treaty of *Noyon*.

Navarre was not the only quarter in which *Francis* attacked the emperor. *Robert de la Marc*, duke of *Bouillon*, being nearly related to the prince of *Chimay*, took part with that prince's children in a pecuniary dispute they had with

the sieur d'*Ameries*, who was favoured by the emperor. *La Marc* attached himself to *Francis*, though both he and his brother, the bishop of *Liege*, had been before violently in the interest of *Charles*. *Francis* lent *la Marc* money, with which he raised an army, declared war against *Charles*, and attacked his dutchy of *Luxembourg*. Both parties appealed to *Henry VIII.* of *England*, and it was agreed that he should have an interview with *Francis* at *Calais*; but in the mean time, the war continued. The seeming intimacy between *Francis* and *Charles* gave offence to the pope, who called upon *Francis* for the performances of his secret treaty for driving the imperialists out of *Italy*. The haughty pontiff gave *Francis* only twenty-two days for returning a categorical answer, and they elapsed without his receiving any; upon which his holiness granted the investiture of *Naples* to *Charles*.

Wolsey
mediates
between
them.

The operations in the *Low Countries* were carried on, on the part of the emperor, by the count of *Nassau*, who was obliged to raise the siege of *Meziers*, which was defended by the chevalier *Bayard*. Each party at war endeavoured to cover the rooted hatred they had for the other by plausible pretexts, which can give very little information to the reader, while all of them pretended to submit their differences to *Wolsey*, who certainly was in the imperial interest, and had, in a manner, issued his mandate for both parties to appear before him, as their umpire, at *Calais*.

While this negotiation was on foot, and while *Wolsey* had drawn up a very practicable scheme of reconciliation, the *French* troops took *Hesdin*, and *Francis* at the head of his army, passed the *Schelde* in order to fight that of the emperor, who was encamped before *Valenciennes*. Had not *Francis* been blinded, at this time, by his mother, as she was by her hatred of the constable *Bourbon*, the campaign might have been decisive in favour of the *French*. The imperialists retired, and the *French* admiral *Bonivet* had taken *Fontarabia* in *Spain*. The constable advised *Francis* to improve the retreat of the emperor, by giving him, if possible, a total defeat; but the dutchess of *Angoulesme* succeeded in persuading her son to give the command of his vanguard to the duke of *Alençon*, and the pursuit was discontinued, so that the imperialists besieged and took *Tournay*. *Francis* was equally unsuccessful in other quarters. *Bonivet*, instead of demolishing *Fontarabia*, as he ought to have done, preserved it, and thereby laid the foundation of a lasting war with *Spain*; while the pope openly took part with the imperialists, in the *Milanese*, and restored *Francis Sforza* to that dutchy. This revolution might have been prevented, had it not been for the boundless extravagance of *Francis*, and the rapacity of his mother, which disabled *Lautrec* from retaining the *Swiss* in the pay of *France*.

In

In 1521, *Francis* finding that the *English* king and mi- *Henry*
nisters were entirely in the imperial interest, strengthened *VIII.* in
himself by renewing his treaties with *Scotland*, which was the im-
soon followed by a declaration of war against him, by perial in-
Henry. The pretexts were, *Francis* having assisted *de la* tereft.
Marc, and invading *Castile*, with various other complaints;
which are easily invented by princes who are resolved to
quarrel with each other. The death of pope *Leo X.* at a
time when the *French* interest was almost extinguished in
Italy, had great effects on the affairs of *Europe*. The em-
peror favoured the election of his tutor, *Adrian*, who was
raised to the popedom; to the great disappointment of
Wolsey.

Francis had now seen his mistake, in dissipating the
money which ought to have supported *Lautrec* in *Italy*.
The new pope declared against him; but he engaged in his
service a body of *Swiss* mercenaries, who obliged *Prosper*
Colonna, the general of the imperial and papal army, to en-
trench himself at *Bicoque*. *Lautrec*, was so much superior
to *Colonna*, that the latter, in a few days, must have been
obliged to surrender at discretion, had not the intractable
humour of the *Swiss* forced *Lautrec* to attack *Colonna* in
his entrenchments, by which he suffered a defeat, and was
obliged to take shelter in the territories of *Venice*. He
complained of his not being supported with money, which
occasioned the defection of the *Swiss*; and *de Baune Sem-*
blansai, the king's financier, was charged with being the *Semblansai*
author of the disappointment. *Semblansai*, a venerable old man, defended himself, by offering to produce the king's *sai* the
mother's receipts for the money that had been appropriat- financier
ed for the pay of the *Swiss*; but they had been secreted by executed.
his deputy, *Gentil*, who was in the interest of the dutches,
and *Semblansai* not being able to produce them, was execut-
ed as a traitor, while *Gentil* was promoted to be president
of the parliament.

In 1522, the earl of *Surrey*, who was lord high admiral *War be-*
of *England*, burnt *Morlaix*, and destroyed seventeen sail of tween
French ships on the coast of *Normandy*. He afterwards *France*
landed sixteen thousand men at *Calais*, and in conjunction and *Eng-*
with the imperial general, the count *de Bures*, he took land.
Hesdin, and *Dourlens*. About the same time, *Henry VIII.* re-
ceived into his pay six thousand imperialists, who were com-
manded by *Ferome Adorno*, and retook *Cremona* and *Genoa*.
So many misfortunes distressed *Francis* for money; and, by
the advice of his famous minister, *du Prat*, he had recourse
to the most unwarrantable means for raising it. He had for his
enemies, the emperor, the king of *England*, the pope, the
dukes of *Austria*, and *Milan*, and the republics of *Venice*,
Florence, and *Genoa*; and an event which happened at this
time, contributed to encrease his misfortunes.

The con-
stable
Bourbon
deserts
from
Francis,

Upon the death of the dutchess of *Bourbon*, wife to the constable, in 1521, the dutchess of *Angoulême*'s affection for his person revived so strongly, that she engaged the king, her son, to prevail with the constable to marry her. The constable treated the proposal with a haughtiness that disgusted the king, and exasperated his mother beyond all measure. She was then about the age of forty-five, but he was no more than thirty-two; and his aversion for her person drove her into a scheme for his total ruin; for with the consent of her son, she brought a law suit against him for all his estate, which was the largest of any subject in *France*. By the powerful interest of the dutchess, the lands were sequestrated, and the constable thought himself so ill-treated, that he immediately entered into private connections with the emperor, who offered him in marriage his sister, the queen dowager of *Portugal*, with a fortune of two hundred thousand crowns, and to revive the antient kingdom of *Arles*, which he was to possess, besides conferring upon him many other extravagant marks of favour.

Francis, by the constable's withdrawing himself from court when the law suit went against him, suspected that he corresponded with the emperor, and surprizing him at *Moulins*, he fairly laid before him his suspicions, but at the same time, he did not dissemble that he had had provocation. The constable was at no pains to deny the charge; and the king, with a frankness peculiar to himself, offered to forget all that had passed, and restore him to his estate. The constable appeared to be touched with his generosity, and promised obedience; but took the first opportunity of escaping to *Spain*, which he effected with great difficulty.

and joins
the em-
peror and
Henry
VIII.

After the constable was out of the power of *Francis*, both the emperor, and *Henry VIII.* affected to treat him as a sovereign prince, and admitted him as a party into their alliance. He was the favourite of the *French* nobility and people. His resentments were equal to the greatness of his spirit, and were carried to a height which his provocations, excessive as they were, could not justify. Some pretend that he agreed to recognize *Henry*, as his lawful sovereign, and to assist him in conquering *France*. At the time of the constable's defection, *Francis* had an army on foot for invading *Italy*; but, as an insurrection in *France* was apprehended, its march was countermanded; while the *English* insulted the coasts of *France* with their fleet, and the *French* lost the few places which still remained to them in *Italy*. *Charles* continued to pay *Wolsey* his appointments, and marched an army through the *Franche Compté* into *Burgundy*, while, on the twenty-fourth of *August* 1523, an *English* army under the duke of *Suffolk* landed at *Calais*, and on the twenty-fourth of *December* following he was joined by the count *de Bures*, the imperial general. Their army then amounted to about thirty thousand men, with which they took *Montdidier*, *Bray sur Somme*, and other places, notwith-

notwithstanding all the efforts of *Trimouille*, the *French* general, to oppose them; and, rigorous as the season was, they advanced within eleven leagues of *Paris*. It is to the praise of the *French*, that on this occasion they laid aside all their animosities, and united against their common enemies. The count of *Vendosme* commanded one army, and *Trimouille* another; and the little care which *Charles* had taken for the payment of his troops rendered the farther progress of the confederates impracticable; so that the count *de Bures* withdrew towards *Valenciennes*, and the *English* to *Calais*.

The count *de Guise*, about the same time, had checked War in the imperial army that had been sent into *Burgundy*; but *Italy* continued had *Charles* persisted with the same vigour that *Henry* discovered, the *French* monarchy must at this time have received an irretrievable blow. The constable *Bourbon*, after his escape out of *France*, fled to *Italy*, where the emperor declared him his lieutenant-general, but took very little care to support him. *Francis* not daring to leave his kingdom, had given the management of his *Italian* war to his admiral, *Bonivet*, who took *Novara*, and made some attempts upon *Cremona* and *Milan*; but though he had the chevalier *Bayard* to command under him, he was baffled in all his undertakings, and obliged to take winter quarters in *Piedmont*. The emperor had, in person, headed his troops in *Navarre*, and after making a feint of besieging *Fontarabia*, he suddenly invested *Bayonne*; but, through the valour of *Lautrec*, who threw himself into the place, he was obliged to raise the siege. Thus *Francis*, by the loyalty and abilities of his generals, was delivered from three threatening invasions, by powerful enemies.

All this while, *Wolsey*, upon whom the affairs of *Europe* to the advantage then hinged, was kept in tolerable temper, by the hopes of the of his succeeding pope *Adrian*, who was very old; but upon his death, the cardinal *de Medici*, who took the name of *Clement VII.* was chosen, to *Wolsey's* great disappointment. Matters began then to wear a favourable aspect for *Francis*. The admiral, *Bonivet*, being joined by fifteen thousand *Swiss*, re-entered *Italy*, recovered *Cremona*, and again got a footing in the *Milanese*; but little care was taken at the court of *Francis* to support him; and, after losing the brave chevalier *de Bayard*, he was obliged to repass the mountains. The crown of *England* furnished the money for all those operations against *Francis*; but the chief dependence of his enemies, now, rested on the constable *Bourbon*. *Charles* had treated him with no great consideration, and, after he had put him at the head of an army, he obliged him to besiege *Marseilles*, instead of marching to *Lyons*, where he was sure of being joined by the friends and dependents of his family. After reducing *Aix*, *Toulon*, and other places, he sat down before that city, about the middle of *August*, but after besieging it forty days, he was, through

Francis through the jealousy of the *Spanish* general, *Pescara*, obliged to abandon his enterprize. *Francis* was then at the head of an army, which cut off great numbers of the imperialists and *Germans*, in their retreat into *Italy*. The marshals *Chabannes* and *Montmorenci* commanded under him, and they recovered all the places that had been taken by the constable.

This was a glorious æra in the reign of *Francis*, as it not only discovered his own martial abilities, but the affection which his subjects had for his person, and how vain the expectations of the constable were of raising a revolt in his dominions. He was too much intoxicated with success, and understanding that his enemies were directing their march towards the *Milanese*, he proposed, in a council of war, either to follow them or be beforehand with them. He was encouraged to this by the intelligence he had of a coldness having arisen between *Henry VIII.* and the emperor, which delivered him from all apprehensions on the side of *Picardy*. The proposal, though great objections lay against it, was agreed to. Money, however, was wanting to carry it into execution, and *Francis* was obliged not only to sell the places belonging to the law to the best bidders, but to coin a large grate of massy silver, weighing nigh seven thousand marks, with which *Lewis XI.* had surrounded the tomb of *St. Martin*, at *Tours*. Those, and other mean expedients, shew the vast distress which *Francis* was then in for executing his views, which reached not only to the *Milanese*, but to *Naples*; for he gave the command of an army to the duke of *Albany*, to penetrate into that kingdom.

and follows the imperialists into *Italy*.

It happened favourably for *Francis*, that about this time, not only *Henry VIII.* but the pope, was jealous of *Charles*, and he endeavoured to negotiate an accommodation between *France* and *England*. *Francis*, with his army, which consisted of near fifty thousand men, passed the *Alps* at *Mount Cennis*, having constituted his mother, once more, regent of his kingdom during his absence. She had opposed his expedition into *Italy*, but he was overpersuaded by admiral *Bonivet* to undertake it, and he avoided her sight, that he might rid himself of her importunities. Every thing favoured his expedition. The imperial army was diminished by fatigue and desertions. *Milan* had been visited by a plague, and she opened her gates to receive him. The remains of the imperialists, and *Sforza's* troops, had retired to *Lodi*; but *Francis*, instead of pursuing them, formed the siege of *Pavia*, a very strong city, and defended by a numerous garrison under the famous *Antonio de Leva*, one of the ablest generals in *Europe*. The constable *Bourbon* was then raising soldiers in *Germany*; and about the time that *Francis* besieged *Pavia*, he arrived in *Italy*, with twelve thousand foot, as did *Pescaro*, and *Lanoy*, with fresh reinforcements from

from *Spain* and *Naples*. *Francis* thought that nothing was impossible for his army and generals to effect, and he pressed the siege of *Pavia* with prodigious vigour.

The fortune of *Francis* was now at a stand. The duke of *Albany* was on his march to *Naples*, and he detached the marquis of *Saluces*, with a strong body, to make war on the side of *Genoa*; so that the main body of his army was inferior to that of the imperialists. The vigilance and courage of *de Leva* baffled all his efforts against *Pavia*; but *Francis* was in hopes that his *German* garrison would mutiny for want of pay; which they certainly were on the point of doing, when the constable *Bourbon*, *Lanoy*, and *Pescara*, came to a resolution of risking every thing by giving battle to *Francis*. He might, had he followed the pope's advice, and that of his ablest generals, have still avoided the fate that attended him, by raising the siege of *Pavia*, and remaining upon the defensive, as the imperial generals in the field, as well as in that city, expected every day to be deserted, if not imprisoned, by their *German* mercenaries. *Francis* listened only to his own humour and his admiral *Bonivet*, who undertook for the success of the siege of *Pavia*; but he ordered all the troops he had in the *Milanese* within his lines, that he might supply the place of the *Grisons* in his army, who were called to the defence of their own country.

The imperial generals found no time was to be lost, and but is resolved to attack his camp, which lay in a park. This beaten, they did on the twenty-fourth of *February*, 1524. The duke and taken of *Alençon* then commanded the rear-guard of the *French*, prisoner, and stood the first charge of the imperialists. *Francis* marched before to support him; and his artillery was so well supplied, that *Pavia*. the *Spanish* infantry was repulsed. In the heat of the pursuit, he struck into a hollow-way; by which he put himself between the fire of his own batteries and that of his enemies; and, being vigorously charged in the flank by *Lanoy*, the viceroy of *Naples*, his *Swiss* infantry gave way in their turn; and, the *French* cavalry being inferior to the *Spanish* in goodness, *Francis* found himself, in a manner, surrounded. He behaved, however, with matchless intrepidity, and killed five of his enemies with his own hand. The duke of *Lorraine*'s brother, *Richard de la Pole*, of the blood-royal of *England*, the masters of his horse and household, admiral *Bonivet*, and his great general, *Trimouille*, fell by his side, almost all of them at the same instant, besides many other persons of rank and distinction. He was, at last, beaten from his horse; and, recovering himself, he killed two more of his enemies; but finding all farther resistance in vain, he surrendered himself prisoner to *Lanoy*.

The *French* lost about ten thousand of their best troops in this action. The king of *Navarre*, and many of the nobility, were taken prisoners; but *Francis* was conducted to the fortress of *Pizzighitone*, from whence he wrote the follow-

ing billet to his mother: "Madam, we have lost all, our honour excepted."

Great danger of *France*, which is saved by the duke of *Vendosme*. The destruction of *France* seemed then to be inevitable. The *Flemings* and the *English* were ready to invade her, and her government was not only without troops, but divided in itself; a party having been formed for dispossessing the dutchess of the regency, and giving it to the duke of *Vendosme*, who was then the head of the *Bourbon* family in *France*. That prince had the magnanimity to forget all resentment for the usage which he and his kinsman, the constable, had received; and repairing to *Lyons*, he assured her of his attachment to her authority. A new council was then established; but the deliverance of *France* from her impending calamities, was owing to the sudden turn which the politics of *Henry* and his minister took. They called upon *Charles* to execute the engagements he was under to acknowledge *Henry* as king of *France*, and to assist him in conquering *Normandy* and *Aquitain*. *Charles* had never been in earnest when he contracted those treaties; and he was so little disposed to fulfil them, that, though he had been betrothed to *Henry's* daughter, he married the king of *Portugal's* sister.

and a treaty with *England*. This, and other provocations he met with from *Charles*, determined *Henry* to embrace the cause of *Francis*; and he concluded a treaty with the regent, who engaged herself, in her son's name, to pay him two millions of crowns of gold; the princes of the blood, and the chief nobility, and cities of *France*, being sureties for the performance. This treaty was signed on the thirtieth of *August*, and *Henry* undertook to do all he could for the deliverance of *Francis*, and to balance the now over-grown power of the emperor. His friendship gave some stability to the *French* government. The duke of *Lorraine* defeated the *Flemings* and *Germans*; and the *French* gallies, under *Andrew Doria*, brought back the remains of the *French* army from *Italy*.

Francis remained, all this while, at *Pizzighitone*. He had been visited by the imperial generals, who had treated him with great deference; and the marquis of *Pescara* appeared before him in mourning, for which the king behaved to him with the utmost politeness and marks of friendship. It was with some difficulty that *Francis* admitted the constable, duke of *Bourbon*, into his presence; but, when the first impressions of his grief began to wear off, he found himself under a necessity of dissembling; and it is said that he forgave him, and behaved to him with familiarity.

Francis treats for his liberty. Being impatient of his restraint, he proposed terms to *Charles*; and offered to renounce his claims upon *Naples* and *Milan*, and his superiority over *Artois* and *Flanders*. He offered to assist *Charles* in making good all the pretensions he had in *Italy*, and to marry his sister, the queen-dowager of *Portugal* (he himself being now a widower) and to receive

ceive with her the dutchy of *Burgundy* as her dowry ; which was to descend to the children of the marriage. *Charles*, though he dissembled his dissatisfaction, began now to abate of that reserve and politeness which he had always affected before, and he soon made *Francis* sensible that he knew how to make use of his good fortune. He rejected the proposed terms with contempt, and sent *Adrian de Croy* into *Italy* to treat with *Francis*. The terms he demanded were, that *Francis* should simply renounce all his pretensions upon the dukedom of *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and *Artois* ; that he should dismember *Dauphiny*, *Provence*, and the *Lyonnois*, from his crown ; and erect them into a kingdom for the duke of *Bourbon*, who was to hold it without any homage ; and that *Henry VIII.* of *England* should be satisfied. The very proposal of those terms struck *Francis* with such a fit of despair, that it was with difficulty his attendants prevented his doing violence to his own person. Becoming more moderate, he declared that he would die, in the vilest prison in *Italy*, rather than consent to the dismemberment of his dominions.

The viceroy, *Lanoy*, had, by this time, discovered that Vol. X. very deep intrigues were on foot, among the *Italian* princes, p. 247. for delivering *Francis*, and for reducing the power of *Charles* in *Italy* ; and that nothing but the pope's fears could prevent their being carried into execution.

Lanoy was a man of great address, and managed his business with *Francis* so artfully, that the latter, in a manner, requested to be carried to *Spain* ; which he accordingly was, and lodged in the castle of *Madrid*, under the care of his keeper *Alarcon*. He had, during his voyage, flattered himself with the thoughts of making an impression upon the magnanimity of *Charles* ; and in this imagination he was soothed by the high distinctions paid him by all who approached him in his journey from *Palamos*, where he landed, through *Valentia* to *Madrid*. He was miserably disappointed in his expectations. He found himself more closely confined than ever ; and, when he demanded a conference with the emperor, he was told, he was not to expect that till the preliminaries of the accommodation between them were settled. He was visited by his favourite sister, the dutchess of *Alençon*, one of the most beautiful, but intriguing, women of her age. Vexation and disappointment, however, had, by this time, thrown him into a fever ; and *Charles* was distracted how to behave between the factions which the dutchess had formed in his court, and the fear of losing all the advantages of his royal prisoner's captivity. *Francis* being somewhat recovered, at the suggestion of his sister, he gave her a commission, before his keepers and the grandees who attended him, to return to *France*, with orders, that his son should be proclaimed king in his stead, and that he himself should be considered as being out of the world. The

The intelligence sent to *Charles* by his general, the marquis of *Pescara*, to whom the *Italian* princes had offered the sovereignty of *Naples*, determined his conduct. He afterwards found that the artful management of the dutchess of *Alençon* had projected that revolt.

where he
is visited
by *Charles*

Charles, to lose no time, finished a progress he was making in *Spain*; and hurried back to *Madrid*, where he paid a visit to *Francis*. There was nothing very particular in their first interview, only, when *Francis* called himself the slave and prisoner of *Charles*, the latter affected to sooth him, by telling him, he was a free prince, his good friend, and brother. Nothing more passed, and *Charles* renewed his visit next day; but so little to the satisfaction of *Francis*, that his fever encreased; and his sister covering his face with a handkerchief, laid him out for dead, after he had received extreme unction. The skill of the physicians, and the strength of his constitution, recovered him; and the dutchess followed *Charles* to *Toledo*, if possible, to finish the negotiation, which now turned upon the unwillingness of *Francis* to part with *Burgundy*. She was unsuccessful in her attempt, and in a plot she had formed for the escape of *Francis*. The negotiation, however, was resumed, and *Francis* appeared to be more tractable on the head of *Burgundy*; though, in truth, he had now resolved to have no regard to any treaty he should conclude with *Charles*; but his impatience to be at liberty, got the better of all other considerations. After a variety of treating, the duke of *Bourbon* arrived in *Spain*, and the dutchess of *Alençon* took her leave of *Charles*; who was now so thoroughly convinced of her intrigues, that he gave orders for her being arrested the next day; but she escaped by the dispatch she made in her return to *France*.

and freed
by the
treaty of
Madrid,

On the fourteenth of *January*, 1525, the treaty between *Charles* and *Francis* was signed at *Madrid*; and it has been generally allowed that *Charles* was overseen in his policy, by extorting such unconscionable terms as he did from his prisoner. *Francis* was to marry *Eleonora*, queen-dowager of *Portugal*, eldest sister to *Charles*; and to have with her two hundred thousand crowns. He was to give up his two sons as hostages, and to renounce all his claims of superiority over the dutchy of *Burgundy*, the counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, the kingdom of *Naples*, the dutchy of *Milan*, and various places of great importance in the *Low Countries*. He was to abandon the interest of the king of *Navarre*; to reinstate the duke of *Bourbon*, and his followers, in their estates and honours, as well as the prince of *Orange* and the marquis of *Saluces*. He was to assist the emperor in his claims upon *Gueldres*, and to lend him a fleet and an army when he undertook any *Italian* expedition; and, if he failed in the performance of any of those stipulations, he was, upon the faith and honour of a prince, to return to his captivity in *Spain*.

It

It seems pretty plain, that *Charles* suspected the intention of *Francis* to disregard the material parts of this treaty. His imprisonment was continued after it was signed; and, tho' *Charles* carried him to pay a visit to his future spouse, he could not be prevailed on to grant him his liberty. At last, after putting him under the strongest promises of fulfilling the treaty, he suffered him to depart; but not without the escort of *Lanoy* and *Alarcon*, who conducted him to the frontiers, where they exchanged his liberty for that of his two sons, who were carried hostages to *Madrid*.

When *Francis* set his foot on his own dominions, he found *Lautrec* waiting for him with a fleet *Turkish* horse; which he mounted, and galloped away towards *St. Jean de Luz*, calling out by the way, That he was once more a king. When he arrived at *Bayonne*, he found his mother and court waiting for him; and he was received as if he had returned from a victory instead of a captivity.

Lanoy, and *Alarcon*, after resigning the royal hostages to which he the constable of *Castile's* son, attended *Francis* at *Paris*; refuses to where they demanded the ratification and execution of the execute treaty of *Madrid*. *Francis* made little difficulty in acquainting them that he did not think it binding, and that he could not make the cessions contained in it without consent of the states of his kingdom; but he offered to pay two millions of crowns for the liberty of his sons and the other hostages. This refusal introduced a variety of recriminations between *Francis* and *Charles*, who accused each other of cruelty and perfidy. The states of *Burgundy* complained to *Francis*, that he had done what he had no power to do, in dismembering them from his crown. The *Spanish* ministers treated this complaint as an evasion, and required *Francis* to imitate his predecessor, king *John*, by returning to his captivity. He answered, with great spirit, that *John* was prisoner to a prince who knew how to treat him as a king; but that the treatment he had received at *Madrid* was infamous. *Francis* was the more bold, as he had now concluded with the *Italian* princes what they called the *ibid.* holy league, of which *Henry VIII.* declared himself protector, for reducing the imperial power in *Italy*. Still some tenderness remained in the breast of *Francis* for his children, and this made him delay the march of his troops into *Italy*; by which the ends of the league were defeated. We have al- Vol. IX. ready given an account of the sack of *Rome*, with the other p. 103. consequences of the league. It is sufficient here to observe, Vol. X. that, in *August*, 1526, *Francis*, having renewed his engage- p. 248. ments with *England*, sent a numerous army, under *Lautrec*, into the *Milanese*; the greatest part of which he recovered, and restored, according to the terms in the holy league, to the *Sforza* family.

Genoa, about the same time, declared for *France*; and Great ani-
Lautrec stormed *Pavia*, where his soldiers were guilty of the most
greatest between

him and
Charles.

greatest excesses, in revenge of the defeat they had suffered before that city. He then passed the *Po*, and forced the duke of *Ferrara* and the marquis of *Mantua* to abandon the imperial party, and embrace that of the confederates. *Francis*, about this time, had given his sister, the dutchess of *Alençon*, in marriage to *Henry II.* king of *Navarre*; and the county of *Guic* was erected into a dukedom, in favour of *Claude*, brother to the duke of *Lorrain*.

Francis made it a great point to approve himself, in the eyes of his contemporaries, a man of honour in regard to the emperor. Before he came to hostilities, he called an assembly of his great men, or, as they are called, his notables, and gravely required their opinion, whether he was bound to the performance of the treaty of *Madrid*, or to return to his captivity in *Spain*. Their answer was in the negative as to both points, for reasons that will readily suggest themselves to the readers; but they agreed to assist him in discharging his pecuniary obligations, and to raise the money he had offered for the ransom of his sons. *Francis* dispatched a herald with this answer to *Spain*, and with orders to denounce war, if *Charles* should refuse to accept of the money. The herald was treated with great indignity for his master's sake, and mutual challenges passed between *Charles* and *Francis*, to decide their quarrel in single combat. Those altercations have been justly treated as being ridiculous in two great princes; but the prosperity of *Francis* now received some new checks. His general, *Lautrec*, had penetrated into the kingdom of *Naples*, great part of which he reduced, and he blocked up the capital.

Vol. X.
p. 250.

During the time of this blockade, an epidemical distemper swept off all the *French* army, excepting about four thousand men, and *Lautrec* died among the rest. He had complained of being badly supported by the *Venetians*, and his other allies; and his successor, the marquis of *Saluces*, was obliged to break up the blockade, and to retire to *Aversa*; where he surrendered himself, and the miserable remains of his army, to the prince of *Orange*, who was now the imperial viceroy in *Naples*; so that the *French* once more lost all footing in that kingdom; though the *French* admiral, *Doria*, had defeated and killed *Moncado*, the imperial admiral, by sea.

Revolution of
Genoa.

But the great blow which *Francis*, at this time, received in *Italy*, was the defection of that famous admiral from his service. Though he had laid *Francis* under the most sensible obligations, by the victories he had acquired, he could not, without grief, see the *French* masters of his native country, *Genoa*. He offered *Francis* the sum of two hundred thousand crowns, if he would restore the *Genoese* to their liberty and put them in possession of the port of *Savona*. *Francis* had made a present of the customs of *Savona* to *Anne de Montmorenci*, who was now his chief favourite; and chancellor *du Prat* represented the conduct of *Doria*, who had been

been long endeavouring to rouse his countrymen to a sense of their condition, as factious and discreditable. *Francis*, upon this, gave orders that *Doria* should be deprived of the command of his gallies, which was given to one *Barbesienos*; but *Doria* entered with his own gallies into the service of the emperor, and, in a short time, drove the *French* out of *Genoa*, and put the *Genoese* in possession of *Savona*. *Trivulzi*, who commanded the *French* garrison there, threw himself into the citadel, but was obliged to capitulate.

This event diminished the reputation of the *French* arms, especially as they were defeated in all their attempts to regain possession of *Genoa*. The count of *St. Paul* had obtained some advantages in the *Milanese*. The truth is, that *Francis* acted with great duplicity towards his allies, whom he strove to render subservient to his own views for peace. But the *French*, on the twenty-second of *June*, under the command of the count of *St. Paul*, were entirely defeated in the battle of *Landriano*, in the *Milanese*.

By this time, a treaty had been set on foot between the princess *Margaret*, of *Savoy*, governess of the *Low Countries*, and the dutchess of *Angoulesme*, at *Cambray*, for a general pacification. This negotiation was entirely carried on by the ladies, and ended in a treaty; by which *Charles* accepted of two millions of ducats for his claim upon *Burgundy*. *Francis* engaged to pay four hundred thousand crowns, as a debt due from the emperor to the king of *England*; and to redeem a rich jewel, which had been pawned to the crown of *England*, for fifty thousand crowns. He was, likewise, to give up to *Charles* the town and castle of *Hesdin*; to renounce his superiority over *Flanders* and *Artois*, and all his claims in *Italy*; but, in return, his children, and the other hostages, were to regain their liberty.

The peace
of Cam-
bray.

When we consider the connections between *Francis* and his allies, we must conclude this peace to have been scandalous: but he had nothing to apprehend from any of them except *Henry VIII.* and he soon fell upon a way to soften him. *Henry* was then prosecuting the famous affair of his divorce; and *Francis* secretly engaged, that his *French* universities, which were then famous for learned men, should favour it. *Wolsey* had been some time in *France*, for that purpose; and *Francis* sent over, by *Montmorenci*, the order of *St. Michael* to *Henry*; who, in return, sent him an acquittance of all the debts due to him from the emperor, amounting to six hundred thousand crowns.

Francis, who was a most unsteady, irresolute prince, privately protested against the validity of this treaty; but it was ratified in parliament; and the great moderation of *Charles*, which was owing to the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary* and *Germany*, saved his *Italian* states from ruin. *Florence* submitted to the family of *Medici*; the *Venetians* purchased their

Conse-
quences
thereof.

their peace by resigning the conquests they had made on the *Neapolitan* coasts; and even *Sforza* received the investiture of the *Milanese*, though he was more obnoxious than any of the other allies to *Charles*.

Francis
encou-
rages
learning.

Nothing now remained but for *Francis* to pay the money he had promised to *Charles*, and to send for his bride; the queen-dowager of *Portugal*, together with his sons and the other hostages. *Montmorenci* was trusted with those commissions. The children were delivered; *Francis* married his bride, and made a public entry with her into *Bordeaux*; he then applied himself to cultivate the arts of peace, which were the more endeared to him by the storms through which he had passed. He had received, when young, a strong tincture of learning; but never had any opportunities of improving it, though he still retained a general notion of the polite arts. *France*, at that time, contained many men of great parts and merit, whom *Francis* employed in the improvement of his mind. *Bude*, so well known by his *Latin* name, *Budæus*, was an excellent lawyer, civilian, and *Greek* scholar; *Bellay*, the bishop of *Paris*, who was afterwards promoted to the purple; and *Chastel*, bishop of *Macon*, excelled in different branches of literature. These were the men whom the king depended upon for instruction. Being sensible of his own defects, his method was, to prescribe to each of them a theme, which they methodized in a clear, classical manner, and read to him at his meals, and at the times he had most leisure to attend them. His librarian and linguist was *Lascais*, a noble *Greek*, who furnished him with a variety of curious manuscripts, and presided over a library and printing-house, both which he erected; as he did professional chairs, for the study of *Hebrew* and *Greek*, under the inspection of *Francis Vatalbe* and *Peter Danes*. Had he not been dissuaded from it by *du Prat*, who terrified him by the expences it would cost him, he would have founded a college for six hundred students; but, upon the whole, he well merited the appellation which he obtained, that of the father and restorer of learning in *France*. He enriched his court and country by the encouragement he gave to a number of excellent painters, and the celebrated *Leonardo da Vinci* is said to have died in his arms. In 1530, *Francis* appointed justiciary circuits all over his kingdom, to be held by judges who were authorized to remedy, in the last resort, the abuses which had crept in among his subjects during his absence and imprisonment.

Deaths of
some great
person-
ages in
France.

In *September*, that year, died the dutchess of *Angoulesme*, whose character has been differently represented by writers; but they all agree, that she acted with great address and judgment while regent of the kingdom; and that it was owing to her prudent conduct, her son's captivity was not attended with worse consequences than it was. About the same time

time died *Margaret of Austria*, the same who had been so long bred up at the *French* court as the wife of *Charles VII.* and the disgrace of sending her back a virgin, sunk so deep into her mind, that she was the determined enemy of the *French* ever after. The same year was fatal to the duke of *Milan*; and *Philibert de Chalons*, prince of *Orange*, was killed at the siege of *Florence*, while he was forcing that republic to resume the yoke of the house of *Medici*.

The state of *France* being now somewhat settled, *Francis* pursued a project he had long secretly concerted with his chancellor *du Prat*, by incorporating *Bretagne* with the rest of his dominions. The *Bretons*, of all people in *France* were the most tenacious of their privileges; and when *du Prat* consulted *Lewis de Deserts*, the president of their parliament, about the union, he found it would be impracticable to be effected, unless the *Bretons* themselves should desire it.

To pave the way for this, the king visited *Bretagne*, *Francis* where he performed a thousand popular acts, which he reannexes was in hopes would dispose the people to comply with his *Bretagne* terms; but when their parliament met, and when a motion to his was made that they should petition to be united to the crown, crown of *France*, it was treated as a proposal for forging their own chains. The first fire of the opposition, however, being spent, the president treated with its heads separately; and by the application, partly of money, partly of reasoning, he brought them into his measure, but in such a manner, that the *Bretons* still enjoy more liberties and immunities than the people of any other *French* province. *Francis*, all this while lived upon good terms with *Henry VIII.* of *England*. He made a merit with the pope of having prevailed with *Henry* not to take the last step of separation from the see of *Rome*; but to say the truth, he imposed upon *Henry*, that he might secure his assistance in supporting the league of *Smalcald*, which was now formed by the protestants against the emperor, in order to renew his claim upon the *Milanese*. He had entered into a secret treaty with the pope for undoing all that had been done by the treaty of *Cambray*; for his son the duke of *Orleans*, was to be created duke of *Milan*, and to marry the pope's niece, afterwards the famous *Catharine de Medici*. Not contented with this measure, *Francis* entered into a correspondence with the *Turks*, whom he encouraged to invade the dominions of the house of *Austria*.

Charles on the other hand was not idle. He had formed a league among the *Italian* princes for opposing *Francis* in any future invasion of *Italy*. He had secured in his interest the duke of *Savoy*, by giving him the country of *Asti*, formerly belonging to the *Orleans* family; and by that prince's means he had formed a strong party among the *Swiss* and *Grisons*. The emperor having thus, as he thought, provided

vided for the quiet of *Italy*, raised a great army against the *Turks*, which the protestants complained was to fall upon them. This drew the connections between them and *Francis* closer than ever, and *Francis* sent *Bellay*, as being the *French* minister who was most agreeable to *Henry*, to propose to that prince to support the league of *Smalcald*, and likewise his having an interview with the pope at *Marseilles*, in order to make up differences between *Henry* and his holiness.

He per-
suades
Henry to
join the
*Smalcal-
dian*
league,

and pro-
mises to
shake off
the pope's
authority.

He sends
an em-
bassy to
Rome.

Henry, accordingly advanced fifty thousand crowns to the princes of the *Smalcaldian* league, but he refused to agree to an interview, and even reproached *Francis* for the marriage treaty he had entered into with the pope. The event was, that *Francis* by encouraging the *Turks* to invade *Germany* equally alarmed the protestant princes as the emperor, and the latter accepting of the mediation of the archbishop of *Mentz*, accommodated his differences with the protestants by the treaty of *Nurembourg*, which was very advantageous for the protestants, and made a glorious campaign against the *Turks* in *Hungary*. He then in his turn proposed an interview with the pope, about holding a general council; and on this occasion a new treaty was concluded between *Francis* and *Henry* on the twenty-third of *June*. On this occasion, the bishop of *Bayonne*, the *French* ambassador in *England*, proposed an interview between the two kings, which *Henry* would not have accepted of, had it not been for the extreme complaisance of *Francis* towards the famous *Anne Bullen*, to whom he wrote a letter with his own hand. The interview, accordingly took place, with prodigious magnificence, and *Francis* pretended to be so violent a friend to *Henry's* divorce, and to his marriage with the lady, who was now created marchioness of *Pembroke*, that he won the hearts and confidence of both. His dissimulation even went so far as to gain *Henry's* consent to the proposed interview with his holiness; he promised not to kiss his toe, and not only to break off the marriage between his son and the princess *de Medici*, but even to abandon the religion of the church of *Rome*, if he did not give *Henry* satisfaction in the affair of the divorce. *Francis* being sensible of the public odium he had fallen under for inviting the *Turks* to invade *Hungary*, persuaded *Henry* to enter into a league with him, which they soon made public, for bringing next year, into the field, an army of seventy thousand infantry, and ten thousand cavalry, to be employed against the infidels. When the two courts parted, *Henry* presented *Montmorenci*, and *Chabot*, admiral of *France*, with the order of the garter.

Francis upon his return to *Paris*, sent the cardinals *Tournon*, and *Grammont*, to *Rome*, to keep the pope fixed in his interest. Soon after, the interview between his holiness, and the emperor took place; but though the latter was then the pope's master, yet his holiness hated him so much,

much, that he neither could persuade him to break off the match between his niece and the duke of *Orleans*, nor to enter into a league with the other *Italian* powers for keeping the *French* out of *Italy*. The duke of *Albany* had already concerted with the pope every thing relating to the marriage, and, to the amazement of *Henry* himself, his holiness shewed some dispositions to grant him all he requested, and it was agreed that *Henry* should even be appointed to be present in their approaching interview at *Marseilles*. *Francis* intended that it should have been at *Nice*; but in this he was opposed by the duke of *Savoy*; and *Langey*, the *French* resident at *Henry's* court, proposed, if that prince could not be present at the interview, that he would send the duke of *Norfolk* thither, with some learned men, to assist in the conferences for reconciling *Henry* with his holiness. But affairs took a sudden turn at the court of *Rome*. The imperialists were so strong in the conclave, that they forced the pope upon violent measures against *Henry*, which exasperated that impetuous prince so greatly, that he called upon *Francis* to fulfil his engagements, by immediately shaking off the papal yoke.

Nothing could be more distant than this was from the Rise of thoughts of *Francis*, and the request, which was made by the *English* the mouth of the duke of *Norfolk*, startled him prodigiously. By this time, *Henry* had been married to *Anne Bullen*, who was pregnant, and he was so certain of being well supported by his people, and parliament, that he was no longer at any pains to manage the pope. Notwithstanding all those discouragements, *Francis* behaved with such address, by flattering the new queen's vanity, that he prevented a total breach with *Henry*. The interview of the pope and *Francis*, and the marriage of the princess *de Medici* with the duke of *Orleans*, took place at *Marseilles*. It was the real interest of *Francis* to effect a reconciliation between the pope and *Henry*; but this was not in the power even of the pope, who had been forced to agree to excommunicate *Henry*. *Bellay*, bishop of *Paris*, had prevailed with the latter, to delay for some days his total rupture with the court of *Rome*; and his holiness had, with great difficulty, been prevailed upon by *Francis*, not to publish the sentence of excommunication. According to *French* authors, *Bellay* acted with such indefatigable address, that the agreement of *Henry* to comply with the pope's demands, came only two days too late to prevent the publication of the excommunication; and to this happy delay *England* owed her reformation.

Gardiner, the *English* minister, had attended the interview at *Marseilles*, but he appeared to be so much in the *Francis* interest of the emperor, that *Francis* had desired *Henry* upon to recall him. Upon his return to *London*, he gave his master a very disadvantageous idea of the *French* king's sincerity;

sincerity; but *Francis* was now far advanced in his preparations for his *Italian* expedition. The coldness of *Henry* was in a great measure ballanced by the engagements he entered into with the protestant princes of *Germany*. *Charles* pretended to support the *Sforza* house of *Milan*; and *Francis* sent a *Milanese* gentleman to negotiate with that duke, but without any public character, or at least, any that the duke chose he should avow, for fear of disobliging the emperor. *Charles*, however, suspected the negotiation, and forced the duke to deliver up all the papers sent to him from *Francis* by the agent, whose name was *Marveille*, who had the misfortune to kill, but in his own defence, a *Milanese* nobleman, with whom he had a quarrel; for which his head was struck off by *Sforza's* order, without any form of trial, to prevent his declaring his public character. *Francis* complained of this violation of the law of nations to *Charles*, and brought undoubted evidences of *Marveille's* having been received as an ambassador, by the duke of *Milan*. The emperor treated his complaints with contempt; and though the duke had offered an excuse for what had happened, yet *Francis* resolved to make it a handle for attacking the *Milanese*. He therefore, ordered his troops to rendezvous at *Lyons*; he renewed his engagements with the *Ottoman Port*, and the protestant princes of *Germany*, and declared war against the duke of *Savoy*, for refusing his army a passage through his dominions.

He burns
his pro-
testant
subjects.

Francis, before he entered in person upon his expedition, resolved to give the new pope, *Paul III.* on whom he greatly depended for success in *Italy*, a most inhuman proof of his attachment to the church of *Rome*; for he ordered six of his *Lutheran* subjects to be burnt, with most exquisite circumstances of cruelty; and he declared that he would cut off his arm, if he thought his blood was tainted with heresy. We can scarcely believe that *Francis*, in his heart, was so despicable a prince as his actions proclaimed him to be. He had borne with his sister the queen of *Navarre*, who was known to be a *Lutheran*, and at her request he had agreed to hear *Melancthon* preach; but he now retracted his promise. While he was thus madly lighting up the flames of persecution in his own country, he was protecting the protestants in *Germany*, and interceding for the *Roman catholics* in *England*; so easily can ambition reconcile the most gross absurdities.

Death of
pope Cle-
ment VII.

The death of pope *Clement VII.* ought to have induced *Francis* to have laid aside his *Italian* expedition. That pontiff had a vast family interest in *Italy*, and besides the concern he took in the aggrandizement of the duke of *Orleans* and his wife, he was so determined an enemy to *Charles*, that he had privately encouraged *Francis* in all his connections with the *German* protestants, and the infidels. The death of *Francis Sforza*, duke of *Milan*, was another capital

capital incident that happened about this time. *Chabot*, the French general and admiral, had reduced the greatest part of *Savoy*, and his success had encouraged the people of *Geneva* to expel their bishop, and to declare for the protestant religion. The *Savoyards*, in the mountains, however, made so good a resistance, that *Francis* was unable to penetrate into the *Milanese* during the year 1535.

The emperor *Charles* had now returned to *Naples* from a War be- glorious expedition he had made in *Africa*; but though he tween had an excellent fleet and an army on foot, he did not dare *Francis* to be the aggressor while *Francis* continued to be supported and by the German protestants. He went to *Rome*, where, in a *Charles* public consistory, he declaimed against him with the most in *Savoy* bitter invectives, and accused him of his connections with and *Pied-* the infidels, and of having forced him to leave his *African mont.* conquests unfinished to oppose his progress. At last, as usual, he challenged him to single combat. *Charles* did all this only to render *Francis* odious to the protestants as well as the papists; but he soon employed every expedient to amuse him. He proposed giving the investiture of the *Milanese* to his third son, the duke of *Angoulesme*; and this prevailed upon *Francis* to confine his operations to *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. *Charles* went farther, for he offered his kinswoman, the princess *Mary* of *England*, in marriage to the dauphin. By this time, *Chabot* had almost completed the conquest of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*, and had forced that duke, who could not prevail upon *Charles* to assist him, to shut himself up in *Vercell*; but *Charles* was now upon good terms with the protestants of the empire, and had collected his army, which was composed of the best troops he had ever brought into the field. His old general, *de Leva*, lay with an army in the neighbourhood of *Vercell*, which saved it from falling into *Chabot*'s hands; and *Francis* was soon obliged, after throwing garrisons into *Turin*, *Fossan*, *Coni*, and several other places, to order his armies to evacuate *Savoy* and *Piedmont*. He declared the marquis of *Saluces* his lieutenant in *Italy*; but the French troops were no sooner returned to the defence of their own country, than he put *Coni* into the hands of the emperor. *Montpesat*, a French officer, defended *Fossan* for some time, and at last obtained a capitulation; but *Claude d'Annebaut*, who commanded in *Turin*, saved that city for *Francis*; and *Charles* was obliged to turn its siege into a blockade.

France was now in imminent danger. *Charles* had the best *France* generals in *Europe*; *de Leva* commanded immediately saved by under himself; the marquis *del Vasto*, was his general of marshal foot; *Gonzaga* commanded his light horse, and the duke *Montmo-* of *Alva* his gens d'armes: the whole of his army consisting *renci.* of fifty thousand veterans. It was now plain, that *Francis*, instead of madly pushing his conquests in *Italy*, would find

it difficult to cover his own dominions. He gave the chief command of his army to the marshal *Montmorenci*, who was to secure *Provence*, and *Dauphiny*; and to take up a strong camp in the neighbourhood of *Avignon*, but by no means to hazard a battle. *Montmorenci* executed his orders to admiration. He rendered the country through which the imperial army was to march, a desert; so that *Charles* had the utmost difficulty to procure subsistence for his army. He advanced, however, under all discouragements, in hopes of coming to a general engagement; but finding that he could not draw *Montmorenci* out of his lines, he first besieged *Arles*, and then *Marseilles*. This was the capital error of *Charles's* life; but he was hurried into it by the personal antipathy he had towards *Francis*, and the hopes he had conceived from the indignation which the *French* protestants had expressed against the same prince, for the inhuman treatment of his protestant subjects; and a fond expectation he had, that he would be joined by the *French* protestants against their tyrant.

The imperial army ruined, and the siege of *Marseilles* raised.

Death of the dauphin.
Vol. IX.
p. 110.

Experience soon convinced him how ill all his projects were founded. The *French* united to a man in the defence of their country and king. *Montmorenci*, and the duke of *Orleans*, harrassed the imperialists so terribly that their numbers were diminished to one fourth; and to carry those back alive, *Charles* found himself under a necessity of raising the siege of *Marseilles*, which he did on the twenty-fifth of *September* 1535, and to return to *Italy*; where, upon a review, he found he had not ten thousand men left, and that many even of those were unfit for duty.

While the invasion of *France* by *Charles* continued, his eldest son, the dauphin, died, most probably of a surfeit, or some other species of intemperance; tho' some of the *French* historians have attributed his death to poison, administered to him by an agent from *Charles*. Had they laid it upon his sister-in-law *Catharine de Medici*, the charge would have been more probable. A person who was executed for having administered the poison, is said, at his death, to have accused *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, and *Anthony de Leva*, with the murder. The duke of *Orleans* thus succeeded to the title of dauphin, at a time when his father's reputation was at its highest pitch, and when he was adored by his subjects. The count of *Nassau*, one of *Charles's* generals, at the time of his invading *Provence*, had made an irruption into *Picardy*, from the *Low Countries*, and had besieged *Porcenne*; but he was obliged to raise the siege by the valour of the marquis de *Fleuranges*, who defended it, and who was afterwards known by the name of the marshal de la *Marck*; and *Nassau* being obliged to return to the *Low Countries*, *France* saw herself all at once delivered from an enemy which threatened her destruction.

Francis

Francis was, in matters of religion, entirely under the *Francis* direction of the cardinal *de Tournon*, a violent bigot to the befriends church of *Rome*; the king of *England* demanded that the cardinal famous cardinal *Pole*, who was then in *France*, should be *Pole*. delivered up to him as his subject and rebel, *Francis* continued to protect him, and not only suffered him to reside at *Cambray*, but hinted to *Gardiner*, the *English* minister, that he was of *Pole*'s opinion in the affair of the divorce. This produced a sudden coldness between *Francis*, and *Henry*; and *Charles* himself, for reasons that are foreign to this part of our history, appeared inclinable to renew his good correspondence with the *English* monarch. This naturally induced *Francis* to throw his eyes towards *Scotland*, then governed by *James V.* who, tho' the next male heir to the crown of *England*, was a violent *Frenchman* in his heart.

During the invasion of *France* by the emperor, *James* had *James V.* raised sixteen thousand men, which he had proposed to of *Scotland* carry over to the assistance of *Francis*; but through the marries crossness of the winds, the ship which carried himself was his daughter the only vessel of his fleet that reached *France*. Landing at *Dieppe*, he posted to the other extremity of *France*, where he found *Francis* in his camp, and he made a formal demand of the princess *Magdalen*, *Francis*'s daughter in marriage. *Francis* granted his suit, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. Besides the very rich presents in plate, hangings, armour, and other costly furniture, that *Francis* made on this occasion, I perceive he gave his son-in-law four ships of war, two of which were laden with powder, and the other with ordnance. He likewise sent him fifty-six pieces of brass cannon, paid his wife's fortune in ready money, and defrayed all the expences of his journey. The bride died soon after her arrival in *Scotland*; but all the address of *Francis*, by his ambassador *Pomeray*, could not reconcile *Henry* to this match; and, had it been possible for *Henry* to have reconciled the legitimacy of his daughter, the princess *Mary*, to his late proceedings, he would immediately have closed with *Charles*; but all he could, at this time, do, was to declare for a neutrality, in the war between him, and *Francis*.

The renunciation of feudal claims was a perpetual source War re- of dissention, among the princes of the continent in those newed in days. *Charles* had declared, by virtue of some imperial su- *Artois*. periorities, *Francis*, a rebel, and had summoned him to appear before his court. *Francis* did now the same by *Charles*; and under pretence of the latter having violated the treaty of *Cambray*, he resumed his sovereignty over *Flanders*, and *Artois*, which he had given up by that treaty. He then invaded *Artois*, and took *Hesdin*, *St. Paul*, with some other places, while the imperialists under the count of *Buren*, besieged *Terouenne*. *D'Annebaut* threw succours into

the last mentioned city; but in his return he was defeated and taken prisoner by the imperialists; who likewise retook *St. Paul*. After some other operations in the field, *Mary*, queen of *Hungary*, governess of the *Low Countries*, and sister to the queen of *France*, interposed, and prevailed on both parties to agree to a truce for three months. *Francis* took that opportunity to send the dauphin, and the marshal *Montmorenci*, to *Savoy*, where he relieved *Turin*, and recovered all that the *French* had lost in that country. *Francis* was preparing to support him vigorously in person, and had raised the siege of *Terouenne*, when the queen of *Hungary*, being now strengthened by the mediation of the pope, prevailed upon him to prolong the truce, and to consent that both parties should retain what they held, till all their claims could be settled by a definitive treaty. This agreement was a great disappointment to the *Turkish* emperor, *Solyman*, who had made vast preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. This truce was partly owing to the differences which again broke out between *Charles*, and the princes of the league of *Smalcald*, and in some measure obliged him to abandon the interest of the duke of *Savoy*; whose dominions were thus sacrificed to *Francis*.

Coldness
between
Henry and
Francis.

It would be tedious to recount here the various proposals of alliances, marriages, interviews, and the like, between *Francis* and *Charles*, that filled up this short truce. The more the emperor was pressed by the protestants in *Germany*, the more ready he was to treat with *Francis*, and the more did *Francis* disregard *Henry VIII.* to whom he owed the arrears of his pension for four years. To give the greater weight to those negotiations, *Francis* continued his preparations for war; he conferred the constable's sword upon *Montmorenci*, for his excellent services, and raised *Montejan*, and *d'Annebaut*, to the degree of *French* marshals. Before the expiration of the truce, a negotiation was advanced pretty far between *Henry VIII.* and *Charles*, who offered to give the investiture of *Milan* to the infant of *Portugal*, provided *Henry* would give that prince his daughter, the princess *Mary* of *England*, in marriage.

Negotia-
tions at
Nice un-
der the
pope's
media-
tion.

Chatillon, the *French* envoy at *London*, informed *Francis* of this negotiation, and that the *Milanese* was to be guarantied to the infant by the emperor, and the kings of *England* and *Portugal*. The pope made *Francis* sensible of the consequences of this alliance, and, notwithstanding the almost incredible animosities between them, *Charles* and *Francis* agreed to have an interview at *Nice*. *Henry* complained of this juggle, but he was answered by the queen regent of the *Low Countries*, that the young couple were too nearly related to be married without a dispensation from the pope. The interview took place at *Nice*; but the negotiations were carried on under the mediation of the pope, who lodged in a monastery near that city, while the emperor

emperor remained at *Villafranca*. It was not the interest of his holiness that those two great princes should be thoroughly reconciled; and nothing was concluded upon, but that each should keep possession of the duke of *Savoy's* dominions as he then held, and that they should renew the truce for ten years. Thus, that duke was made the sacrifice, while his holiness took care to lay the foundation of his own house, by procuring a marriage between *Ottavio Farnese*, and *Margaret of Austria*, the emperor's natural daughter.

During those conferences, the queen of *France* came by sea to pay a visit to her brother at *Villafranca*. A temporary bridge being thrown from the shore to her galley, for her more commodious landing, as her brother was conducting her ashore, the bridge giving way, both of them dropt into the sea, and it was with some difficulty they were saved.

The conferences at *Nice* being over, *Francis* went to *Avignon*, and *Charles* embarked for *Spain*; but being forced back upon the coast of *France*, he came ashore, and sent a messenger to *Francis*, to signify that he would be glad to have a personal interview with him. *Francis* was amazed and at receiving this message; and not to be behind hand with his brother monarch in this mark of confidential honour, he immediately went to *Aigues Mortes*, where they mutually entertained each other with the same openness and cordiality as if no animosity between them had ever subsisted. It does not, however, appear, from the consequences, that they came to any definitive resolution, farther than perhaps, that of supporting the *Roman catholic* religion against *Henry VIII*. Upon their parting *Francis* returned to *Laon*, and the crowd, when he entered that city, was so great, that his chancellor, *Anthony de Bourg*, was thrown from his mule and trod to death. He was succeeded by *William Poget*, who, for his agreeable talents, was in great favour with *Francis*. It appears, as if *Gardiner*, the *English* resident, at the court of *France* (whose aversion to the protestant religion was afterwards distinguished by many bloody tokens) had betrayed his master's secrets to *Francis*, who at this time, conceived both a contempt and hatred for *Henry*. Soon after *Charles* and *Francis* had parted at *Aigues Mortes*, the latter sent instructions to his ambassador, the bishop of *Tarbes*, to conclude a new treaty with *Charles*, by which, each party engaged himself to conclude neither treaty, alliance, nor marriage, with *England*, or to enter into any connection with that crown, without the knowledge of the other; so apt are princes, as well as other men, to run to extremes in their affections.

Soon after the conclusion of this remarkable treaty, *Charles* received advice of a dangerous insurrection, which had happened in the city of *Ghent*, on account of some im-

*Charles
passes
through
France to
the Low
Countries.*

positions attempted by the governers of the *Low Countries*; and which required his presence to quell. The danger being pressing, *Charles* employed the bishop of *Tarbes* to write to the *French* court for leave to pass through that kingdom; the sea between *Spain* and the *Low Countries* being covered by *English* or *Algerine* ships. The insurgents at *Ghent*, by this time, had offered to put themselves under the protection of *Francis*, who nobly rejected their application, and sent advice to *Charles* of all that had happened, with assurances of observing the strictest honour on his part, as to every thing relating to his safe passage through *France*. *Francis* did not, however, come to this resolution, without consulting his council about an offer which *Charles* made at the same time, of granting the investiture of the *Milanese* to the duke of *Orleans*. The cardinal of *Tournon* was for *Charles* giving this promise under his hand; but the constable observed, that writing could not make it more valid, if *Charles's* had a mind to break it, and that to trust to his honour would enhance the obligation. His advice was approved of. The dauphin, and the duke of *Orleans*, offered to remain in *Spain* as hostages, till the arrival of *Charles* in the *Low Countries*; but the latter, who met them at *Bayonne*, rejected all security but that of his brother's honour and good faith. *Francis* was then recovering from a dangerous fit of sickness, yet he met the emperor at *Chastelleraud*, to conduct him to *Paris*; where the entertainments given to *Charles* were magnificent beyond expression. But such was the delicacy of *Francis*, that no mention was made of the investiture, and the emperor having made a most pompous progress through the greatest part of *France*, was, with all imaginable marks of respect and deference to his high quality, conducted by *Francis* to *St. Quintin*, and by the dauphin and his brother to *Valenciennes*.

*He de-
ceives
Francis.*

Charles having suppressed the insurrection of *Ghent*, by executing twenty-four of its ringleaders, was by the *French* ministers put in mind of the promised investiture. He did not deny it, but, he pretended that he had made it only on condition that *Francis* should give up *Turin*, which he still continued to hold. He threw in many other qualifications and excuses; but as if he had been ashamed of so barefaced a breach of promise, he offered to give his daughter in marriage to the duke of *Orleans*, with the *Low Countries* for her portion. Finding *Francis* inclinable to treat upon that proposal likewise, it was soon clogged with such restrictions as proved that *Charles* had never been sincere in what he had promised, and meant only to get rid of a present danger. *Henry VIII.* took that opportunity to send over the duke of *Norfolk* to try to bring *Francis* to renew his connections with *England*, but without any effect. *Charles* hearing

hearing of this attempt, communicated to *Henry* all the secret designs against *England*, which *Francis* had the weakness to discover to him; and this exasperated *Henry* more than ever against *Francis*.

The latter must have possessed an extraordinary share of Who dis-
equanimity, if he could have reflected with patience upon graces his
the gross treatment he had received from *Charles*. His usual own mi-
frankness and openness forsook him all at once, and he nisters,
looked with an angry eye upon the constable; who finding
himself in disgrace, retired to his castle at *Chantilly*. The
admiral relying upon his own innocence, so far disregarded
his master's frowns, as to affirm to his face, that his inno-
cence would be proved upon a trial, which he set at de-
fiance. *Francis* was provoked by this, and ordered him to
be imprisoned in the castle of *Melun*, while *Poget*, the
chancellor, garbled a commission of judges, who durst do
no otherwise than as he directed, and who, pretending that
the admiral had raised some undue imposts by virtue of his
office, condemned him to lose his employments, and to
suffer banishment. *Francis* was struck with surprize when
this sentence was laid before him; because, from the repre-
sentation *Poget* had made of the admiral's crimes, he ex-
pected it would have been capital. He blushed at what he
had done, pardoned the admiral, and referred the revisal of
his process to the parliament, who pronounced him inno-
cent, and restored him to his estates and honours. This
malicious prosecution brought the chancellor to such dis-
repute, that he was prosecuted, lost his office, suffered four
years imprisonment, paid a fine of a hundred thousand
livres, and died universally despised, in his old age.

Francis did not now find himself the same respectable His credit
monarch he was before he was outwitted by *Charles*; and decays,
he endeavoured, but in vain, to regain the confidence of
Henry VIII. To supply that loss, he made alliances with *ibid.*
the kings of *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, the natural enemies p. 113.
of *Charles*; and finding that his interest with the protestants
was now next to nothing, he renewed his connections with
the *Turks*, to the horror of all *Europe*. He next took under
his protection the duke of *Cleves*, whom *Charles* wanted to
strip of *Guelphes*, and gave him in marriage *Joan* of *Albret*,
heiress of the kingdom of *Navarre*, who was no more than
eleven years of age; so that the nuptials never were con-
summated. In order to counteract the emperor's negotia-
tions at *Venice*, and the *Porte*, he employed two agents,
Fregosa, and *Rincon*, to proceed to *Venice*; but they were
murdered in their journey by the marquis *del Vasto*, the
emperor's general. *Francis* filled all *Europe* with remon-
strances against this breach of the law of nations; but re-
ceiving no reparation from *Charles*, who disavowed the fact,
he resolved to do himself justice by force of arms. Ever
since the disgrace of *Montmorency*, who still retained the
title,

ibid.

p. 112.

title, the marshal *d'Annebaut* had acted as constable of France, and *Bellay*, baron of *Langey*, had succeeded *d'Annebaut* in the government of *Piedmont*. The bad success of *Charles* in a second expedition to *Africa*, encouraged *Francis* to begin hostilities, which he would have commenced in the emperor's absence, had he not been afraid of the *English*. At last, he came to be upon better terms with *Henry*, by means of a negotiation set on foot for a marriage between the duke of *Orleans* and the princess *Mary*, which did not take place, and by securing the *Scots* in his interest.

The imperial dominions invaded by the French.

In the spring of the year 1541, the duke of *Orleans* entered the dutchy of *Luxembourg* at the head of forty thousand men, commanded, under him, by the duke of *Guise*. His success was rapid, for he reduced *Damvilliers*, *Yvoi*, *Arlon*, *Vireton*, *Montmedi*, and *Luxembourg* itself. Another French army, under *Langey*, acted in *Piedmont*. The dukes of *Cleves*, and *Longueville* ravaged *Brabant*; the duke of *Vendosme* entered with another army into *Artois*, and the dauphin, with a fifth army, attacked *Perpignan*, one of the chief frontiers of *Spain*. *Francis* had been enabled to make those prodigious efforts by the indignation which his subjects had conceived at the unworthy treatment he had received from the emperor; but his successes were of no long duration. The duke of *Orleans* dismissed the greatest part of his army, left the duke of *Guise* to command in *Luxembourg*, where he was obliged to shut himself up in *Yvoi*, while the prince of *Orange* retook *Luxembourg*, *Montmedi*, with several other places, and drove the duke of *Cleves* out of *Brabant*. The siege of *Perpignan*, by the dauphin, who commanded a great army, attracted the attention of all *Europe*, because it was thought that *Charles* would in person attempt to raise it; in which case, *Francis* declared that he would put himself at the head of his troops and give him battle. The duke of *Alva* defended the place for three months with a garrison of *Spanish* veterans; and the besieged being disappointed of assistance from the *Spanish* fleet, *d'Annebaut*, now made admiral of *France*, was sent, together with the count of *St. Paul*, to inspect the operations. Their opinion was, that they should be discontinued, and the siege was accordingly raised, towards the end of *October* 1542.

The operations of the war continue.

In the spring of the next year, 1543, the duke of *Longueville*, and *Rosen*, general to the duke of *Cleves*, defeated the duke of *Arscot*, and killed four thousand imperialists, besides making five thousand prisoners and taking all their baggage and artillery; but they were afterwards baffled in two attempts they made upon *Antwerp* and *Lorraine*. *Francis* took and fortified *Landreci*, and once more sent the duke of *Orleans*, attended by admiral *d'Annebaut*, into *Luxembourg*, which they again reduced. The French were not so successful in other

other quarters. *Charles* arriving in *Germany*, put himself at the head of his army, and attacked the duke of *Cleves*; who was so ill supported by *Francis*, that he was forced to purchase his pardon, by renouncing his alliance with *France* and *Denmark*, and hiring out his troops to *Charles*. He was likewise obliged to dismiss the princess *Joan d'Albret*, to whom he had been contracted.

This misfortune, together with the defeat of the *Scots* by *Henry VIII.* and the death of *James V.* of *Scotland*, was severely felt by *Francis*, who had now imprudently disobliged *Henry* beyond the power of reconciliation. He had not only thrown out some sarcasms against *Henry's* person, which were, perhaps, exaggerated by his ministers, *Poget* and others, but, depending on the assistance of the *Scots*, he had, in a manner, refused to suffer *Henry* to continue neutral in the disputes between him and the emperor; and his subjects had, upon many occasions, insulted the *English* shipping.

On the eleventh of *February*, 1543, an offensive and de- The *En-*
fensive treaty was concluded between *Henry* and *Charles*; *glisb in-*
in consequence of which, their joint ambassadors required vade
Francis to renounce his alliances with the *Turks*, and to sa- *France.*
tisfy *Henry* for all the arrears of the pension due to him; and
likewise, to give up the dutchy of *Burgundy* to *Charles*;
with other demands that amounted to a declaration of war.
Henry accordingly sent ten thousand men, under Sir *John*
Wallop, to invade *France* and join the imperial army. They
began their operations on the twenty-second of *July*, 1543;
and, after ravaging all the *French* territories through which
they passed, they joined *Charles* as he was besieging *Landreci*.
Francis had under him some excellent generals, who
relieved *Landreci*, and obliged *Charles* to retire, though he
had threatened to march to *Paris*: and thus the campaign,
on that side, was ended without any general action, which
was expected.

Francis, notwithstanding the outcry he had raised against *Francis* is
himself among all the *Christian* powers, continued, more assisted by
and more, to cultivate his connections with the *Turks*. He the *Turks*,
had at the *Porte* an agent, one *Paulin*, who managed with
so much address, that the emperor, *Solyman*, fell into *Hun-*
gary with a great army; while his famous admiral, *Barba-*
rossa, sailed for the *Mediterranean* with an hundred and ten
gallies and forty galleons. *Barbarossa's* progress has been de- Vol.VIII.
scribed in another part of this history. It is sufficient here p. 143.
to say, that, after alarming all the coast of *Italy*, they were
joined by twenty-two *French* gallies, under *Francis*, count
of *Anguien*, of the house of *Vendosme*, who was no more
than twenty-three years of age.

The insolence of *Barbarossa*, during this expedition, who are
would not have been borne by any prince but one who, forced to
like *Francis*, was under an absolute necessity of his assist- abandon
ance.

the siege
of Nice.

ance. Add to this, that, from all accounts, the *French* fleet appears to have been but poorly provided, and was furnished with many necessaries by the infidels. The confederate fleets sailed to *Nice*, which city they besieged, but were unable to take the castle, though they lay before it two months. The imperial admiral, the brave *Andrea Doria*, came with a fleet to its relief; but could not force the *French* and the barbarians to a battle: so that they, in a manner, escaped to *Toulon*; where *Barbarossa* was guilty of so many acts of violence, that *Francis* was glad to be rid of him in the ensuing spring.

Though *Barbarossa* had affected to treat the count of *Anguien* as a school-boy, yet he soon gave proof of his being a great military genius. The duke of *Savoy*, and the marquis *del Vasto*, after the departure of the confederate fleet, had taken *Mondovi*, by a capitulation; which they broke by putting to the sword the *Swiss* garrison. *Langey*, the *French* general in *Piedmont*, one of the ablest politicians and generals of his time, was now dead; and *Bouillieres* commanded for *Francis* in that province. He had taken *St. Germain*, and had almost reduced *Yvree*; but finding himself superceded by the count of *Anguien*, he raised the siege, by carrying the whole army to receive the count on the frontiers of the province, under pretence of doing him honour. The count of *Anguien* receiving his command, laid siege to *Carignan*; which *del Vasto* resolved, at all hazards, to raise; but, in order to give our reader some idea of the critical situation of *France*, at this time, it is necessary to turn his eyes to other quarters.

Francis
detested
by all Eu-
rope.

Charles had lately held a diet at *Spire*; where he animated the members so effectually against *Francis*, that protestants, as well as papists, united in declaring him their common enemy; and had voted to employ against him, under the emperor, twenty-four thousand foot and four thousand horse. The *Swiss* themselves were ashamed of serving any longer in the *French* armies; and *Henry VIII.* had raised an army, which landed at *Calais*, about *Whitsuntide*, 1544, with an intention to march to the gates of *Paris*. The *English* being joined by the imperial general, the count of *Buren*, with fourteen thousand troops, invested *Montreuil*; and *Henry* arriving, in person took the command of his army from the duke of *Norfolk*, and besieged *Boulogne*; while *Charles*, instead of advancing towards *Paris*, as he had promised to *Henry*, besieged *Commerci* and *Luxembourg*.

The war
in *Pied-*
mont con-
tinues.

Such was the deplorable state of the *French* monarchy, which was now destitute of all allies but the *Turks*, while *del Vasto*, as we have already seen, was preparing to raise the siege of *Carignan*. The count of *Anguien* had, in his army, the flower of the *French* troops and nobility; so that his defeat must have been fatal to *France*. When he applied

to *Francis* for leave to fight the imperialists, who were superior to his army in number by ten thousand men, it was granted on account of the desperate state of the *French* affairs in other quarters, and against the sentiments of the old officers.

The count, obtaining the permission he desired, engaged and defeated the imperialists, on the fourteenth of *April*, at *Cerizolles*. Ten thousand were killed on the spot; three thousand were made prisoners; and all their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The consequences of this great victory were, that the count of *Anguien* reduced *Carignan*, *Montcallier*, *St. Damian*, *Vigon*, *Pont d'Esture*, and the greatest part of *Montferrat*; by which he secured *France* against any attack from that quarter. The urgent necessities of *Francis's* affairs in other places, disabled him from reducing all the *Milanese*, which, at that time, was very practicable; and his victorious troops were obliged to defile towards *Champagne* and *Picardy*, where his greatest danger now lay.

The
French
defeat the
imperial-
ists at
Cerizolles.

Notwithstanding the victory of *Cerizolles*, *France* must still have been ruined, had it not been for the ambition of *Charles* and the obstinacy of *Henry*. Count *William*, of *Furstemberg*, the imperial general, after reducing *Luxembourg*, *Commerci*, and *Ligni*, by order of *Charles*, formed the siege of *St. Didier*. This town, which was far from being noted for strength, was certainly no object equal to that of his junction with *Henry*, and their march to *Paris*. *Didier* was defended by *la Lende*, *du Bueil*, and the count of *Sancerre*; and the preservation of *France* was owing to the amazing defence it made for six weeks, when it obtained an honourable capitulation. *Henry* had called upon *Charles* to set out to meet him, but the latter refused to raise the siege of *Didier*; and, when it was taken, *Charles* summoned *Henry* to begin his march; but he, in his turn, insisted upon reducing *Boulogne*.

Progress
of *Charles*
in *France*.

This management gave *Francis* leisure to provide for the defence of his kingdom; and, though *Boulogne* was taken on the fourteenth of *September*, the garrison was suffered to march to *Montreuil*, which still held out. The dauphin, all this while, was commanding an army of observation against *Charles*, who seized the *French* magazines at *Epernai*, and *Chateau-Thierry*; which saved his army, already greatly reduced, from destruction. *Charles*, at last, began to yield to the instances of his sister, the queen of *France*, his confessor, and, above all, his first minister, *Granvelle*, for listening to an accommodation, to which he invited *Henry's* ministers likewise. *Henry* declined having any concern in the matter; but the negotiation was, at last, concluded at *Crequi*; or, as others call it, *Crespi*. The chief articles were, that the duke of *Orleans* should marry *Mary* of *Austria*, the emperor's eldest daughter, or the second daughter of the king of the

He con-
cludes a
treaty.

Romans;

Romans; and that he should have with either, as a fortune; the *Milaneſe* or the *Low Countries*, with the earldoms of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, at the option of the emperor: but, if he gave them *Milan*, he was to reſerve, in his own hands, the caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*, until there was a ſon from the marriage. That, if *Charles* ſhould give them the *Low Countries*, *Francis* was, for himſelf and his heirs, to renounce, for ever, all pretenſions upon the *Milaneſe* and *Naples*.

Parties at
the court
of *France*.

This peace was partly occaſioned by the intrigues of the *French* court, which was divided between the parties of the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans*. The dauphin remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the peace, as foreſeeing that the continuance of the war muſt ruin the army of *Charles*. The dutcheſs of *Eſtampes*, *Francis's* favourite miſtreſs, mortally hated *Diana* of *Poitiers*, who was miſtreſs to the dauphin; and the dutcheſs is ſaid to have ſaved the army of *Charles* from ruin, by contriving that the *French* magazines ſhould fall into his hands. Be that as it will, the concluſion of the peace was a wiſe meaſure on the part of *Francis*, though it was privately proteſted againſt by the dauphin and the parliament of *Thoulouſe*, as derogatory to the dignity and the rights of the *French* monarchy.

When it was notified in the *English* camp, all the imperial troops under the duke of *Norfolk*, who ſtill continued the ſiege of *Montreuil*, left the *English* army; and *Henry*, after formally accusing *Charles* of perjury, treachery, and breach of faith, returned precipitately to *England*. *Francis* was ſenſibly touched with the loſs of *Boulogne*, and made diſpoſitions for retaking it. At the time of its capitulating, he was upon his march to relieve it; and *Henry's* retreat had been ſo ill judged, that the breaches of the lower town had not been repaired; ſo that it was ſurprized by a party of the *French*: but the dauphin not coming up, in time, with his main army, to their ſupport, and they themſelves obſerving no diſcipline, they were eaſily diſlodged by the *English*, who poured down from the upper town.

Plans for
invading
England.

Francis being now free from the dread of the emperor, formed a mighty plan, notwithſtanding his late miſcarriage at *Boulogne*, not only for retaking all that the *English* held in *France*, but for invading *England* itſelf. He aſſembled a vaſt fleet at *Havre*, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty large veſſels, fixty ſmall ones, and thirty-five *Genoeſe* and *Mediterranean* galleys, which he hired. Thirty-four thouſand land men were put on board this armament, which was commanded in chief by admiral *d'Annebaut*; but before he ſailed, his own ſhip, carrying a hundred guns, was conſumed by an accidental fire. Notwithſtanding this, the admiral ſet ſail, and came up with the *English* fleet near *Portsmouth*. Though its ſtrength and number of ſhips were far inferior to that of *d'Annebaut*, they did not decline an engagement, but the *French* retired, after loſing one of their
beſt

best ships by a brisk cannonade. Next day the *French* renewed their attack with the same success as before, they not being able to prevail with the *English* to leave their advantageous situation. After various consultations, *d'Annebaut* made a landing on the isle of *Wight*, where he had some thoughts of erecting fortifications, while another part of the *French* landed in *Sussex*; but the dispositions every where made by the *English* government were so excellent, that the *French* were baffled in all their attempts, and *d'Annebaut* was obliged to return to *France*. Soon after this, the *English*, under lord *Lisle*, repaid the visit of the *French*, and burnt the town of *Treport*, in *Normandy*. It was computed that this year, the *English*, notwithstanding the formidable fleet of their enemy, made prize of above three hundred sail of *French* ships.

During those unsuccessful attempts of the *French*, by sea, *Francis* never lost sight of his capital point, that of expelling the *English* out of *France*. He had given the command of his land troops to marshal *de Biez*, who had served him with great success in *Picardy*, and the *Low Countries*. His orders were ill executed; for he failed in constructing a fort which was to command the harbour of *Boulogne*. While *de Biez* was employed, *d'Annebaut* landed all the pioneers to the number of four thousand, that he carried out for his *English* expedition, and *Francis* himself came to his camp, at *Mont Lambert*, where *Boulogne* was blocked up on the land side. *De Biez* attacked and carried some of the lines of the *Terre d'Oye*, and defeated a handful of *English* who attempted to retake them. But the season was now so far advanced, and so unhealthy, that the expectations of *Francis*, which he had endeavoured to carry into execution at so prodigious an expence, were entirely frustrated. An epidemical distemper swept off great numbers of his soldiers, and among others, his son, the young duke of *Orleans*, whom he had carried with him into *Picardy* to be witness of his triumphs over the *English*, and who was suspected to have died of poison. At last, the campaign for the year 1545 ended, to the loss and disgrace of the *French*; who being at peace with all the world but the *English*, had strained every sinew of their state, in their preparations to drive them out of *France*. The *English*, on the other hand, though inferior both by sea and land in numbers, were excellently well officered, and were so little distressed by the utmost efforts of the *French* arms, that during all the siege of *Boulogne*, they kept the communications open between that town, *Calais*, and *Guisnes*; nor do we find that their government was even alarmed at *d'Annebaut's* descent. This, perhaps, was in some measure owing to a body of eight or ten thousand foot, which *Henry* had actually hired in *Germany*, but were stoppt by the emperor, on their march to *Boulogne*, so that the

and for
expelling
the *English*
out of
France.

Death of
the duke
of *Orleans*.

the whole glory of the campaign was due to the *English* alone.

The death of the duke of *Orleans*, who was the darling of his father, had a sensible effect on the affairs of *Europe*, as well as of the *French* court. *Francis* sent the marshal *d'Annebaut* to propose to *Charles* some arrangement for carrying the treaty of *Crequi* into execution, notwithstanding that prince's death; but *Charles*, who was now infirm, and testy, drily answered, "That he would enter into no farther engagements, but he would not be the aggressor." In the mean while, the earl of *Surry*, the *English* governor of *Calais*, was defeated in a slight engagement by the marshal *de Biez*; and the war between the *French* and *English* was renewed in *Picardy*, but with so little prospect of advantage to either party, that both of them accepted of the mediation of the *German* protestants. The negotiation had no effect, because *Francis* would not treat without the *Scots*, and *Henry* refused to restore *Boulogne*.

A treaty
conclud-
ed.

Notwithstanding this, both princes renewed the negotiation by their own subjects. The lord *Lisle* was first plenipotentiary for *Henry*, and, *d'Annebaut* for *Francis*. They met at a place called *Campe*, between *Ardres* and *Guifnes*; and after a few conferences, a treaty was concluded, by which *Francis* engaged himself to pay two millions of crowns, besides a claim of five hundred thousand more (which was to be referred to commissioners) to *Henry*, on consideration of the latter restoring the town and fortifications of *Boulogne*. *Henry* likewise consented to the comprehension of the *Scots* in the treaty, provided they gave him no fresh provocation. But he was to keep possession of *Boulogne* till the money was paid. Both parties were so heartily tired of the war, that though both complained of the bad execution of the treaty, yet no hostilities ensued.

Francis being now at peace with all his neighbours, endeavoured to strengthen himself, by retrieving his credit with the *German* protestants, and sought to engage *Henry* to assist him; but his furious minister, *Tournon*, not only dissuaded him from those wise purposes, but prevailed with him to renew the persecution against his own protestant subjects. It was chiefly owing to this zealot, who knew the weak side of *Francis*, that that prince, in the last years of his reign, did not make amends for the abuses that had been introduced in the first; and for the numerous oppressions, which his subjects had suffered through the perpetual wars he maintained.

Death of
Francis.

Francis, before his death, had re-entered into a good correspondence with *Henry*, whose death, which happened in *January* 1547, is thought to have greatly affected *Francis*. He had for some time been ill of a slow fever, which he sought to shake off by frequent changes of air; but removing to *Rambouillet*, he grew sensible that his latter end

was

was approaching, and sent for the dauphin, to give him his last advice, which is said to have been pious and edifying, and worthy of a king who loved his subjects, and was sensible of his own misconduct. Among other matters, he recommended to him to cherish the admiral *d'Annebaut*, but not to recall the constable, *Montmorenci* to his councils. He died on the last of *March*, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign.

We have already sufficiently exhibited the political character of *Francis*. His personal bravery, as appeared from his behaviour at the battle of *Pavia*, was equal to any thing we meet with in romance itself; and, had he not been a king, he would have been one of the most amiable private gentlemen of his age. Some of his poetical compositions, still extant, shew him not to have been destitute of genius in that way. The sums he laid out in buildings, paintings, jewels, and other magnificence, were immense; but, towards the latter end of his reign, he became an excellent œconomist, discharged his debts, and left his successor four hundred thousand crowns in ready money.

His character,

He lost his first wife, *Claude* of *France*, when she was twenty-five years of age, and by her he had three sons, *Francis*, *Henry*, who succeeded him, and *Charles*, duke of *Orleans*. The first, and the last, are said to have died of poison. His daughters, by the same marriage, were *Louisa*, and *Charlotte*, who died young; *Magdalen*, who was married to *James V.* of *Scotland*, but died in the seventh month of her marriage. She is said to have been educated under her aunt the queen of *Navarre*, who was a protestant; *Margaret*, who was married to the duke of *Savoy*, and who was esteemed a most accomplished princess. By his second wife, who was queen dowager of *Portugal*, and sister to the emperor *Charles V.* he had no issue. *Francis* was of so amorous a complexion, that he had many mistresses, and it is thought that he partly owed his death to a venereal taint designedly given by a husband to his wife, by whom it was communicated to the king. The maiden name of his favourite mistress was *Anne de Pisseleu*, and her husband, *John* of *Bretagne*, was created duke *d'Estampes*.

and issue.

Henry II.

THE kingdom of *France* appeared to be in perfect tranquility, when *Henry II.* mounted that throne. He was then twenty-nine years of age, and having through the ascendancy of the dutchess *d'Estampes*, during the late reign, been under a kind of a cloud, he disregarded all which had been recommended to him by his father on his death-bed. He connected himself with the ambitious princes of the houses of *Lorraine* and *Guise*. He arbitrarily

Accession and conduct of *Henry II.*

disgraced the admiral *d'Annebaut*, who had done his father so many services, and he called the constable to his council board. At his coronation, the duke of *Guise* took place of the duke of *Montpensier*, though the latter was a prince of the blood. The duke of *Aumale*, son to the duke of *Guise*, was introduced to the council board, in the room of cardinal *Tournon*, the religious firebrand of the late reign; the secretaries of the state were disposed; the dutches *d'Estampes* retired to her estates, where she turned protestant; and in short, the court of *Henry II.* was composed of persons entirely different from that of *Francis I.* In some cases, the punishment of the parties was carried farther than bare disgrace. The marshal *de Biez* was degraded and imprisoned, we think not without reason, for his conduct towards the end of the late reign, and his son-in-law, *de Couci*, lost his head, (though not till two years after) for his cowardly surrender of *Boulogne* to the *English*.

Henry, soon after his accession, gave his personal sanction to a public duel, fought between the lords of *Jarnac* and *Chasteneraye*, in which the latter, who was by far the strongest man, was defeated, and dying of heart-break, *Henry* vowed to give no farther encouragement to such encounters. The queen being then delivered of a daughter, *Henry* affected to signify to all *Europe*, that the good correspondence between his crown and the *Swiss* cantons was renewed, for one of their deputies carried the child to the font; but the cantons of *Zurich*, and *Berne*, nobly disclaimed all connections with *Henry*; because he continued the inhuman persecutions begun by his father, against the protestants. He did not, however, greatly affect the residence of too many cardinals at his court, and he sent seven out of twelve to *Rome*, to take care of his interest there. It was with a like view that he readily consented to the queen dowager retiring from his dominions to those of her brother.

His hatred of the emperor. *Henry*, in many other respects than that of persecuting the protestants, followed the maxims of his father's government. He had a violent passion for reviving his family claims in *Italy*. He personally hated *Charles V.* for the treatment he had received from him while a hostage at *Madrid*. He burned with impatience to be in action against the *English*; and he cultivated the friendship of the *Scots*, whose history forms part of that of his reign. *James V.* upon the death of *Magdalen* of *France*, demanded from *Francis*, *Mary*, the widow of the duke of *Longueville*, and sister to the duke of *Aumale*, in marriage, whom he obtained without difficulty. This princess did all she could to render *Scotland* a province of *France*. Being mother to the young queen, *Mary*, who was but a few days old at the time of her father's death, she was declared regent of the

the kingdom, and entered into early measures with the princes her brothers for sending her daughter over to be educated in *France*. The opposition she met with by the growth of the reformation in *Scotland* is foreign to this history, farther than as it relates to the *French*. *Henry* being resolved not to lose the benefit of so useful an ally, sent over a fleet with six thousand veterans on board commanded by *d'Esse*, or, as some call him, *d'Este*, and upon their arrival they were joined by eight thousand *Scots* of the regent's party. Under this powerful protection, the young princess was embarked on board the *French* ships under the command of *Ville Guyon*, who landed her safely in *Bretagne*, from whence she was conducted with great pomp to *Henry's* court.

As *Henry* was firmly resolved upon a war in *Italy*, he carefully visited his frontiers on that side, and made a progress through his kingdom as far as *Piedmont*. When he was at *Moulins*, he assisted at the marriage of *Anthony de Bourbon*, duke of *Vendosme*, with *Joan de Albert*, heiress of the crown of *Navarre*, the same who had been betrothed to the duke of *Cleves*, the male descendants of which marriage now fill the thrones of *France*, *Spain*, and *Naples*. Before he finished his progress, the province of *Guienne* was in a combustion of rebellion, on account of the gabelle, or tax upon salt, and the insurgents proceeded with uncommon fury against all the objects, of their resentment. At *Bordeaux*, the populace, contrary to their own promise, murdered *Monems*, the king's lieutenant, though it is said, both the parliament and magistrates interposed to save him; but that did not prevent their being punished in a manner, which nothing but the atrocity of the offence could justify. The king ordered the duke of *Aumale*, and the constable *Montmorenci*, to quell the insurrection, and separate armies were assigned them for that purpose. The duke proceeded through *Xantoigne*, and by a prudent lenity, re-established the authority and tranquillity of the government, and rendered himself highly popular. The constable cloathed himself in terror, and marching by the sea-side, he marked his way by punishments. Arriving before *Bordeaux*, the inhabitants submitted; but he refused to enter their city any other way than by a breach, which he ordered to be made in their walls, and he treated them, in every respect, as a conquered people, who had surrendered at discretion. He caused a hundred of their substantial citizens to be hung up, abolished the privileges of their city, demolished the town-house, and carried his revenge for the death of *Monems*, who, it seems was his relation, even to a degree of frenzy, for he obliged a hundred of the chief inhabitants to dig with their fingers, his body out of the grave, that it might receive an honourable interment.

A rebellion in his kingdom

suppressed and punished.

The persecutions against the protestants still continued, and *Henry*, thinking the clergy too mild in their proceedings, directed that they should be carried on by commissioners named out of the parliament of *Paris*, but he reinstated the people of *Bordeaux* in all their privileges, and restored the parliament to its functions.

Continues
the war
with Eng-
land.

Henry being resolved to prosecute his father's views upon *Boulogne*, laid hold of the minority of *Edward VI.* and refused to ratify the late treaty, which had not been ratified by *Francis*, who died before he had an opportunity. During the war between *Scotland* and *England*, his subjects had made reprisals on the *English*, under *Scotch* colours, which was complained of by *Bryan*, the *English* ambassador; but he received no satisfaction. The divisions in the council of *England*, both as to politics and religion, gave great encouragement to *Henry*, who saw, with pleasure, the coldness of the emperor towards *Edward*, and his ministry. Two forts lying near *Boulogne* were betrayed into his hands, and he ordered his army to rendezvous at *Montreuil*, the beginning of *August*, to which place he repaired in person, as did the constable, and the duke of *Aumale*, after the queen's coronation had been performed with great splendour. *Henry* carefully concealed his real design, that of besieging *Boulogne*, and before he set out on his expedition, he amused himself and his court, by ordering a great number of his protestant subjects to be burnt before his eyes. All of a sudden, war was proclaimed against *England*, and *Strozzi*, one of *Henry's* admirals, attacked an *English* squadron near *Jersey*, but with very indifferent success, if what the *English* historians say is true, for he lost a thousand of his men in the engagement.

Besieges
Boulogne,

The siege of *Boulogne* was now formed, and was chiefly carried on by *Chastillon*, afterwards the famous admiral *Coligni*; but he was beaten off in every attack, by the lord *Clinton*, the *English* governor, with so much resolution, that *Henry*, seeing he could not so much as prevent the *English* from receiving succours by sea, left the siege entirely to the management of *Coligni*, who turned it into a blockade; and even that he was soon obliged to raise. *Henry* suffered in his reputation by being baffled in an expedition which he had undertaken in person, attended by all his great generals.

which he
buys by
treaty
from the
English.

He employed one *Guidot*, a *Florentine* merchant, to give him secret intelligence of the state of the *English* ministry, and to sound the disposition of the regent, duke of *Somerſet*, towards giving up *Boulogne*. *Guidot* had all the success he could desire, and the negotiations opened at a place near *Boulogne*, in the beginning of the year 1550. According to the *English* state papers, the *French* behaved with the utmost insolence during the treaty; but at last, the necessities of the *English* government were such, that they agreed to deliver

deliver up *Boulogne*, upon their being paid, in six months time, a sum equivalent to a hundred and thirty three thousand, three hundred and thirty three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence sterling. The *Scots* and their affairs were comprehended in the same treaty, and time was given for the queen regent to accede to it. Nothing but their own divisions and wants could have induced the *English* to agree to so scandalous a treaty, by which they, in fact, gave up all the arrears due upon their subsidies, and all their views of obtaining *Mary*, the young queen of *Scotland*, for their master; a point which had kindled an expensive war between the two nations. The treaty was executed with great punctuality, and the *French* again entered into possession of *Boulogne*, after giving six of the first princes of the blood, and noblemen, as hostages for the second payment of the money. A better understanding than had subsisted for some years then succeeded between *France* and *England*. *Edward* sent over the order of the garter to *Henry*, who returned him the compliment by that of *St. Michael*.

The reformation of *France*, had, by this time, received a great blow by the death of *Margaret*, queen of *Navarre*; and the duke of *Aumale*, who afterwards became so famous in the *French* history, had succeeded his father as duke of *Guise*. He had two brothers, cardinals, the one of *Lorraine*, the other of *Guise*; who likewise distinguished themselves in a political as well as a theological capacity. *Henry* had taken umbrage at the conduct of *Julius III.* who had succeeded *Paul III.* in the popedom; and edicts were issued for preventing money from going out of the kingdom to *Rome*, and for correcting other abuses introduced by the papal agents in *France*. But a most remarkable incident which happened at this time, requires that we should look back to the late reign.

We have often mentioned the *Albingses*, who were likewise distinguished by the name of *Waldenses*, and other appellations. A remnant of them still continued to live between *Provence* and *Dauphiny*. They had with incredible labour cultivated their country, which was naturally barren, and they are represented as a people equally simple in their morals and religion; but worshipping God in a manner very different from that of the church of *Rome*. Their numbers during the late reign had increased to eighteen thousand, and in the profession of their religion they never had met with any check, either from the magistrates, or their landlords, who found them to be an inoffensive people, and their estates were improved by their industry. Their habitations lay under different sovereigns; some of them being subject to the *French* king, some to the duke of *Savoy*, and some to the legate of *Avignon*. As they had no regular clergymen among them, the reformers in the neighbouring countries officiously offered them the assistance of their ministers,

ministers, and this rendered them obnoxious to the *French* government; but *Langey*, *Francis's* governor of *Piedmont*, gave them so good a character, that *Francis* ordered all proceedings against them to be stopt. The bigots, however, prevailed, and the *Waldenses* of *Merindol*, and the neighbouring places, being not without a tincture of enthusiasm in their compositions, imprudently challenged their adversaries of the established church, to dispute with them upon the truth of their religion. Cardinal *Tournon* took advantage of this, and obtained from *Francis* letters for putting the sentence of the parliament of *Aix* against them, into execution, by which a number of them were put to death, their habitations demolished, and their wives and children banished. It is said, that cardinal *Sadolet*, bishop of *Carpentras*, in vain opposed this murdering edict, which was rendered general, and still more cruel, when it was known at court that the poor people refused to abjure the religion they professed. Nineteen of the *Waldenses* were ordered to be put to death in 1545, and the execution of the sentence was committed to one *Oppede*, president of *Provence*, and *Guerin*, the attorney-general. Those two bloody enthusiasts called in the military to their assistance, and though they met with no resistance, they butchered all who did not save themselves by flight. The aged, the feeble, and the young, fell in an undistinguished carnage. Their harvests, their plantations, their houses, and granaries, were destroyed by fire. Sixty men and women, who had shut themselves up in the town of *Cabrieres*, were immediately put to the sword, though they had surrendered on promise of their lives being spared. The miserable inhabitants were hunted in the night time from place to place, by the flames of thirty-two villages, which they themselves had lately peopled; and, instead of nineteen heretics, mentioned in the original sentence, being put to death, some thousands were massacred; the few that escaped retiring to *Piedmont*, or *Bohemia*. Even *Francis I.* though himself a most inhuman persecutor, was struck with horror when he heard of those barbaries, and on his death-bed, he is said to have recommended the punishment of the murderers to his son. The affair was referred to the parliament of *Paris*. *Oppede*, by his wealth, and interest, escaped, and the advocate, *Guerin*, alone was hanged.

Growth
of *Lutheranism*.

Vol. X.
p. 265.

This scanty execution of justice was partly owing to a political cause; for the growth of *Lutheranism* was now so great in *France*, that *Henry* thought proper to gratify his protestant subjects with one instance of his protection, before he set out upon the great expedition he was meditating. The count *de Brisac* was made governor of *Piedmont*, and had orders to support *Octavio Farnese* against the pope and the emperor. *Brisac* accordingly saved *Parma* to *Octavio*,
and

and the pope threatened to excommunicate *Henry*, especially after a *Turkish* fleet, directed by his ambassador, who was on board it, appeared in the *Mediterranean*, and overawed both the emperor and the pope. The conduct of *Henry* on this occasion resembled that of his father. Though he was at war with the pope, he continued to burn the heretics, and he concluded a treaty with the protestant princes of the empire, as the guardian of the *Germanic* liberty, by which he was to be put in possession of *Verdun*, *Toul*, *Metz*, *Nanci*, and *Lorrain*. In consideration of this, *Henry* obliged himself to pay to the elector of *Saxony*, and his other allies, two hundred and forty thousand crowns, and sixty thousand for every month, after three, that the war should continue. Vol. IX. p. 120.

The *Roman* catholics beheld the progress of *Henry's* *ibid.* *Turkish* allies with horror; but it had all the effects *Henry* intended. The elector of *Saxony* reduced the emperor almost to ruin, and obliged him to agree to the pacification of *Passau*, which may be called the constitutional basis to the open exercise of the reformed religion in *Germany*. Pope *Julius*, who had depended on the emperor for support, was obliged to humble himself before *Henry*, and his nuncio was forced to submit his powers to the parliament of *Paris*, about the end of the year 1551.

France, for many years had not been at so high a pitch of *Montmo-* prosperity as then, but it cost *Henry* immense sums, which *renci* he raised upon his people in the most oppressive manner. made con- The provinces of *France* were almost depopulated, and the itable of people resorted in such numbers to *Paris*, and the other *France*, great cities, that an edict was published against any additional buildings. The constable, *Montmorenci*, was then the greatest subject in *France*, and his barony of *Montmorenci* was erected into a dutchy and peerage. *Brisac* commanded, with great abilities, the *French* armies in *Piedmont*, and the other parts of *Italy*; and was assisted by *Strozzi*, and *Horace Farnese*. But the greatness of *Henry* obstructed his own progress. The princes of the house of *Guise* sought to aggrandize their master by the ruins of their own family, that of *Lorrain*, the natural barrier of the empire against *France*.

Early in the year 1552, *Henry* marched, at the head of a great and well appointed army, towards the *Rhine*. He had appointed his queen to be regent in his absence, and he had given her the admiral *d'Annebaut*, whom he had recalled to his court, for her first minister. When he entered *Lorrain*, he acquainted that dutchess, that there was a necessity for her son, the young duke, to be educated at *Paris*, and that the regency of the dutchy should be committed to his uncle the prince of *Vaudmont*. After that, *Henry* seized *Toul*, *Verdun*, and *Metz*, took possession of all the country between *Haguenau* and *Wessembourg*, and would have be- come

come master of *Strasbourg*, had it not been provided with a garrison of nine thousand men. He held the places he had taken under the specious title of vicar of the empire.

ilid.
p. 121.

The reader, in a former part of this work, has seen the dangerous situation of the empire at the time we treat of; and the *Swiss*, as well as the confederate princes, began to think that their liberties were now as much in danger from *Henry* as they had been from the emperor, with whom they were then treating. They intimated their desire to *Henry*, that he would stop the career of his arms, and in this they were seconded, not only by the *Swiss*, but by the court of *England*, which had lately discovered, and disappointed, a design laid by *Henry* for surprizing *Calais*.

Moderation of
Henry.

Henry was sensible that the jealousy of his power might be fatal to his ambition, and he therefore affected great moderation. After garrisoning his new conquests, he returned to *France*, which had been invaded by *Rossom*, the imperial general, under the regent queen of the *Low Countries*. He reinstated *Robert de la Marck* in his dutchy of *Bouillon*, which had been seized by the emperor, and he took several places in *Luxembourg*. In *Italy*, *Henry* had re-established *Ottavio Farnese* in the dutchy of *Parma*, and *Brisac* was master of *Sienna*. The emperor desired to be included in the truce between the pope and *Henry*, who consented to it, to the great disappointment of the *Turks*, who expected that he would carry his arms into *Naples*. The princes of the empire were every day more and more convinced of their danger from *Henry*, and all of them but *Albert* of *Brandenbourg*, who likewise joined the confederacy soon after, united themselves with *Charles*, and agreed upon besieging *Metz*, which was accordingly invested by an army of a hundred thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and a proportionable train of artillery. It was defended by *Francis*, duke of *Guise*, the greatest hero, perhaps, of his age, who had in his garrison five thousand of the best *French* infantry, three princes of the blood, two of his own house, fifty noblemen, and five hundred gentlemen of distinction. His brother, the duke of *Aumale*, endeavoured to succour the place, which was large and poorly fortified, but he was beaten by *Albert* of *Brandenbourg*, while the imperial general, the count of *Roeux*, was filling all *Picardy* with desolation. *Charles* then thought himself certain of reducing *Metz*; but he was disappointed through the valour and vigilance of the duke of *Guise*, who had demolished thirty convents and churches to prevent the approach of the besiegers, and was perpetually harrassing them with sallies. *Charles* lay sixty five-days before the town, and finding he had lost one third of his army, he raised the siege on the twenty-sixth of *December*. The duke of *Guise*'s magnanimity was remarkable on this occasion. He considered the imperialists as objects of pity.

Instead

The imperialists forced to raise the siege of *Metz*.

Instead of cutting them off, as he might have done, in their retreat, he saved all he could, and sent them to be relieved in his hospitals and convents.

Early in the year 1553, *Charles* attempted to be revenged for his disgraces before *Metz*; and his general, the count *de Roceux*, besieged *Terouenne*. It was defended by *d'Esse*, the same who had served with so much reputation in *Scotland*; but he was killed in a breach of the walls. His successor, *Montmorenci*, son to the constable, offered to capitulate; but, in the mean time, the *Flemish* and *German* infantry broke into the town; where they put all to the sword, without distinction of age or person; and it was with difficulty that the chief officers were saved from the massacre. *Charles* was so much exasperated, that he ordered the city to be demolished so completely, that its vestiges, at present, are scarcely discernible.

Upon the death of the count *de Roceux*, *Charles* gave the command of his army to the prince of *Piedmont*, who besieged *Hesdin*; which was defended by the marshal *de la Marche*, who was son-in-law to *Henry's* mistress, the dutchess of *Valentinois*. *Henry* had just then recovered from an illness which he had contracted by the fatigue of the preceding campaign; and he was celebrating the marriage of his natural daughter, *Diana*, to *Horace Farnese*, who threw himself into *Hesdin*, where he was killed by the blowing up of the castle; which gave the imperialists an opportunity of entering the place, and of treating the inhabitants in the same manner as those of *Terouenne*.

The prince of *Savoy*, who was naturally a complete soldier, obtained great credit by this campaign. Though *Henry* was at the head of above sixty thousand excellent troops, yet he could neither force the prince to a battle, nor form the siege of *Cambray*; which vexed the constable, *Montmorenci*, into an illness. *Henry*, however, defeated the imperial general, the duke of *Arschot*, who commanded the *Flemish* cavalry; but he soon after sent his troops into winter-quarters, not much to the credit of his arms.

The war was, all this while, raging in *Italy*; where the pope was entirely in the *French* interest, and gave *Henry* absolute resolution for breaking the truce, in order to make himself master of *Naples*. The emperor gave orders for besieging *Sienna*; but the *Turkish* fleet, under the famous *Dragut*, appearing on the coast of *Naples*, the siege was raised; and *Dragut*, having joined the *French* fleet, beat that of *Doria*; while the *French* general, *des Termes*, who had defended *Sienna*, reduced great part of the island of *Corfica*; but *Dragut* and he quarrelling, the *Genoese* recovered it all but *Fiorenzo*. The marshal *Brisac* was still in *Piedmont*, where he carried on the war with unparalleled humanity, by exempting all degrees of people, but real soldiers actually in arms, from hostilities.

Edward

Henry
treats
with the
English.

Edward VI. was then king of *England*, and, through the weakness of his administration, he had been so little considered at the *French* court, that his subjects had been prodigious sufferers by sea. At last, the *English* ministry, declaring that they were ready to enter into a league with the emperor against *Henry*, the latter sent *St. Andre*, one of his courtiers, to make satisfaction to the *English* merchants; but his real design was to lull the *English* government asleep, while he was fomenting a rebellion in *Ireland*; which was discovered and prevented. The duke of *Northumberland*, the over-bearing minister of *Edward*, having views upon the *English* crown for his own family, courted *Henry's* friendship, and offered his master's mediation between him and the emperor. *Henry* treated the proposal with great respect; but his demands were so exorbitant, that the proposition fell to the ground; and the project of a league (in which the protestant princes were to be included) between the emperor and the crown of *England*, for reducing the *French* power, was far advanced, when *Edward* unfortunately died.

Henry be-
sieges *Ren-
ti*, but re-
tires.

Pope *Julius*, about the same time, offered his mediation, but without effect; for *Charles* had now secured queen *Mary* for his son; and insisted, in his turn, upon very high terms. *Henry*, instead of complying, took the field with sixty thousand men, whom he divided into three armies; one under himself and the constable, and the other two under the duke of *Vendosme* and marshal *St. Andre*. The constable took *Maricburgh*, fortified *Rocroi*; and *Henry*, about the beginning of *July*, took *Bovines* by assault, and punished the inhabitants by hanging or drowning, for having obliged him to bring his artillery before their town, which was but slightly fortified. The duke of *Vendosme* formed the siege of *Dinant*, and obliged don *Juliano Romano*, with his *Spanish* garrison, to surrender it, and to leave the place without arms or baggage. *Charles*, on his part, took the field likewise; and, there being a personal quarrel between *Henry* and the queen-regent of the *Low Countries*, the war was carried on with great acrimony. *Henry* demolished some beautiful seats belonging to the queen-regent, but was unable to force *Charles* to a battle. He took his revenge by ravaging the open country of *Artois* and *Cambresis*; and, at last, he besieged *Renti*; a town which was then of such importance, that *Charles* resolved to venture his army in saving it. The prince of *Savoy* and *Gonzaga* accordingly advanced to give *Henry* battle; but they lost two thousand men, and were defeated by the valour of the duke of *Guise*. The constable, *Montmorenci*, who was now old and cautious, and is said always to have served with reluctance against the emperor, advised his master not to pursue his purpose farther, lest he should share the fate of his father, who was in similar circumstances at the battle of *Pavia*. Though *Henry* was full of spirits, and had distinguished his valour at the head of his

Swiss

Swiss guards, yet he took the constable's advice ; and, contenting himself with having added to the safety of his frontiers, he made an orderly retreat into his own dominions.

Strozzi, at this time, commanded the *French* garrison in *Sienna* ; which *Cosmo de Medeci*, the duke of *Tuscany*, had undertaken to reduce for the emperor. For this purpose, he gave the command of an army to the marquis *de Marignan*, who besieged *Sienna*, but without effect. Having turned the siege into a blockade, *Strozzi* left the defence of the place to *Monluc*, an excellent officer, and marched into *Tuscany*, where he besieged *Marciano* with nine thousand men. He was followed by *Marignan*, and, being pressed for want of water, he was obliged to raise the siege. He might have returned with safety to *Sienna*, could he have submitted to the appearance of a flight in the night time ; but disdain-
The war in Italy,
where
Strozzi is
defeated,

ing that, he was attacked and beaten, with the loss of four thousand men, his artillery and baggage. He had, however, the glory of preserving *Sienna* for that campaign.

About this time, 1554, *Metz* narrowly escaped being surprized by a detachment of the imperialists, who were defeated by the *French*. *Brisac* continued to be gaining ground in *Piedmont* ; but, though it was then the dead of winter, *Marignan* renewed the siege of *Sienna* ; which, at last, surrendered ; but *Monluc* refused to sign the capitulation, tho' he approved of it as being very honourable for the republic. From the romantic notions which prevailed in that age, he would suffer his troops to owe their safety only to their own swords ; and, upon his bringing them back to *France*, he was rewarded with a marshal's baton.

The court of *Henry*, at this time, was full of faction. *Strozzi* had been sacrificed to the intrigues of the party that opposed the queen, to whom he was related. By the same influence, the marshal *Brisac* was hindered from relieving *Sienna*, his numbers being too few ; but he surprized *Casal* towards the end of the carnival. The famous duke of *Alva* was appointed imperial general in *Piedmont* and *Italy*, where he distinguished himself by his usual cruelty ; but he was more than once beaten by the duke of *Aumale*.

The pope continued to insist upon a peace between *France* and the emperor. He employed cardinal *Pole* for that purpose, and *Henry* found himself in a very embarrassing situation. He would willingly have kept well with *England* ; but queen *Mary* was devoted to the pleasure of her husband and the house of *Austria*. The friendship of the *German* protestants was of the utmost consequence to his interest ; but they insisted upon his giving up *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*. He gave good words to all, but demanded the *Milanese* as the price of his compliance with either ; which *Philip* refused and set him at defiance.

The pope mediates a peace.

The emperor, *Charles*, though now out of humour with the world, and resolved to resign all his dignities, retained,

to

to the last, his predilection for the *Low Countries*; and, to secure them from the insults of *France*, he built *Charlemont* and *Philipville*, but he was disappointed in an attempt he made to retake *Mariembourg*. His general, the prince of *Orange*, had better success in *Picardy*; which he invaded and ravaged almost without opposition; so distracted was the *French* court by its divisions.

Charles V. The resignation of *Charles V.* and his retirement to a cloistered life, filled all *Europe* with surprize. The *German* empire devolved upon his brother *Ferdinand*; but clogged with such terms, that he was on the point of resigning it to his nephew *Philip*, had he not been deterred from that resolution by the protestants, who trembled at the thoughts of seeing the imperial and *Spanish* crowns reunited.

Vol. X.
p. 271.

About this time died the king of *Navarre*; and his successor and son-in-law, *Anthony*, duke of *Vendosme*, retired to *Bearn*, that he might preserve the small portion which still remained of his wife's inheritance. The deaths of pope *Julius III.* and *Marcellus II.* and the accession of cardinal *Caraffa*, who took the name of *Paul IV.* were events favourable to *France*; for *Paul* hated the house of *Austria*; and, upon his mounting the papal throne, courted the friendship of *Henry*. His advances were highly favoured by the house of *Guise*. The cardinal of *Lorraine* sought to make an interest with his holiness, whom he was in hopes of succeeding; and the duke of *Guise*, though he concealed his ambition, secretly thought that, being a descendent of the old *Anjouvine* house, he had a right to the crown of *Naples*. *Paul* sent the cardinal of *Tournon*, from *Rome*, to negotiate the alliance. Arriving at *Henry's* court, he declared himself against the commission that he had been employed to carry; and he was seconded by the constable, *Montmorenci*; who, though he was the most venerable personage in *France*, was borne down by the *Guises*; and the cardinal of *Lorraine* went to *Rome*, where, in *Henry's* name, he put the last hand to the treaty, in the year 1555; both parties agreeing to keep it secret for some time.

Truce between
France
and *Spain*.

During the cardinal's absence, the constable, and the *English* cardinal, *Pole*, had credit enough to persuade *Henry* to agree to a truce with *Philip* for five years. This disconcerted all the schemes of the pope, who intended to give an establishment in *Naples* to his nephew, cardinal *Caraffa*; and his holiness sent him to the *French* court, with private instructions to persuade *Henry* to break the truce, and to give him absolution for his perfidy. It was in vain for the constable, with the wiser and honest part of *Henry's* council, to exclaim against this flagrant breach of faith, which pointed towards a destructive war in *Italy*. The queen was joined by the dutchess of *Valentinois*, the king's mistress, whose daughter was married to the duke of *Aumale*; and both of them supported the house of *Guise*, who were furious for a war.

war. The pope was so much in earnest on the same side, *ibid.* that he ordered the *Spanish* ambassador at *Rome* to be put under an arrest, on pretence of a conspiracy against his person. He refused to acknowledge *Ferdinand* as emperor of *Germany*; and he threatened both *Charles* and *Philip*, who he said had forfeited the kingdom of *Naples*, with excommunication. p. 272.

The duke of *Alva* was then the *Spanish* governor of *Naples*; and, in *September*, 1556, he invaded, and subdued, the dominions of the church to the gates of *Rome*. *Henry* had taken no care to support his new ally, the pope, in his vigorous measures. He sent him, indeed, a few troops under *Strozzi* and *Monluc*; but they durst not look those of the duke of *Alva* in the face; and the grand army, which was to have been sent into *Italy*, under the duke of *Guise*, was so slow in its motions, that the papal interest in *Italy* was crushed, and *Henry* had not an ally there but the duke of *Ferrara*. Early in the year 1557, the army under the duke of *Guise* arrived in *Piedmont*, where *Brisac* still continued to command, and he advised the duke to invade the *Milanese*. His reasons were so strong, that the duke dispatched an express to court, where the proposal was at first agreed to, but afterwards over-ruled by the queen's and the cardinal of *Lorraine*'s faction, and the duke was ordered to march directly to *Rome*; but he was too late; for, by this time, the pope had been disabled from fulfilling his conditions, and the duke found it impracticable for him to penetrate into *Naples*. But we are now to attend to the state of the war in other quarters. The duke of *Alva* invades the papal territories.

All *France* was amazed that *Henry* continued so brave and so able an officer in *Piedmont* as *Brisac* was; but it was owing to his jealousy that the dutchess of *Valentinois* was fond of that marshal's fine person. In the beginning of *June*, an *English* herald, on the part of his mistress, queen *Mary*, declared war against *France* at *Henry*'s court; and, soon after, twelve thousand *English* joined the imperial general, the duke of *Savoy*, at *Givet*. The duke's army then exceeded sixty thousand men. The *French* court had exhausted itself so much in its preparations for the *Italian* expedition, that admiral *Coligni* had but few troops to oppose this formidable power. The duke of *Savoy*, after many marches and counter-marches, sometimes threatening *Rocroi*, and sometimes *Marienburg*, all of a sudden invested *St. Quintin*. The admiral threw himself, with a few battalions, into the place; and his uncle, the constable *Montmorenci*, drawing together twenty-five thousand men, advanced to his relief. He was too weak to fight the duke of *Savoy*; but, on the tenth of *August*, he gave him such an alarm, that he was obliged to fly to count *Egmont*'s quarter; and, had it not been for the courage of his *English* auxiliaries, under the earl of *Pembroke*, he must have suffered a total defeat. England declares war against France.

Every

Philip gains the battle of St. Quintin.

Every thing was then mismanaged on the part of the *French*. *D'Andelot* could not reinforce his brother, the admiral, with above five hundred men. The constable had been too precipitate in advancing, and was too slow in retreating, in the face of a superior army. The duke of *Savoy* recovered his consternation; but count *Egmont*, at the head of the *English* and *Spanish* cavalry, attacked the flank of the *French*, through a defile which he imagined to be impassable; and the duke charging them in the front at the same time, the constable was totally defeated. Three thousand six hundred *French* were killed on the spot; an equal number was made prisoners; and the whole of their baggage and artillery, excepting two pieces of cannon, were taken. The brave duke *d'Anguien*, and about six hundred persons of distinction, were among the slain; and the constable himself, with the dukes of *Montpensier* and *Longueville*, and the marshal *de St. Andre* were among the prisoners; while the *Spaniards* did not lose above fifty men. In short, the defeat of the *French* was so complete, that, when the emperor, *Charles*, heard of it, in his retirement, he asked the messenger, whether his son was not in possession of *Paris*.

Loyalty of the *French* to their king.

Philip called a council of war immediately after the battle; and it was there proposed to raise the siege of *St. Quintin*, and to march directly to *Paris*. The duke of *Savoy* opposed that measure, because of the great number of strong places he must have left in his rear. *Philip* acquiesced, and it was resolved to press the siege of *St. Quintin*. The gallant defence made by the admiral, gave *Henry* and his generals time for recovering from their consternation; but, on the twenty-seventh of *August*, the place was carried by storm, and its garrison put to the sword. Its reduction was followed by that of *Ham*, and several other strong places; and *Philip* again was pressed by his *English* auxiliaries to march against *Paris*, as the obstacle was now removed that obstructed him before. But another interposed. The *French* nobility and gentry, to a man, made offer of their persons and purses to the service of *Henry*. The duke of *Guise*, who had been recalled, was in full march homeward; and the *Swiss* cantons declared themselves in favour of *France*.

In the mean while, an *Alsatian* gentleman, one *Nicholas de Pollweiler*, having raised a body of ten thousand men, on pretence of employing them against the *Turks*, suddenly passed the *Rhine* at *Strasbourg*, and, in all probability, would have surprized *Lyons*, if the *Swiss* cantons had not interposed and obliged him to return to *Alsace*. But this was not the only good fortune that attended *Henry* at this time. The *English* were discontented at the duke of *Savoy* (who, probably, depended upon the success of *Pollweiler's* irruption) for not marching to *Paris*; and refused to serve longer under *Philip*; while his *German* mercenaries mutinied for want of pay, and part of them went into the service of *France*.

Admiral

Admiral *Coligni* had been taken prisoner at the reduction of *St. Quintin*; and both he and his uncle, the constable, were in the hands of the *Spaniards*, when the duke of *Guise* returned to *France* with his army. *Henry's* escape from being assassinated by one *Caboché*, who drew his sword upon him, and was afterwards hanged, seemed to endear him, more than ever, to his subjects; and their immense contributions enabled him to encrease the duke of *Guise's* army with fourteen thousand *Swiss*. That general had suffered in his reputation by his *Italian* expedition, but he was now considered as the guardian-angel of *France*, especially as *Philip* had been obliged to send his army into winter-quarters, without daring to advance into the heart of the kingdom.

D'Oysel then commanded the *French* auxiliaries in *Scotland*, and undertook to give such a diversion to the *English* as should facilitate the long wished-for reduction of *Calais* to the *French* king. Though the general aversion of the *Scotch* reformers for the *French* prevented him from entirely fulfilling his promise, yet it is certain that the queen-regent of *Scotland* and he were of vast service to the duke of *Guise*, in the plan he had formed against *Calais*, in the winter-time. It is said to have been originally formed by admiral *Coligni*, who had proceeded so far in it as to reduce it to writing. Be this as it will, it is certain that the duke prosecuted his scheme with great abilities. The *French* shipping was all drawn towards the *Straits of Dover*, to cruize upon the *English* trade; but with orders, that the commanders should hold themselves in readiness for a grand expedition. One great body of troops took post at *Boulogne*, under pretence of securing the inhabitants from the insults of the *Spaniards*; while another, under the duke of *Nevers*, defiled towards *Luxembourg*; and, after drawing the attention of the *Spaniards* to that quarter, he rejoined the duke of *Guise*, who, all of a sudden, put himself at the head of an army, and set down before *Calais*, on the first of *January*, 1558.

The lord *Wentworth* was then the *English* governor of *Calais*; and, by the unaccountable negligence of his court, his garrison did not exceed seven hundred men. The operations of the *French* began against an out-fort, called *St. Agatha*, which the *English* were forced to abandon, and to throw themselves into fort *Newnham*. *D'Etreés*, who commanded the *French* artillery, battered this fort in breach, while the duke of *Rochfoucault* besieged the castle of *Rysbank*, which commanded the harbour. All the *French* attacks proved successful. The *English*, in fort *Newnham*, obtained an honourable capitulation, and retired into the town; but those in *Rysbank* were forced to surrender prisoners of war. The *French* being masters of the harbour, landed immense quantities of stores and fascines from their shipping; by which they filled up the morasses that secured the town on the land side. The duke of *Guise* then ordered a false attack to be made

made upon the body of the place ; but, all of a sudden, directed his artillery against an old castle, defended by a wet ditch, which was drained with surprizing expedition by *d'Andelot* ; so that, next day, the duke passed it, up to his middle, supported by five hundred cuirassiers under *Strozzi*, and all the young nobility of his army. The breach that had been made by fifteen battering cannon was stormed, and those that defended it put to the sword ; so that the *French* made a lodgement in the castle, the command of which the duke gave to his two brothers, the dukes of *Angoulême* and *d'Elbeuf*. The *English* made prodigious efforts to retake this castle ; but all were in vain ; and the garrison being now reduced to two hundred men, lord *Wentworth* offered to treat. All the terms he could obtain were, that a hundred and fifty of his garrison should have liberty to retire to *England* or *Flanders* ; while he himself, with the chief officers who remained, were to be prisoners ; and the place, with all within it, was to be given up to the duke of *Guise*, who made *des Termes* its governor.

The *French* general, after this, being resolved to complete the reduction of all that the *English* held in *France*, besieged *Guienne* ; the garrison of which, under the lord *Grey*, made a noble defence : but, on the twenty-second of *January*, they were obliged to submit to the same capitulation that had been granted to that of *Calais*. The *English* then abandoned the castle of *Hames* ; and thus the conquest of *Calais*, and all the places depending upon it, was completed in a month, after being two hundred and ten years in possession of the *English*.

thro' the
treach-
ery of
cardinal
Pole.

It can scarcely admit of the least doubt, that the reduction of *Calais* was chiefly owing to the treachery of cardinal *Pole*, who was queen *Mary's* first and sole minister. He had exasperated the pope, by suffering *Mary* to take part in her husband's quarrel against *France* ; and he sought to be reconciled, by betraying his country's interest to the *French*. To him it was owing, that *Calais* was left in a defenceless condition, and he sacrificed it to the family of *Guise*, to appease the indignation of the pope, who was on the point of excommunicating him. The duke of *Guise* was now in the zenith of his glory, and the king obtained, with great cheerfulness, three million of livres from an assembly of his states, which he convoked at *Paris*. *Henry* then set out, with the dauphin, upon a progress to visit his frontiers, and made a public entry into *Calais*. But the princes of the house of *Guise* were now obliged to strike into the most diabolical measures for their own support. They knew that they were hated by the constable ; and the king could not conceal his jealousy of them, notwithstanding the vast services they had done him. Almost one half of the people of *France* were protestants, and considered the admiral *Coligni* and *d'Andelot* as their heads.

The duke of *Guise*, and the cardinal of *Lorraine*, knew the king's weakness in matters of religion, and resolved to work upon it. They pressed for the consummation of the long intended marriage between the dauphin and their niece, the young queen of *Scotland*; which was accordingly celebrated on the twenty-fourth of *April*. The ceremony was performed in the presence of eight *Scotch* commissioners, four of whom are said to have opposed the matrimonial crown of *Scotland* being given to the dauphin, and died, in their return home, with evident marks of poison.

In a visit which the dutchess of *Lorraine* this year paid to her son, she carried with her *Granvelle*, the bishop of *Arras*, an able, but a dangerous, minister; and it is said, that the destruction of the protestant religion in *France* was, at that time, concerted in an interview he had with the cardinal of *Lorraine*, who informed *Henry* that *d'Andelot* was an heretic. *Henry* scarcely believed him, but *d'Andelot* owned it to his face; which threw him into such a passion that the dauphin was hurt in interposing between them; and *d'Andelot* was stripped of his colonel-generalship of the infantry and sent prisoner to *Melun*.

The duke of *Guise* was then besieging *Thionville*, before which *Strozzi* lost his life; but the place was taken in seventeen days: and *des Termes*, who received *Strozzi's* baton of marshal, was ordered to penetrate into *Artois* and *Flanders*; where he accordingly took *Dunkirk* and *Bergues*. He was opposed by count *Egmont* at *Gravelines*; where he was defeated, and taken prisoner, with the loss of five thousand men; chiefly owing to a squadron of *English* ships, who poured their fire into the flank of his army.

His place was supplied by the duke of *Guise*, who covered *Calais* and the rest of the *French* frontier towns; but, could the *English* nation have been brought to act cordially with the *Spaniards*, *Calais* might then have been recovered. Instead of that, the *English* fleet withdrew from the coasts of *France*, which left the duke of *Guise* at liberty to reinforce his army from *Bretagne*.

The house of *Guise*, all this time, continued to inspire *Henry* with distrust towards all whom they thought not to be in their interest. It was with difficulty that the brave marshal *Brisac*, after all his important services, preserved himself from being broken; and, at last, they practised against the dutchess of *Valentinois* herself; who, at the age of seventy, retained her empire over the king's heart. The duke of *Guise*, under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, actually exercised the functions of viceroy, and took precedence of the constable; so that his power was thought to be too deeply rooted to be shaken even by the dutchess herself.

Both *Henry* and *Philip* had, this year, taken the field in their own persons; and they lay at a little distance from each

each other at the head of their respective armies, but without coming to any action. This was owing to the dutches of *Valentinois*, who spoke the language of the honestest and wisest part of the *French* nation, and opened her royal lover's eyes to the miseries which his subjects were suffering through the continuance of the war. *Philip*, despairing of being supported by *England*, where his wife was in a dangerous state of health, assumed the like sentiments, which were encouraged by his general, the duke of *Savoy*; and it was agreed on all hands, that the aged constable, *Montmorenci*, who still remained a prisoner, should repair to the *French* camp, and set on foot the negotiation. At first it met with great difficulties, as *Philip* insisted upon the restitution of *Calais*, and *Henry* on that of the kingdom of *Navarre*. At last, they agreed to a suspension of arms, and plenipotentiaries were named to meet at the abbey of *Cercamp*. Those for the *French* were, the constable, the marshal *St. Andre*, the cardinal of *Lorraine*, the bishop of *Orleans*, and *d'Aubespine*, secretary of state.

Its terms.

Upon the first meeting of the plenipotentiaries, those of *France* declared positively, that they could not treat upon the restitution of *Calais*, because their master was determined never to give it up. During their sitting, *Mary*, queen of *England* died; and queen *Elizabeth* took care that *Henry* should have a secret hint, that it was far from being impossible, if he continued unreasonable, that a marriage might not take place between herself and *Philip*, who had actually made her proposals of marriage. This produced an offer from *Henry* of a separate peace; and *Elizabeth*, the new queen of *England*'s ministers, instructed her plenipotentiaries still to insist upon the rendition of *Calais*; but this they soon found to be impracticable, and the conferences were transferred to *Chateau-Cambresis*. There, the *French* ministers threatened to return home abruptly, if any mention was made of the restitution of *Calais*; and *Elizabeth*, who never had seriously encouraged *Philip*'s addresses, gave her ministers orders to put the last hand to the treaty; by which *Calais*, to save the *English* honour, was to remain only eight years in possession of the *French*. But this article was quickly evaded, and *Calais* remains in their possession to this day. The other parts of the treaty chiefly consisted of the towns of *St. Quintin*, *Harnes*, and *Catalet*, being restored to the *French*; while they gave up to *Philip* the strong towns of *Thionville*, *Marienberg*, *Montmedi*, *Hesdin*, and the county of *Charolois*, in full sovereignty. The *French* likewise obliged themselves to demolish *Terouenne* and *Ivri*, to restore *Bouillon* to the bishop of *Liege*; *Montferrat* to the duke of *Mantua*; *Corfica* to the *Genoese*; and *Savoy*, *Piedmont*, and *Bresse*, to the duke of *Savoy*; and *Philip* was at liberty to keep troops in *Verciel* and *Asti*, till the *French* claims upon *Piedmont* should be adjusted. In short, *France*, in the whole, gave up

up no fewer than one hundred and ninety-eight fortified places by this peace of *Chateau Cambresis*.

Though that peace seemed to be inglorious for *France*, and was exclaimed against by the *Guise* faction, yet it certainly rendered that monarchy more compact within itself, especially as *Henry* was left in possession of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, and all that he held in *Lorraine* and *Alsace*. The most inglorious part of it to *France* has been stifled by the *French* historians, for he was obliged to give security for the payment of five hundred thousand crowns, and hostages for the performance of the restitution of *Calais*, was refused, or unreasonably delayed beyond the term of eight years. The truth is, however, that this obligation was to be void, if the *English*, within that time, should either attack the *French*, or their allies, the *Scots*. So that, upon the whole, this stipulation was evidently calculated to humour *Elizabeth*, and the people of *England* under her new administration.

Besides those articles about towns and territory in the Marriage treaty, *Henry* renounced all his claims in *Italy*, and at the earnest request of the constable promised to shake himself loose from his disgraceful alliance with the *Turks*. *Philip* agreed to marry the princess *Elizabeth*, *Henry*'s eldest daughter, who had been promised to *Edward VI.* of *England*, and to *don Carlos*, *Philip*'s son; the princess *Claude*, the second daughter, having been a few months before married to the duke of *Lorraine*. The duke of *Savoy* was likewise to marry the princess *Margaret*, *Henry*'s sister. In the beginning of *June*, the duke of *Alva*, came to *Paris*, where he espoused the princess *Elizabeth* for his master. After the ceremony was performed the king held a tournament in the antient manner; and he himself, with the dukes of *Guise*, *Nemours*, and the prince of *Ferrara*, were respondents, to answer all challenges. *Henry* acquitted himself with great honour for two days; but on the evening of the second, which was the thirtieth of *June*, he insisted upon breaking a lance with the count *de Montgomery*, one of the most active men in *France*, at those exercises, and son to *de Lorges*, captain to the king's guards. It was in vain for the queen to endeavour to dissuade *Henry* from this fatal sport, and during the encounter *Montgomery*'s spear shivering in his hand, one of the splinters went through *Henry*'s eye, and the wound proved mortal, but not immediately. He fell from his horse, and was caught by the dauphin, and some other persons present; but it is probable he had no sensation after. The duke of *Savoy*'s marriage with his sister, however, was celebrated on the ninth of *July*, and *Henry* died on the tenth, in the forty-second year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

His death was most unseasonable for his country, which he had just restored to tranquillity, by abandoning the

former maxims of his reign, and adopting those of the constable, which were wise, moderate, and favourable to his protestant subjects. Though not himself learned, yet he patronized learned men; but in the beginning of his reign he was so intent upon his own and his court's tasteless, but expensive, pleasures, that he lavished immense sums. He seems to have acquired a true notion of his people's interest chiefly from experience; but it was owing to his mistress, the dutchess of *Valentinois*, that he came at last to dislike the house of *Guise*. He was brave and active in his own person, and his reign is distinguished by the fortunate reduction of *Calais*, in which some of his greatest predecessors had failed. He was so much under the influence of his mistress, that the queen had no opportunity of discovering the infernal qualities she afterwards practised, though she instilled them into her children, whose education she superintended; and it was, perhaps, owing to the private connections she had formed at her husband's court, that he did not carry his ruinous *Italian* schemes into execution.

and issue. *Catharine de Medici*, at the time of her husband's death, was forty-one years of age, but so exquisite a mistress of dissimulation, that, though the most ambitious woman in the world, she had lived with him upon an easy footing. After being married ten years before she had a child, she bore him ten; five sons and five daughters. The sons were *Francis*, who succeeded him; a duke of *Orleans*, who died in his cradle; *Charles*, who succeeded *Francis*; *Alexander*, who took the name of *Henry*, and succeeded to *Charles*; and *Hercules*, who at his confirmation received the name of *Francis*; and was afterwards successively duke of *Alençon*, *Brabant*, and *Anjou*. The daughters were, *Elizabeth*, married to *Philip II.* of *Spain*; *Claude*, wife to the duke of *Lorraine*; *Margaret*, who was afterwards married to the king of *Navarre*; and two princesses, who died in their cradles.

Francis II.

Great
power of
the *Guises*
in *France*.

THE sudden death of *Henry II.* fundamentally altered all his arrangements. His son *Francis*, who then mounted the *French* throne, was almost as weak in his intellects as in his person, and the *French* monarchy may be said to be directed by the house of *Guise*; all of them, especially its head, men of great abilities, and united in inclination as well as interest. Their sister was queen regent of *Scotland*, and their niece was sovereign of that kingdom, and queen consort of *France*. The relation they bore to that princess was the source of great calamities to her country. They impressed both her and her husband with

with a notion, that queen *Elizabeth*, being an adulterous bastard, had no right to the crown of *England*, which ought to be placed on *Mary's* head; and the dauphin, in his father's life-time, not only took the title of king of *Scotland*, but assumed the arms and title of *England* in his wife's right. *Henry*, before his death, disliked this proceeding so much, that he had actually sent a minister to *Scotland*, to persuade the queen regent to tolerate the reformed religion there, and another minister was ordered to give queen *Elizabeth* all manner of satisfaction, and that the king-dauphin, as he was called, should be obliged to lay aside her title and arms. The death of *Henry* reversed those salutary councils. The queen regent was encouraged to proceed against the protestants, and her brother, the marquis *d'Elbeuf*, was put at the head of an army sufficient for exterminating the reformed religion in that kingdom.

Notwithstanding the power of the *Guises*, they were not without opponents. Next to the king's brother, *Anthony*, king of *Navarre*, and his brother *Lewis*, prince of *Conde*, the duke of *Montpensier*, and the prince of *Roche Guion*, were the first princes of the blood, and highly resented their being excluded, as in fact they were, from the king's councils. The constable and his family, who were very powerful and active, were in the opposition likewise, and admiral *Coligni* was considered as the head not only of the protestant party, but of the moderate *Roman* catholics, who were chiefly directed by the constable. Though the queen dowager was not of a humour to act an underpart in an administration, yet the strong support the *Guises* had in the person of their niece, the queen, the most beautiful and accomplished princess of her age, made her prudently submit to leave the chief management of affairs to the *Guises*, upon their abandoning the dutchess of *Valentinois*, who was forced to betake herself to a private life. The *Guises* exercised their power with unparalleled address. The duke took the direction of military affairs, but they preserved a vast shew of moderation. The constable had retired to his seat at *Chantilly*, and, through the influence of his wife, continued to profess the *Roman* catholic religion; but though he lost his place of master of the household, his eldest son obtained a marshal's baton. *Brisac* was made governor of *Picardy* instead of the prince of *Conde*, to whom the late king had designed that honour, and he was sent with a pompous embassy to the court of *Spain*. Some other popular promotions were made about the same time; for the seals of chancellor being taken from *Bertrandi*, who was now a cardinal, were given to the chancellor, *Olivier*. The use of fire arms was prohibited; the lands which had been alienated from the public were reannexed to the royal domain, and one person was suffered to hold only one place of honour or profit.

Conduct
of the
prince of
Conde.

All their precautions, however, could not avert the public odium. The protestants hated them, and were joined in their opposition by the moderate papists. The prince of *Conde* was poor, enterprizing and active, and in an assembly which was held by the heads of the opposition at *Vendesme*, it was proposed to take arms to deliver the king out of the hands of strangers. The king of *Navarre*, who was a soft, easy prince, and was cajoled with the hopes of being able to recover his dominions, would not agree to any violent measures, and retired to *Bearn*. The malecontents were disconcerted by his defection, but a vast number of military officers, most of them protestants, being now thrown out of their bread, repaired to solicit their arrears and employment at court, where the *Guises* thought themselves so well settled in the administration, that they published an edict, threatening to treat them as traitors if they did not depart within a prefixed time. This edict was so far from having the desired effect, that it blew the flames of discontent, (which the government attributed to protestantism) higher than ever. In the persecuting time of the late reign, *Henry* had ordered seven members of parliament to be put under arrest, and one of them, *Anne du Bourg*, after being committed to the bastile, signed his confession of faith, which was found to be same as that of the protestants. *Du Bourg*, being a man of inflexible integrity and resolution, persisted in his profession; and an inquisitor, one *de Mouci*, with the bishop of *Paris*, and a committee of the parliament, tried and condemned him, but his execution had been respited.

The public commotions at the time we treat of, were so violent, that some popish counsellors of parliament were killed on the streets, which gave such offence to the *Guises*, that on the nineteenth of *December*, *du Bourg* was carried to the common place of execution, where he was hanged, and his body burnt. As he died with prodigious intrepidity, he was considered by his party, as a martyr for liberty as well as religion; and the protestants became now, in a manner, outrageous. The king's health obliged him to go to *Blois*; the *Guises* persuaded him to add to each of his parliaments a chamber for trying and punishing heretics. Those chambers proceeded with such fury, that they got the name of *Chambres ardentes*, or *Burning Chambers*.

Persecu-
tion of
the pro-
testants.

The cruelty of those new courts of inquisition made more proselytes to protestantism than all the sermons of their preachers had done. A general assembly of the protestants was held at *Nantes*, and consisted of a hundred and fifty deputies from the different provinces; and had the protestants preserved their moderation, it might have been fatal to the *Guises*, if not to the *Roman catholic religion* in *France*. The straitened circumstances of the prince of *Conde*,
had

had not allowed him to declare himself openly, the head of the protestants; but he was known to be the soul that animated their party.

The court was then at *Blois*, and it was resolved at this Conspiring meeting to make one *Renaudie*, their avowed agent, but racy of they pitched upon the prince of *Conde*, as their concealed *Amboise* head, or, as they called him, their mute chief. *Renaudie*, defeated who was a man of resolution and address, was sent over to and *England*, where he solicited supplies from *Elizabeth*, who wished, would readily have granted them, had she found that the king of *Navarre* had declared himself for the malecontents. Both she, however, and some *German* princes, gave *Renaudie* so favourable a reception, that the protestants came to a resolution to surprize the court, which was then at *Amboise*, and to force the king to declare the prince of *Conde* lieutenant-general of the kingdom. This conspiracy was conducted with equal art and secrecy, though the execution of it was entrusted with vast numbers. The conspirators agreed to defile in small bodies towards *Amboise*, and to meet at a certain place. They spent almost six months in their consultations and preparations; but a lawyer, one *Peter Annelles*, to whom *Renaudie* entrusted the secret, discovered it to the *Guises*, who were with difficulty brought to believe him. They were amazed at the king's and their own defenceless state. Two or three hundred men, and those not well provided for action, were all the guards the king had about him; and those were to resist five hundred gentlemen, and their numerous attendants, with a thousand veteran regulars under thirty experienced commanders. The *Guises*, however, were neither daunted nor disconcerted, and they made use of the king's name to bring together a body of men, whom the duke headed; and his dispositions were so just, that the conspiracy was defeated. The court had removed from the castle of *Amboise* to *Blois*; but though that removal convinced the conspirators that their plot was discovered, it did not deter them from advancing. The *Guises* were informed of their routs, and cut in pieces their single parties. An officer, one *Pardellian*, came up with the party commanded by *Renaudie*, engaged him singly, and killed him, after a most obstinate resistance. In short, almost all the conspirators were either killed or taken prisoners; and their tortures, executions, and punishments lasted for some weeks.

When we consider the nature of this conspiracy, it is with ex- indefensible on the part of the delinquents, as no charge exemplary could be formed against the *Guises*, who were guilty only cruelty. in the apprehensions of the conspirators. However obnoxious they might be to the protestants, *France* certainly owed them great obligations; and the natural affection which the people there have always paid to their sovereigns, made them look upon this conspiracy as an unprovoked

act of rebellion. It is certain, however, that party rage was at that time, wound up to so incredible a height in *France*, that even the ladies of the court, which piqued itself upon being the most polite of any in *Europe*, were present at the tortures and executions of the rebels, and enjoyed their dying groans. Above twelve hundred perished by the hands of executioners, and old chancellor *Olivier* died with grief at the horrors he beheld. In fact, whatever patriotic pretences the conspirators might hold forth, rebellion as well as religion actuated all their attempts, which were therefore inexcusable.

The
prince of
Conde
tried and
acquitted.

Persecu-
tions of
the pro-
testants
continued

The prince of *Conde*, when the conspiracy was defeated, was at court; but though every man in *France* knew him to be its main spring, yet nothing could be directly proved against him. Even *Renaudie's* secretary, when upon the rack, could not accuse him, and when examined before the council, he spoke with so much spirit and address, that the duke of *Guise* himself said, that he would be his second against any man who would accept the challenge he threw out. This, however, seems to have been the effect of deep dissimulation, to prevent the protestants from breaking into open rebellion, which they probably would have done, had the prince been put to death. He was acquitted, but not daring to trust himself longer at court, he retired to his brother in *Bearn*. The constable had no concern in the conspiracy, the relation of which he communicated to the parliament of *Paris*, who called the duke of *Guise* "the preserver of his country". The heads of the protestants even affected joy at the defeat of the conspiracy, and the court party in their turn, pretended to believe them, by sending them letters to keep all quiet, so far as their interest and influence reached. The queen mother kept a correspondence even with admiral *Coligni*, in *Normandy*, and pressed him to give her his best advice, which he did in so unreserved a manner, that it afterwards operated to his destruction, and death. As her influence was daily gaining ground, through the king's sickly appearance, she had it then in her power to have displaced the *Guises*, but she must have established protestantism. She chose the middle way. She raised *de l'Hospital*, a man respectable for his virtue and abilities, to be chancellor of *France*, and he, in order to prevent the inquisition from being established in his country, sealed the decree of *Romertin*, by which bishops were to judge of heresy, and the civil magistrate to punish it without appeal. The *Guises*, at this time, lost one of their supports by the death of the queen regent of *Scotland*, and *l'Hospital* proposed holding an assembly of the nobility, (or as they are called notables) at *Fontainebleau*. This meeting was very august, and the king was surrounded by a new body guard, that had been raised by the duke of *Guise*. This gave offence, and the constable threatened to hang every

every man of them, as obstructing the communication between the king and his subjects. The duke of *Guise*, and his brother, the cardinal, upon opening the assembly, inveighed, with great spirit and some justice, against the civil principles of the protestants, which, as they alledged, were levelled against the regal authority; but admiral *Coligni*, who had been always a strong advocate for the toleration of protestants, even before he declared himself to be of that persuasion, presented a petition in their behalf, which was seconded by the bishops of *Valens* and *Vienne*, who called for a national council to regulate the affairs of religion, then over-run with ignorance and superstition.

All they could obtain, was, a cessation of the persecution of the protestants till the approaching spring, when an assembly of the states should be called, which by the intrigues of the *Guises*, was appointed to be at *Orleans*. From the complexion of the *French* history, at this time, it appears, that the protestants considered this resolution as a triumph over their antagonists, and they made dispositions accordingly; but they were disappointed by the moderation of the king of *Navarre*, who frustrated an attempt made upon *Lyons* by his brother, the prince of *Conde*. The inhabitants were well affected to the court, and the king was surrounded by his new guards; considerations which daunted many of the protestants. They offered to bring twenty thousand men into the field if the king of *Navarre* would head them; and the court party spared no arts, even to the bribing their mistresses, to prevail with him and his brother the prince of *Conde*, to appear at *Orleans*. Full of confidence, and the strength of their friends, they rejected all solicitations to absent themselves from the assembly; but as soon as they appeared in *Orleans*, the king of *Navarre* was confined to his lodging, and the prince of *Conde* sent to prison as a criminal. Commissioners were named for trying him as such. He appealed to his peers assembled in the parliament of *Paris*; but his appeal was rejected, and he was sentenced to die. The chancellor *l'Hospital* refused to sign his sentence till he had time to deliberate; but the count *de Sancerre* positively refused to sign it at all. No legal hold could be laid upon the king of *Navarre*, and the *Guises* persuaded the king to send for him, and to treat him roughly, so as that he might lose his temper, and give them some pretext for dispatching him on the spot. The king's moderation disappointed them; and the queen mother did not think proper to gratify them by beheading him privately without any process or trial.

The princess of *Conde* petitioned the king for her husband's life, but her petition was rejected with a rudeness saved by which an absolute compliance with the will of the *Guises* alone could dictate. The death of the king proved decisive of the fate of the two princes. He was taken ill, while king.

under

under the hands of his barber, who was dressing his hair. His case being pronounced to be desperate, the *Guises* again importuned the queen mother for the heads of the two princes. Though she was inaccessible to remorse or pity, she took time to deliberate, and in the mean while, she consulted with *Hospital*. He convinced her that so violent a measure would unite the *French* nation against her; and that the only way to render the *Guises* dependent upon her, was to suspend the fate of the king and his brother. She followed his advice; but was careful to make both princes sensible that they owed their lives to her moderation and friendship for their persons. While the king was on his death-bed, she sent for the king of *Navarre*, and obliged him to resign all his pretences to the regency, during the ensuing minority, and that he, and his brother, should be reconciled to the *Guises*. He agreed to both conditions, but to the latter with reluctance; and then the young king, who had taken all the severity shewn to the *Navarre* family upon himself, expired on the fifth of *December*, after reigning seventeen months, and living seventeen years, and ten months.

Character of Francis II. Little can be said of the character of *Francis II.* If he had a will of his own, it was sanguinary, and had his life been prolonged, his reign would probably have been bloody. The queen mother, and the *Guises*, were so much embarrassed at the time of his death, that had it not been for his domestics, who gave it a covering, his body must have been exposed on the streets.

Charles IX.

The queen mother sides with the protestants.

THE countenance of the constable, who did not approve of the measures of the late reign, was necessary for the support of the government under this prince. He was between ten and eleven years of age at the time of his accession to the throne. Parties were so critically balanced, that the constable found no difficulty, when he came to the court at *Orleans*, in breaking the king's new guards. He, the duke of *Guise*, and the marshal *St. Andre*, who was in high reputation with the *Roman* catholic party, soon felt the despotic power the queen mother had acquired, and united to watch it. Sensible of this, she shewed a favourable countenance to the protestants. The king of *Navarre* was nominated lieutenant general of the kingdom, the prince of *Conde* was declared to be innocent, and an assembly of the states was opened on the thirteenth of *December* 1560. Their resolutions were favourable to the liberties of the *Gallican* church, and admiral *Coligni* presented a fresh petition in favour of the protestants; but the interest of the

Roman

Roman catholics was so prevalent, that after long debates, an edict passed, that they should not assemble in the exercise of their religion, even without arms, under pain of death, in the year 1561. The queen mother, in consequence of her new connections, moderated the severity of this edict; but every incident, that now happened about the court of *France*, proceeded from dissimulation.

The prince of *Conde* seemed to be in friendship with the *Guises*, though he was making preparations to destroy them. The king of *Navarre* pretended great zeal for the public, but in reality he was immersed in pleasure and indolence; and though a protestant in his heart, he headed the papists. The queen mother enjoyed the most despotic exercise of power; but refused the invidious title of regent. The *Guises* knew that her favouring the protestants was a measure far from her heart, and did nothing to oppose her; but they advised the young queen dowager, by all means, to repair to her native kingdom of *Scotland*; which she did, though with some difficulty. They pretended to the *German* princes, that they were by no means averse to *Lutheranism*; though they were to *Calvinism*, and they thereby obtained a neutrality from the duke of *Wurtemberg*, and others, during the bloody contest, for which both parties were preparing. The constable, *Montmorency*, was contented to act a second part under the king of *Navarre*; and, however he might approve of the religious tenets of the protestants, he thought their principles in civil affairs dangerous. By this time, the prince of *Conde* had driven the queen mother from her moderation; but so exquisitely did she dissemble, that in an assembly of the states that met at *Pontoise*, the clergy raised a large contribution to the crown, and agreed to a solemn disputation, which was to be managed, on the part of the *Roman* catholics, by the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and on that of the protestants, by *Theodore Beza*, at *Poissy*. Both combatants had their seconds; but, as usual, the disputations aggravated, instead of reconciling, matters, and the affair of religion was left more undetermined than ever.

But this conference, though ineffectual, as to religion, had great consequences, with regard to civil matters. The *Guises* offered to procure a divorce between the king of *Navarre* and his wife, on account of heresy, and to give him in marriage their niece, the queen of *Scots*, and like-wise to procure him from the king of *Spain*, the restitution of his kingdom. This won him entirely to the party of the *Guises*; and on pretence that the protestants were not agreed among themselves, as to the true religion, he professed himself a firm *Roman* catholic. His defection did not damp the prince of *Conde*, who was soon at the head of four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, commanded, under him, by the admiral, and his brother, *d'Andelot*. The queen

queen mother still continued her dissimulation, and had granted, under the name of a pacification, the exercise of their worship to the hugonots, and that pacification proved the source of a bloody war. The duke of *Guise* happening to pass with his retinue through *Passy*, or *Vassy*, a little town, the inhabitants insulted some protestants, who were at their devotions in a barn, and a skirmish ensued. The duke interposing, was wounded in the face, with a stone, and about sixty hugonots being killed, the party construed this scuffle into a breach of the pacification, and all *France* was soon in arms. The triumvirate, by whom is meant the constable, the duke of *Guise*, and the marshal *St. Andre*, (for the name of the king of *Navarre* was all that was of importance about him) carried the king from *Fontainebleau* to *Paris*, and thereby prevented their falling into the prince of *Conde's* hands, which the queen mother would have preferred to her being now reduced, as she was, under the power of the triumvirate. She kept, however, her private correspondence with the prince of *Conde*, and gained over the king of *Navarre* to mediate between him and the triumvirate. A kind of a compromise was accordingly made, and the *Guises*, and the constable agreed to lay down their arms, if the prince of *Conde* would do the like; and to leave the king entirely in the hands of the queen mother and the king of *Navarre*.

The prince of *Conde*, encouraged by the queen mother, who wished above all things to see the triumvirate reduced, broke this compromise, on pretence, that his party would not suffer him to observe it. He took possession of *Orleans*, *Bourges*, *Lyons*, *Poitiers*, *Tours*, *Angiers*, *Angoulême*, *Rouen*, *Dieppe*, *Havre de Grace*, and other places. By his agents, he concluded a treaty with queen *Elizabeth*, and put into her hands *Havre de Grace*, (called by the *English* *Newhaven*) by way of deposit, for the supplies she was to furnish to him and his party. His activity was not greater than that of the catholic party, headed, in appearance, by the king of *Navarre*, as lieutenant-general, but in reality, by the duke of *Guise*. The marshal *St. Andre* retook *Poitiers*, as the king of *Navarre* did *Bourges*. That prince then besieged *Rouen*, which his troops stormed and plundered; but he himself was mortally wounded, and died in a month.

Battle of
Dreux.

By this time, the marshal *St. Andre*, had rejoined the army of the triumvirate, which was now commanded by the constable. The prince of *Conde* marched towards *Normandy*, and both armies met at *Dreux*, a city in the isle of *France*, about forty miles from *Paris*. The hugonot army consisted of eight thousand foot, and four thousand horse, under the prince of *Conde*, admiral *Coligni*, and his brother *d'Andelot*. Thirteen thousand foot, and three thousand dragoons, or gens d'armes, composed the catholic army, the first line of which was commanded by the marshal *St. Andre*,

Andre, the second by the constable, and the last by the duke of *Guise*. The constable was so eager for the sole honour of the day, that he charged precipitately, and in such a direction that he could not be supported, so that he was wounded, defeated, and made a prisoner. The duke of *Guise* had the glory of repairing his error, rallied the broken troops, and falling on the hugonots, while they were intent on plunder, gained the victory, and took the prince of *Conde* prisoner, but with the loss of the marshal *St. Andre*, who was killed in the pursuit. *Coligni*, however, brought off the horse, and the remains of the foot, by a most masterly retreat.

The victory of *Dreux*, rendered the duke of *Guise* more than ever the darling of the *French Roman* catholics. The queen mother was now unable to check him, and she was thought to be little better than a hugonot; but the duke of *Savoy* took advantage of that civil war, and recovered his country from the *French*, while *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*, were in the utmost danger of falling into the hands of the emperor. The duke of *Guise* laid siege to *Orleans*; the reduction of which would have given a mortal blow to the adverse party; but during the siege he was stabbed in the back and killed, by one *Polrot*, a hugonot fanatic, who thought he was doing God good service by the murder. If we except his ambition, and his zeal for the *Roman* catholic religion, this duke was inferior to no man of his age in the accomplishments both of mind and person. He was so fortunate in all he undertook, that the troops thought themselves invincible under his command. The assassin being put to the torture, to discover his accomplices, at first named the prince of *Conde*, the admiral, and *Theodore Beza*, and other chief of the protestants; but he varied so much in his accounts that no regard was had to his discovery. The admiral even desired the queen mother to suspend his execution till they could be confronted together; but he was torn to pieces by horses, before he could retract his confession. The queen mother was far from being displeased with the duke of *Guise's* death, because sensible that the party was resolved to deprive her of her power, if not of her life. The prince of *Conde* was exchanged for the constable, and those two great men had a conference together about an accommodation, by the queen mother's order, but they disagreed; and marshal *Brisac* was sent to conduct the siege of *Orleans*.

The queen mother continued to be indefatigable in her endeavours to put an end to the civil war. At last, she was successful, by granting to the protestants a general pardon, and liberty of conscience; for which they agreed to lay down their arms, to give up the places they had taken, and to renounce their alliance with *England*. The

English

English were then in possession of *Havre de Grace*, and queen *Elizabeth* refusing to give it up, war was formally declared between the two nations. The prince of *Conde* had a promise from the queen mother, of being made lieutenant-general. The siege of *Havre* was formed by him and the constable, and carried on with so much unanimity, all parties uniting against the *English*, that the earl of *Warwick*, who commanded the garrison, was obliged, after a brave defence, to surrender the place, on the twenty-eighth of *July* 1563. The king was then thirteen years and a day old. The parliament of *Paris* would not admit him to be of age, but the parliament of *Rouen* did, and he there held his first bed of justice; and there his mother, upon her knees, surrendered her commission as regent. *Odet de Chatillon*, cardinal bishop of *Beauvois*, assisted at this assembly. He had been struck out of the list of cardinals, for having embraced the protestant religion, and had taken a wife, who likewise was present, and sat near the king and queen, under the title of countess of *Beauvois*; but it is very remarkable, that her husband appeared in his cardinal's habit.

The inexpressible miseries which *France* had suffered during the late civil war, had rendered the return of peace extremely agreeable to all parties. Some regard was now paid to order and decency, which had been entirely banished in the struggle for power; for, in reality, the war was no other. The ambition of the prince of *Conde* had made him renounce the *Roman* catholic religion; but he was now so agreeably flattered by the queen mother, that he returned to his popish connections, and partook of all the diversions of the court, which were wicked, luxurious, and abandoned beyond expression.

The family of *Guise* demand justice.

The family of *Guise* endeavoured to repossess the importance they had lost by the late duke's death, and the cardinal of *Lorraine* still continued to have great interest at court. The late duke of *Guise* had, upon his death-bed, recommended to his family forgiveness of his death, and all injuries; but his wife and children now threw themselves, in deep mourning at the feet of the king, to implore his justice against the duke's murderers, among whom, the admiral was named. He denied the charge, and the matter remained undecided, the king reserving it for his own cognizance. The queen mother had then more power than ever, as she had the king her son's sanction for all she did. She began to abate in her complaisance to the protestants, whom she hated; and they, in return, were not sparing in their reflections upon her person and conduct.

In short, it appears, that from the time of her son's being declared of age, she had laid a deep plan for their extirpation, in which she was to be assisted by the pope, the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Savoy*. His holiness pressed the parliament

parliament of *Paris* to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*, which it did in matters of faith and doctrine, but not of discipline and government; and it was thought the cardinal of *Lorraine* was not displeased at seeing the liberties of the *Gallican* church preserved; because, in case of a revolution in religion, he stood a fair chance of being created patriarch of *France*. The marshal *Brisac*, one of the worthiest men, and ablest generals, in *France*, was now dead, and, in point of power, the queen mother was now without a rival; but stood in need of great caution and management in the conduct of government. She secretly wished for the extermination of the protestants; she saw that they had lost the friendship and good opinion of *Elizabeth*, and that the latter had committed an irreparable fault in not having the treaty of *Chateau-Cambresis* confirmed when the king was at age. She considered, at the same time, that if she should call in the king of *Spain* to her assistance, she might rekindle a civil war, which might end in giving to *France* a new master. She therefore rejected all proposals of that kind; but foreseeing that matters must come to extremities with the protestants, she carried the king in a progress round great part of his kingdom, not only to see how his subjects stood affected towards the catholic religion, but to order several new fortresses, particularly one at *Lyons*, to be built. She intended to have had an interview in *Lorraine* with the emperor of *Germany*; but in that she was disappointed by the vigilance of *Philip* king of *Spain*. Upon her return to *Paris*, she found a negotiation was far advanced between her son's ministers, and those of *Elizabeth*, and that the capitulation of *Havre* was carried into a definitive treaty. This left the queen mother at liberty to pursue her schemes with the greater freedom against the protestants.

When she was at *Roussillon*, in *Dauphiny*, where they Treachery. abounded, she published an edict, prohibiting the protestants from the exercise of their religion within thirty miles court of the court. This was followed by a train of measures *France*. that discovered a wicked, but a deep, policy. Notwithstanding the immense sums which *Philip II.* lavished all over *Europe*, he could not prevent her making an alliance with the *Swiss* cantons; and the newly cemented alliance between her and *Elizabeth* gathered strength every day. The protestants then looked upon the prince of *Conde* as having betrayed them. The admiral, and his brother, were the only two great men of their party, who had not assisted at the siege of *Havre*, and their putting that place into the hands of the *English* had rendered them more odious than ever to the *Roman* catholics. *Charles* was bred up from his earliest infancy in the most rooted aversion to their persons and principles; and had for his companions the duke of *Guise*, and the lords of his faction. *Montmorenci*, son to the

the constable, declared for neither party, and being governor of the isle of *France*, he disarmed the numerous attendants of the cardinal of *Lorraine*, as he was about to enter *Paris*; and killed one of his pages. Both sides appealed to the court; but the queen mother managed with so much art, that her son favoured neither party, and consequently was master of both. This, and various other incidents, particularly the superiority which the *French* party had acquired in *Scotland*, contributed to the queen mother's design, which she afterwards so fatally put into execution. She carried *Charles* to *Bayonne*, where she had an interview with the queen of *Spain*, and the duke of *Alva*; but the subject of it was kept so profoundly secret, that the protestants more than suspected it was directed against them. One of *Elizabeth's* spies, however, discovered it, and when *Charles* left *Bayonne*, he took a progress into *Bearn*, where he obliged the queen of *Navarre* to reinstate the catholics in their churches, and to restore them to a share in the magistracy; an arrangement which he carried into execution, through all the other protestant provinces of his kingdom.

Hitherto the queen mother had preserved an appearance of moderation, as the papists were at least equally entitled with the protestants to the countenance of her son, and the execution, as well as protection, of the laws. The fixing the new year to the first of *January* was owing to her, and she made several other excellent regulations for the benefit of the nation. In all this she was assisted by that excellent magistrate, the chancellor *l'Hospital*; but he was kept in profound ignorance of all the infernal measures that were on foot against the protestants. Like an honest and wise man, he applied himself to the execution of a plan, the noblest that had ever been formed for the perfection and security of the *French* government.

The ordinance of Moulins published. Upon the return of the king to *Paris*, in the beginning of the year 1565, by his advice deputies were summoned to *Moulins*, from all the parliaments and head courts of justice in the kingdom; and there the famous ordinance known by the name of that place, consisting of fourscore and six articles, was received and published. This work does honour to the *French* legislation, both for its noble principles and its elegant composition. At the same time and place, the quarrel between *Montmorenci*, and the cardinal of *Lorraine*, and that between the admiral and the duke of *Guise*, were seemingly compromised, but in reality only skinned over. The queen mother's exquisite dissimulation, led her to make confidants of the prince of *Conde*, and the admiral. She complained to them of the conduct of *Philip*, who was intriguing in all the courts of *Europe*, to the diminution of her son's credit; and that, at the same time, he was

was practising upon the *Roman catholic* party, in *France*, for the destruction of the protestants. To give them a farther proof of her rectitude, she even went so far as to reduce the expences of the court and army. At the same time, she dispatched a trusty agent to inform *Philip* that he needed to take no umbrage at the countenance she shewed to the heads of the hugonots, as she did it only to bring them the more securely and easily within her toils. All her management, however, could not blind the admiral; and, by his advice, the prince of *Conde* insisted with the queen mother, that troops should be raised to oppose the duke of *Alva*, who was marching from *Italy* at the head of a great army, under pretence of quelling the commotions in the *Low Countries*; but might enter *France*, which he would find unprovided to receive him. The queen seemed to listen with great complacency to his representations, and gave orders for raising six thousand *Swiss*; whom, in reality, she intended to employ not against the *Spaniards*, but the protestants.

The constable, *Montmorenci*, continued still to observe a kind of neutrality towards all parties, and finding it impracticable to resign his place to his son, he offered it to the prince of *Conde*; but the duke of *Anjou*, brother to the king, declared himself his rival. This palpable evasion of the prince's request, at last entirely opened his eyes. He became sensible that the queen mother had been all along dissembling, and that he and his party stood tottering on the brink of ruin. The march of the duke of *Alva* into the *Low Countries*, had forced the prince of *Orange*, who had discovered the deep laid designs against the protestants, to fly into *Germany*, while the counts *Egmont*, and *Horn*, were made prisoners, and all the *Low Countries* were filled with the most bloody executions, not only of the protestants, but of all who had dared to murmur against the *Spanish* tyranny.

The success of the duke of *Alva* encouraged the queen mother to be less reserved towards the *French* hugonots. In 1566, *Charles* expressed himself to be displeased with the countenance which they had received from the *German* princes, or that they should dare to interfere in affairs between him and them. The prince of *Conde*, and the admiral, being again united, re-acted the part which had been attempted at *Amboise*. The court lay then at *Monceaux*, with a very slight guard, and it was agreed that the protestants should, with all imaginable secrecy, repair in arms to *Rosoy*, at a small distance, from whence they were to surprise the court. It happened fortunately that the count of *Castelnau* was then on his return from the *Low Countries*, where he had been executing a commission with the duke of *Alva*. He fell in with some protestants, by whom he discovered the conspiracy, and the king, and queen mother, escaped to *Meaux*, of which the constable *Montmorenci*, who did not believe *Castelnau's* intelligence, was governor. Being arrived at *Meaux*, the six thousand *Swiss* under *Pfiffer*, who

The duke of *Anjou* lieutenant general of the kingdom.

Narrow escape of the court from being surprised.

who lay in the neighbourhood, marched thither by the king's order in the night-time. On *Michaelmas-Day*, when the conspiracy was to have been executed, the meeting of the protestants was so numerous at *Rosoy*, that they might still have surprized *Meaux*, had they not suffered themselves to be amused ; but the *Swiss* coming up, their colonel undertook to escort the court to *Paris*, though he had no horse ; which he accordingly performed with great courage and conduct, his march being all the way skirted by the conspirators, who were strong in cavalry. This brave action of that body was rewarded with a present of a month's pay to every man.

Activity
and am-
bition of
the prince
of Conde.

The escape of the court was far from daunting the prince of *Conde*. He knew that queen *Elizabeth* had lately demanded the rendition of the town of *Calais*, which being flatly refused, had given the cardinal of *Beauvais*, who had secretly repaired to her court, encouragement to hope that she would assist the protestants. The springs of the events that followed have never been sufficiently discovered, through the impenetrable conduct of the queen mother. It is however, certain, that the prince of *Conde* acted with so much fury, that he gave the most moderate among his own party very disagreeable apprehensions of his designs. It is said, that he even coined money with the title of "*Lewis XIII. the first Christian king of France ;*" but it is doubtful whether those pieces (many of which are still extant) were struck by his order, or by the zeal of his fanatical friends. It is no wonder if such excesses reduced his army to three thousand men, with whom he surprized the town of *St. Dennis*, and burnt down the windmills that were in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, which he kept blocked up for six weeks. During that time, the queen mother, by the specious concessions she offered to make, had quieted the minds of many of the chief hugonots, but had dispatched *Castelnau* afresh to the duke of *Alva*, to prevail with him to march a body of *Spanish* foot to *Senlis*, where they were to be joined by some *French* troops; that the prince having them in his rear, and the constable, whose army consisted of eighteen thousand men, in the front, might be utterly defeated.

Battle of
St. Dennis.

The duke of *Alva* excused himself from sending the troops required, because the queen of *England's* fleet was then threatening a descent upon the *Low Countries*. Upon *Castelnau's* return with this refusal, the constable made dispositions for attacking the prince, who was far from declining an engagement, though he had but twelve hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and the Battle of *St. Dennis* was fought on the tenth of *November*: It lasted for several hours, and all the catholics could do, notwithstanding the vast superiority of their numbers, was to carry away
the

the name of victors. The constable *Anne de Montmorenci*, where he received some mortal wounds from one *Stuart*, a *Scotchman*, constable who had deserted from his army; but the constable, is killed. with the pommel of his sword, beat out some of his teeth broke his jaw bone, and knocked him to the ground. His body was carried off by his son and some of his friends, and he died in *Paris* four days after, with equal resolution and piety. He was undoubtedly one of the worthiest men that ever was about any court; and he came at last to be one of the wisest. He had great private failings, being morose, and intractable, but they were, perhaps, owing to his knowledge of the worthless characters of all parties. He piqued himself upon being the first *Christian* baron in christendom, and upon his steady loyalty to the crown. Though he professed the *Roman* catholic religion, yet he always was for moderate measures, and therefore disliked the *Guises*. He took up arms in the last scene of his life chiefly from the indignation he conceived against the prince of *Conde's* excesses. Though the queen mother was far from being displeased at his death, yet his body was interred with royal honours in the church of *Notre Dame*, at *Paris*.

The affairs of the protestants would have been now desperate, had not the admiral been the most fruitful in expedients of any man in his time. Supported by the favourable reception which queen *Elizabeth* had given their agents, he had bargained for ten thousand *German* troops, who were to enter *France* under prince *Casimir*, son to the elector palatine, and to join the remains of the hugonot army in *Lorraine*. Their junction was accordingly formed at *Pont a Mousson*, at which place, the hugonot army arrived in the most deplorable want of every thing, even to shoes and stockings. The prince of *Conde* had promised the auxiliaries a hundred thousand crowns; but he himself had scarce money to buy the necessaries of life. Such, however, was the zeal of his party, that they collected all the money that was left them, to give it to their mercenaries, which, with the reliance they had on *Elizabeth's* assurances, stilled their clamours, but at the expence of the country, which was most miserably depopulated for their subsistence.

The politics of the queen mother were over refined. Instead of giving the *Roman* catholic army, after the death of the constable, an able head to command it, she persuaded her son to declare the duke of *Anjou* his lieutenant-general. That prince, though brave, was young and unexperienced, and being sent at the head of the army to harass that of the enemy, the miseries of the country were increased, by his troops every where plundering, massacring, or executing the hugonots.

In the beginning of *February* 1568, the hugonot and *German* army, by forced marches, arrived before *Chartres*, which they besieged. The prince of *Conde* had always the

The protestants join their *German* auxiliaries
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A pacification succeeds.

weakness to be accessible to proposals for treating; and notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the admiral, he swallowed the bait thrown out to him by the queen mother, as *Chartres* was on the point of surrendering. A treaty was accordingly concluded; by which the pacification formerly agreed on was renewed, and rendered perpetual, and general throughout the kingdom. The places taken on both sides were to be restored, and the king engaged to pay the arrears due to the *Germans*. It was plain to all *France*, that the queen mother never intended to observe that peace, and that she had concluded it, only to save *Chartres*, and thereby to prevent her son and herself being driven out of *Paris*; and the people, immediately on its being declared at *Longjumeau*, called it the Little Peace. After all, the prince of *Conde* was not indefensible in concluding it. His *German* auxiliaries were every day threatening to mutiny; the protestant cause was to appearance ruined in the *Low Countries*; the money of *Philip* had gained him a strong party in *Germany*; two thousand *Spanish* foot, under the count of *Aremberg*, were marching against him from the *Low Countries*, and he had received little or no money from *Elizabeth*, who had paid to the elector palatine all she had engaged for. Surrounded by so many difficulties, it was no wonder that the prince of *Conde* agreed to the peace, which was no other than a smothering of the war. It was, however, so agreeable to the court, that the king borrowed a hundred and eighty thousand crowns from the republic of *Venice*, and the princes of *Italy*, to discharge the *German* arrears.

But is
soon
broken.

The protestants were so much convinced of the inefficacy of the peace, that most of them refused to render up the towns they were possessed of; and *Rochelle*, in particular, shut its gates against the king's troops. For six months, the same disturbances prevailed all over *France* as in time of declared war. The fields were uncultivated; the open towns reduced to heaps of ruins; assassinations and executions filled every corner of their cities and fortified places; and, according to the accounts of those who lived at the time, both the public and private miseries of *France* were inexpressible. The queen mother thought only of her own security, and admitted to her secret council only *Lewis la Lansae*, who was then chancellor; *John de Marvilliere*, bishop of *Orleans*, *Sebastian de l'Aubespine*, bishop of *Limoges*; *Henry de Mesme*, the president of *Biragne*; and *Villeroy*, the secretary of state. The great subject of their deliberations was to get into their hands the heads of the hugonots, who still held out, and to reduce their towns. A vast number of executions of the hugonots were every day performing, and the queen mother pretended that their crimes did not consist in their religion, to which she was not at all averse, but in their treasonable practices against the state.

state. Intelligence arriving that the admiral and his brother, had paid a visit to the prince of *Conde*, marshal *de Tavannes* had an order, to make them both prisoners, if possible. He is said to have apprized them of their danger, and it is said certain, they saved themselves by flying to *Rochelle*, from whence *d'Andelot* went over in a sailor's habit to *England*, to solicit succours from queen *Elizabeth*.

The marshal *de Tavannes*'s party defeated an officer, who had been left with a few men to cover the prince's retreat, and the queen mother lost her usual moderation, when she heard, that the scheme had miscarried. Suspecting that the chancellor was in the secret, she displaced him, and the seals were given to the bishop of *Orleans*; but the protestant cause seemed now to revive. Queen *Elizabeth* opened her kingdom as a retreat for all the persecuted hugonots, and the informations which she received from the prince of *Conde*, as to the state of protestantism on the continent, were so important, that notwithstanding her natural frugality, she lent him a hundred thousand angels, ammunition, and a large train of artillery. The vast advantage which *Rochelle*, in point of situation, independency, and riches, had over any other city belonging to the hugonots, rendered it their head quarters. Thither the queen of *Navarre* carried her son, young *Henry*, prince of *Bearn*, afterwards the glorious *Henry IV.* and he was received as their head. *D'Andelot* collected the troops beyond the *Loire*, and carried them to *Rochelle*. The queen mother, as usual, had recourse to negotiating. In the winter, she made offers to the prince of *Conde*, who had now marched with an army to *Soissons*, but the negotiation came to nothing. The royal army under the duke of *Anjou* was excellently well officered. The marshal *de Tavannes* was second general in command. The marshal *de Cossé*, and *Biron*, who was afterwards a marshal, served in the same army, and in a council of war it was resolved to fight the prince of *Conde*, before he could be joined by a body of *German* auxiliaries, whom he had taken into pay upon the queen of *England*'s credit. They came up with him on the thirteenth of *March*, at a little village called *Jarnac*, belonging to the district of *Rochelle*, in *Angoulesme*. The prince of *Conde*, had by accident broke his leg a day or two before; but found he could not avoid fighting. A battle ensued, in which the duke of *Anjou*, or rather the marshal *de Tavannes*, was victorious, fourteen hundred of the hugonots, and two hundred of the royalists being killed. The prince of *Conde*, after fighting with the utmost resolution and intrepidity, was wounded and taken prisoner; but being carried to a little distance from the field, he was shot through the head by the baron *de Montesquieu*.

If we take the character of this prince from the historians of the time, his body was a contrast to his mind, which was as accomplished as the other was contemptible.

If we consult facts, and rely on the truth of history, without being swayed by partial or prepossessed, authorities; all that can be allowed him is valour, dissimulation, and activity in forming a party. His conduct towards queen *Elizabeth* was impolitic and indefensible, and his weakness for women, rendered him perpetually the dupe of the queen mother, who had always about her court syrens, as they were called, to charm secrets out of her enemies. One madame *Limaie*, had an ascendancy over the prince of *Conde*, which was of great service to the court; and to this foible was owing his inconstancy, and the perpetual facility he discovered in being amused with negotiations. Upon his death, the admiral took the command of the army, and made a most admirable retreat into *Poitou*, after throwing garrisons into the strong places held by his party.

The protestant cause declines.

The duke of *Deux Ponts*, was a *German* prince, who had engaged in the protestant cause, and had begun his march to join the prince of *Conde's* army, when the battle of *Jarnac* was fought. It was the month of *May* before his junction was effected with the admiral, who besieged *Poitiers*. The place was defended by the duke of *Guise*, whose accomplishments, both civil and military, equaled, if not excelled, those of his father. Every action and measure now proved adverse to the protestants. Though the admiral was brave, cool, and possessed almost of every quality of a great and a good man, and though he had more than once saved the protestant army by the excellent retreats he made, yet he was unequal to the command in chief. The brave defence made by the duke of *Guise* enabled the duke of *Anjou* to besiege *Chastelleraut*; upon which, the admiral, who had lost four thousand men, raised the siege of *Poitiers*; and he, the vidame of *Chartres*, with the count of *Montgomery* were declared rebels by the parliament. He was afterwards beaten by the duke of *Anjou* at *St. Cler*, and on the third of *October* he lost the battle of *Montcontour* in *Poitou*, which he was obliged to fight, through a mutiny of his *German* troops. His men behaved ill in this battle, and he lost all his baggage and artillery. The glory arising from the action was acquired by *Tavannes*, and the protestant cause seemed to be expiring, when the victorious army besieged *St. Jean d'Angeli*.

Piles commanded the garrison, and the defence he made was equal to the importance of his trust, upon which the very existence of the protestant cause in *France* depended. The king, and queen mother came to the siege, and orders were given to storm the place, but the besiegers were beat off, and it was resolved to reduce it by famine. This had its effect, and on the second of *December*, *Piles*, to prevent his garrison from perishing, made dispositions for forcing his way through the enemy's army, after again and again re-

fusing

fuling to treat with so faithless a crew as the royalists were. *Biron* interposed, and *Piles* having a good opinion of him, he took his word for the performance of the capitulation, which was honourable; and he marched out with nine hundred men, the remains of two thousand. The repeated, and seemingly mortal, blows, which the protestants had received, did not discourage the admiral, nor the heads of his party. The vidame of *Chartres*, who was in *England*, prevailed on queen *Elizabeth* to advance a considerable sum on the queen of *Navarre's* jewels; and, that she might gain some breathing time to the protestants, she encouraged a proposal of marriage, which had been made on the part of the queen mother, between her, and the duke of *Anjou*. The incomparable queen of *Navarre* suffered her son to be present in the most hazardous actions; and it was in that unfortunate army of the protestants, that *Henry the Great* was initiated in the art of war.

The protestant cause, which was thought to be expiring, but is re-
was, all of a sudden, reanimated by the spirit of its leaders. *Rochelle* had been long blocked up both by sea and land; but *queen Elizabeth*.
Sore, a protestant pirate, that is, one who subsisted by plundering his enemies, after they had left him no other way of living, forced the blockade by sea. *De la Noue*, an excellent hugonot officer, beat the catholics by land. The count of *Montgomery* raised as much money upon the estates of the royalists, about *Tholouse*, as paid the *German* mercenaries in his army, and was joined by the prince of *Bearn*, and the young prince of *Conde*, after a hazardous and difficult march, with a considerable body of horse and foot. They threw a bridge over the *Gironne*, in order to besiege *Bordeaux*; but it was broken down by *Monluc*, and the protestant army was again in danger of perishing, if the admiral had not undertaken to march twelve hundred miles at its head, to join a fresh body of *German* auxiliaries. The march was difficult, fatiguing, and dangerous beyond expression. They plundered fifty towns, houses, and villages, and laid a hundred under contribution; and they marched as far as *Arnai le-Duc*, in *Burgundy*, before they were stopt by the marshal *de Cossé*, at the head of the duke of *Anjou's* army, who was then indisposed. *De Cossé* had with him ten thousand good troops, and a train of artillery. The protestants had not with them a single cannon, and their numbers did not exceed four thousand; but the admiral made so excellent a disposition, that he beat the marshal, though he durst not pursue him, and continued his march, which pointed towards *Paris*.

The negotiations between the court and the protestants were all this while carrying on, with equal dissimulation, perhaps, on both sides, but with less treachery on that of the protestants. The latter demanded terms that were due only to a victorious party. The queen mother advised

Negotia-
tions.

her son to grant them, and a peace was signed on the eighth of *August*, at *St. Germain-en Laye*. By this peace, the protestants were to retain possession, for two years, of *Rochelle*, *la Charite*, *Montauban*, and *Coignac*, the four most important places they had in *France*. They were reinvested in all their estates, places, and dignities; all edicts, to their prejudice, were recalled, and all in their favour, confirmed. The truth is, *Charles*, though no more than twenty years of age, outwitted the admiral, one of the most clear sighted noblemen of his time. He pretended that he had emancipated himself from the fascinating power of the queen mother, and the *Guises*, who wanted to render him subservient to *Spain*, and that he was resolved to reign in the hearts of all his subjects. The admiral believed him, and the deception was favoured by every measure of the king, who gave orders for performing the articles of the treaty with the most scrupulous punctuality. His dissimulation went so far, that it imposed upon the *Guises*, and the court of *Spain*, till they were undeceived by the queen mother; and the public expected a sudden alteration of affairs, especially in point of religion.

and marriages.

Preparations for the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The marriage between *Charles* and *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, the daughter of the emperor *Maximilian II.* which had been long in dependence, now took place, at *Meziers*; and other great espousals were in agitation. Don *Sebastian*, king of *Portugal*, by his ambassador, courted the princess *Margaret*, sister to *Charles*, who perceiving that she had an intrigue with the duke of *Guise*, drove him from his court; and, to cool the king's fury, either affected or real, he married another lady. *Charles* then declared that he intended to give his sister in marriage to the prince of *Bearn*; and he appeared, at this time, so much the object of his peoples love and reverence, so much esteemed and courted by foreign powers, that there was the greatest reason to believe that the sentiments he had adopted were real, as they were attended with so much lustre and happiness. He even refused, for fear of giving offence to the protestants, to renew his family's favourite league with the *Turks*. He approved of the admiral supporting, against *Spain*, the protestant cause in the *Low Countries*; and he engaged him to send count *Lodowick*, of *Nassau*, the prince of *Orange's* brother, to him, in disguise, that he might more safely confer with him about certain points for the interests of the *Orange* family, and the protestant religion. The count accordingly attended him, and *Charles* planted in his mind such a conviction of his sincerity, as won over the admiral to be of the same opinion, and he repaired to court with only fifty gentlemen to attend him. He was charmed with the conversation of the king, who had great natural talents, and discoursed better than any man in his dominions could, of his true interests, especially in supporting the protestants in the *Low Countries* against the power of *Spain*. He loaded the admiral with

with the most affectionate careſſes. He called him his father, and re-eſtabliſhed him in all his penſions. The admiral had leave to retire to his houſe at *Chatillon*, and he went backwards and forwards to court without any conſtraint, while the king was heaping new favours on his head. In ſhort, the eccleſiaſtics who were not in the ſecret thought the king was on the point of declaring himſelf a proteſtant, and the houſe of *Guiſe* trembled at his art and abilities.

The time approaching when the great blow was to be ſtruck, the queen of *Navarre*, and her ſon the prince of *Bearn*, were invited to court, on pretence of the latter's propoſed marriage with the king's ſiſter. The queen, though a lady of great penetration, was, with the reſt of the party, impoſed upon by *Charles*, who, together with his mother, met her at *Blois*, and overpowered her with marks of their tenderneſs and reſpect. At night the king aſked his mother, whether he had not played his part well, and on her adviſing him to perſevere, he answered, that he would bring them all into his net. In a few days the queen of *Navarre* died; but tho' the enemies of *Charles*, and his mother, pretended that ſhe was poiſoned, that charge is fully refuted by the heads of the party remaining ſtill at court after her body had been opened, when it appeared that her death was occaſioned by an abſceſs; but notwithſtanding the incredible diſſimulation of *Charles* and his mother, the plain and ſenſible part of the proteſtants, who underſtood nothing of courtly refinements, apprehended ſome dreadful cataſtrophe, and ſent repeated intimations to the admiral and his friends to beware. They were laughed at for their ſimplicity, and many of them left the court, becauſe, as they ſhrewdly obſerved, it treated them too well. *Charles* heard of their apprehenſions, and ſought to efface them by entering into their concerns in a manner ſo ſerious, that he could not be ſuſpected of duplicity. He more than performed all that he had promiſed to the family of *Orange*, and he employed *Teligni*, one of the moſt promiſing young gentlemen in *France*, and lately married to the admiral's daughter, to bring his father-in-law to court, which he did, that he might conſult him concerning a declaration of war againſt *Spain*, and the march of the troops towards the *Low Countries*. He gave him, about the ſame time, a year's revenue of the eccleſiaſtical livings of his brother, the cardinal, who was now dead.

On the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*, that *Charles* might put his ſincerity out of doubt with the moſt ſcrupulous, the marriage ceremony between the prince of *Bearn*, who, by his mother's death, was king of *Navarre*, and the princeſs *Margaret*, was performed by the cardinal of *Bourbon*. She was ſo averſe to the marriage, that ſhe reſuſed to give her conſent, by words, but her brother, who ſtood behind her, forced her to give a nod, which was held valid. The rejoicings

History of
the ſame.

joicings at the marriage held for three days; and on the twenty-second of *August*, when the admiral was returning to court, a gun was discharged at him from a window, which struck off one of his fingers, and wounded him in the arm. This assassination had almost destroyed all the deep laid schemes of the king. The admiral himself was startled, his friends advised him to leave *Paris*, and offered, if he was stopt, to carry him out of it by force. A visit which *Charles* paid him in the afternoon dissipated all his apprehensions, if he had any; but the accident alarmed the queen mother so much, that she resolved, now, to lose no time, in striking the long meditated blow.

Its execu-
tion.

The duke of *Anjou*, who, young as he was, was almost as exquisite a dissembler as his brother, the duke of *Nevers*, the grand prior, who was natural brother to the king, the duke of *Guise*, the marshal *de Tavannes*, and the count *de Retz*, were called to council by the queen mother; and the eve of *St. Bartholomew's* day was pitched on for a general massacre of all the protestants in *France*; the most horrid fact, (all circumstances considered) that is, perhaps, to be met with in history. At first, it was resolved to have included the marshals *Montmorenci*, and *d'Amville*, in the number of the proscribed, only for favouring the hugonots; but, they were saved at the request of the duke of *Nevers*, and *Tavannes*; and the execution of the massacre within *Paris* was committed to the duke of *Guise*, while orders were sent for the protestants undergoing the like massacre through all the cities and provinces of *France*. So execrable and bloody a design, formed by a woman whom the protestants had never provoked, and by a young prince, bred up in a court, where love and luxury were the only arts that were cultivated, have induced some writers to pretend, that *Charles* felt remorse, immediately before the execution of the massacre, but that it was stifled by his mother. Others, upon better grounds, assign to him a greater share of guilt than to her. The signal was to be the ringing of a bell at midnight. The guards and militia were put under arms, and nothing can give us a more strong picture of the detestable influence of religion, than the court's daring to entrust the execution of such a scheme, to men who could have no quarrel, but of religion, with those whom they were about to butcher. The duke of *Guise*, attended by a party of *Swiss Roman catholic* guards, his uncle the duke of *Aumale*, and the grand prior, upon the toll of the bell, went to the admiral's house, which they forced open, and one *Besme*, running up stairs, found him at prayers, and ran him through the body with his sword. It would disgrace the page of history to relate the indignities with which his venerable remains were treated, and which shewed an impotence of revenge beyond all credibility.

Murder of
the admi-
ral.

The

The intendant of *Paris* had ordered that all the windows of the city should be illuminated when they heard the fatal knell. The attendants of the king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Conde*, who lodged in the *Louvre*, were massacred in presence of the king and queen mother; and *Charles* seeing some endeavouring to escape across the river, shot at them with his long gun. The murderers were equally busy all that night, and next day, in other parts of the city, where some thousands were massacred; but the precise number seems not to have been ascertained. It is said, that the whole number butchered in *Meaux*, *Orleans*, *Troyes*, *Tholouse*, *Lyons*, and *Rouen*, in two months, (for so long the massacre continued) amounted to thirty thousand. Some of the magistrates, however, had the spirit to refuse to obey the inhuman orders, and three of the cautionary towns given to the protestants, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, and *Coignac*, opened their gates as asylums for their persecuted brethren; but *la Charite* was surprized by the king's troops, and its protestant inhabitants murdered.

When the first heat of this massacre was over, *Charles* The mas-
called before him the king of *Navarre* and the prince of sacre justifi-
Conde, whom he had forced to be spectators of the bloody fied by
scenes in the massacre, and required them to abjure pro- *Charles*.
testantism. The king not only complied, but signed an
order, (which was not obeyed) prohibiting the exercise of
the hugonot religion within his dominions. The prince of
Conde was more obstinate, though the king told him his
fate was comprized in three words, the mass, death, or the
bastile. At last, he followed the example of his chaplain,
who had been prevailed upon to abjure. *Charles*, at first,
affected to lay the blame of the massacre upon the duke of
Guise's over-forward zeal; but, on the twenty-eighth of
August, he made a merit of his having himself been the
author of the tragedy. He repaired to his parliament,
where the members congratulated him upon the perform-
ance; and, by his order, the process of the dead admiral,
Coligni, on pretence of his being engaged in a conspiracy
to place the crown of *France* on the prince of *Conde's* head,
was drawn up. The admiral was condemned, and execut-
ed in effigy. Two of his friends, *Briguemaut*, and *Ca-*
vagnes, were tried likewise for being his accomplices, and,
after conviction, they suffered death at the common place
of execution. The zeal of the parliament even went so
far as to order an annual commemoration of *St. Bartho-*
lomew's day; but the chancellor, *l'Hospital*, detested it; nor
was the day ever observed but with horror. The ingenious
treachery and dissimulation of the court was not sufficient,
however, to trepan all the objects of its fury; for the
count of *Montgomery* escaped out of *Paris* to *England*. The
house of the *English* ambassador, *Walsingham*, was ordered
by *Charles* to be held as a sanctuary for all the *English*; and
Walsingham

Walsingham thanked the king for the favour that had been shewn him. At the same time, he put his court on their guard, against the deceitful practices of *Charles*, who, he said, was in a secret confederacy with the king of *Spain*, to deprive the queen of her crown, and extirpate the protestant religion.

Siege of
Rochelle
under-
taken,

Strozzi was then lying with a fleet before *Rochelle*, and *Charles* sent *la Houe*, an officer of great reputation, and a firm protestant, to persuade the *Rochellers* to yield to his authority. He performed his commission with admirable address. He vehemently exhorted the citizens to submit, upon proper security being given them for the enjoyment of their religion and liberties; but that not being proposed, they raised additional fortifications, and prepared to defend themselves. Queen *Elizabeth* knew the importance of the place; but she had made a late treaty with *France*, which disabled her from giving any open assistance to the *Rochellers*; nor would she even suffer her subjects, who had associated themselves for that purpose, to send them succours. The *French* court, however, was so fully convinced of her supporting them underhand, that they threatened to send an army into *Scotland* under the duke of *Maine*. The antipathy which the protestants had conceived against the *Roman* catholics, since the massacre, was now arisen to such a height, that they disdained the least communication with that persuasion. The obstinacy of the court, and the zeal of the catholics, were equal to those of the protestants; and *France* was once more filled with blood and rapine. The marshal *d'Amville* reduced *Sommiers*, but at such an expence of troops that he could undertake nothing during the remainder of the campaign. *Sancerre* was besieged by *le Chastre* for eight months, and obtained a capitulation, after being brought to such extremity, that a father is said to have subsisted upon the dead body of his daughter, and two thousand of the besieged died of hunger. The marquis *de Villars* overawed the province of *Guienne*, and the strength of the hugonots was once more shut up in *Rochelle*.

Strozzi, and the baron *de la Garde*, commanded the siege by sea. The duke of *Anjou* commanded the grand army by land, and under him served the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Alençon*, the prince of *Conde*, and the most experienced generals in *France*, with the flower of her nobility. The siege was carried on with prodigious fury. The court had come to a resolution, that as soon as *Rochelle* should be taken, the duke of *Guise* should invade *England*; but *Walsingham* discovered it by corrupting one of the *Scotch* ministers servants. *Elizabeth* dissembled her knowledge of this secret, and gave fair words to the *French* ambassador; but she suffered the count of *Montgomery*, who was still in *England*, to equip a fleet of privateers for the relief of the place.

It

It had sustained a vast variety of assaults, in one of which, the duke of *Aumale* lost his life; but it cannot be said to have been reduced to extremity, because it was not so well blocked up by sea, as to hinder the friends of the besieged from supplying them with stores and provisions of every kind. With those they were better supplied than their besiegers were, for hunger and diseases cut off four and twenty thousand of the duke of *Anjou's* troops.

On the nineteenth of *April* 1573, the count of *Montgo-* its advance-
mery appeared with his Squadron before *Rochelle*. His targeous
 arrival had been foreseen, and such preparations were made capitula-
 to receive him, that he sent an agent to implore farther tion.
 succours from *Elizabeth*, but she refused them and treated
 him with great harshness. The siege was then renewed
 with more fury than ever, and a *French* gentleman, *de*
Vigne, saved the duke of *Anjou's* life, by receiving in his
 body a shot which he saw aimed against him. While the
 fate of *Rochelle* was thus suspended, an express came from
Mouluc, bishop of *Valens*, the *French* minister at *Warsaw*,
 that he had prevailed with the *Polish* protestants to join the
French party in electing the duke of *Anjou* king of *Poland*,
 on condition of the *Rochellers* being left in possession of their
 liberties and religion. This brought on a treaty, which
 terminated in a renewal of the pacification, by which the
 privileges and religion of the besieged were secured; but the
Rochellers were obliged to submit to the formality of invit-
 ing the duke to enter their city, which, as had been pre-
 concerted, he declined doing. The protestants, notwith-
 standing the siege was raised, remained still as mistrustful
 of the court as ever, because they knew all the favour that
 had been shewn them was extorted.

However fond the duke of *Anjou* might have been of his The duke
 new dignity, his friends soon wrought him into a dislike of of *Anjou*
 reigning over a nation of barbarians. The truth is, the chosen
French court was now miserably divided. *Charles* entertain- king of
 ed a jealousy of a partiality discovered by his mother for *Poland*,
 the duke of *Anjou*. His suspicion rose to such a height that and leaves
 he could not conceal his joy at the duke's approaching de- *France*.
 parture, nor could he forbear telling the queen mother,
 that one kingdom could not hold them both. The duke, on
 the other hand, though he had been always at the head of
 an army, was immersed in sensuality, a slave to the most
 infamous connections, and desperately in love with the
 princess of *Conde*. But those considerations were at last
 overcome, and he yielded to the instances of the *Polish*
 ambassadors, by setting out for that kingdom. His de-
 parture opened a vast career of ambition for the duke of
Alençon, the same prince whom queen *Elizabeth* had so long
 flattered with the hopes of marrying her. He was a weak,
 unsteady man, but brave, treacherous and ambitious.
Montmorenci, who was a favourite with queen *Elizabeth*,
 put

A conspi-
racy of
the pro-
testants.

put himself at the head of the *French* patriots, or politiques, as they were called. They pretended to look on public matters; not through the medium of religion, but of patriotism and humanity; and that therefore there was a necessity of opposing all who favoured the doctrine of massacres, which plainly pointed at the king, the queen-mother and the house of *Guise*. The king of *Navarre*, and the prince of *Condé*, favoured this association; and the *French* protestants depended so much upon it, that they presented to the king a writing, containing demands, which the queen-mother said the late prince of *Condé* durst not have made, had he been at the head of fourscore thousand men. The court, however, did not venture to arrest the deputies who presented this bold paper, which gave the protestants fresh spirits. It had been agreed that the duke of *Alençon* should, with his own consent, undergo a seeming force, and then be put at the head of the hugonots; and dispositions for that purpose were far advanced; but the court discovered it, some say, by the duke's own imprudence, who revealed the whole to his mother.

The protestants all over *France* were then in agitation; and a party of horse had advanced as far as *St. Germain*, to have made the duke prisoner; but he pretended he was not ready, and they returned. The king gave orders for raising three armies; but he refused to give the post of lieutenant-general, which had been held by the duke of *Anjou*, to the duke of *Alençon*. The longer the queen-mother dived into the conspiracy, the more formidable she found it. She pressed for the consummation of the duke's marriage with queen *Elizabeth*, who evaded it with an art which could not impose upon the other. It is certain that *Elizabeth*, at that time, kept a secret correspondence with the king of *Navarre*, as well as the duke of *Alençon*; and that the conspirators were secretly encouraged by *Dale*, the *English* ambassador at the *French* court. Though the duke, upon his confession, was assured of life and pardon, yet he durst not trust either his mother or his brother, and he applied to the *English* ambassadors for a safe conduct to *England*; which *Elizabeth*, with some difficulty, granted him. It is to this day a secret by what means the queen-mother discovered the negotiation; and whether it was not by *Elizabeth*'s secret management, as she was then on very bad terms with the court of *Spain*, and therefore afraid to break entirely with the *French*. Be that as it will, the count left *Paris* with the utmost precipitation; and, at *Bois de Vincennes*, *Charles* ordered the king of *Navarre* to be put under a strict arrest; and *Wilkes*, the *English* ambassador's secretary, who had negotiated the safe conduct, was obliged to leave *France*. The marshals *Montmorenci* and *Cosse* were sent prisoners to the bastile. The prince of *Condé* retired to his government of *Strasbourg*, where he abjured his abjuration of pro-

protestantism, which he said had been extorted from him, and he was re-admitted to the protestant communion. *La Moule*, the duke of *Alençon*'s favourite, and the same who had betrayed him, was beheaded for not having discovered enough; and some other examples of justice were made. The duke of *Alençon* poorly discovered all he knew; but the king of *Navarre* behaved with great spirit, and reproached the queen-mother with being the author of all the public calamities.

Charles was, at this time, the most miserable person of State of his dominions. The very narrow escape he had made from *Charles's* the late conspiracy, shewed him how great a stranger he was court. to his own affairs; that he had been all along governed by the execrable counsels of the queen-mother, whose creature *Biragne*, the chancellor, was; and, that the houses of *Lorraine* and *Guise* were the executioners of all her machinations. In short, that his sovereign power was engrossed by others. She had procured the post of lieutenant-general for her son-in-law, the duke of *Lorraine*. All the governors, officers, and magistrates in *France*, were ordered to obey her commands; and *Biragne* obtained from the king a deed, appointing her regent of the kingdom. To complete the misery of *Charles*, he appeared to be sensible of his own wretched situation. He threw out the most determined resolves to remove from their employments all who had either advised or executed the massacre of *St. Bartholomew's* day; but, from their experience of his former dissimulation, none would trust him; and he found himself under a lingering distemper, which was incurable, and threw him sometimes into such agonies as deprived him of his reason.

Perceiving that he had not above four and twenty hours His death, to live, he declared, before the king of *Navarre*, the duke of *Alençon*, the cardinal of *Bourbon*, the chancellor, and other great officers of state, his mother to be regent, till the arrival of his brother and successor the king of *Poland*; and he died on the thirtieth of *May*, 1574. It was publicly known, that, when the queen-mother took leave of the king of *Poland* in *Lorraine*, she bade him adieu, but assured him, that he should not be long absent from *France*. *Charles* openly declared, that he did not think the distemper which killed him was natural; and his body being opened, tho' no recent appearance of poison was found, yet the physicians thought that his intestines were worn out by a former application. This, however, was imputed to the great skill of the poisoners. *Charles* died at the age of twenty-four years and one month; and his mortal disease, if not supernatural, was certainly extraordinary; for it was the oozing of blood from all the pores of his body.

The court of *France*, during the last reign, may be said to and have been formed by the queen-mother upon a system of the most abandoned principles, both in religion and government,

ment, intermingled with the vices of murder and poisoning, the weakness of forcery and judicial astrology; with every luxury that can enervate the body or debilitate the mind. Her own ruling principle was dissimulation. She taught it to her sons; and *Charles* proved so apt a scholar, that, before he was twenty years of age, he excelled *Tiberius* in dissimulation, and equalled *Nero* in cruelty. The fine parts, and excellent sense he possessed, contributed to his proficiency in the former; for, with all the detestable, he had all the good, qualities that a monarch could possess. He had wit, and loved the conversation of poets and learned men. He composed a treatise, which has been since published, upon hunting, his favourite diversion; and he carried to excess most of the bodily exercises, in which he excelled. He is said to have carried his dissimulation with him to the grave; and, that, though he appeared to be reconciled to his brother, the duke of *Alençon*, he intended, if he had lived, to have taken him off, and to have sent the queen-mother to her favourite son in *Poland*. *Charles* was so moderate in drinking, that, after having been once intoxicated, he is said never to have tasted wine again; and, tho' he had several mistresses, by one of whom he had the duke of *Angoulesme*, grand prior of *France*, yet he was decent in his amours; though it is said that the dose by which he died was administered by a gentleman whom the queen-mother persuaded that *Charles* intended to dispatch, in order to enjoy his wife; but in a scandalous court there are many fictions, nor can the bounds of general history admit of all the particulars that are incontestibly well supported. *Charles*, in his person, stooped a little in the shoulders; but he was otherwise strong and well made. Though he had naturally a livid complexion, yet it was turned to red on the night of the *St. Bartholomew* massacre; and it was observed, that, on that occasion, his eyes assumed a peculiar fierceness.

He had, towards the end of his life, entertained an affection for his wife, *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, one of the most virtuous and amiable princesses of her age; and by whom he had one daughter, *Mary Elizabeth*, who died when she was but six years of age. We cannot conclude the character of *Charles*, without observing, that he ordered a medal to be struck, commemorating his virtue and piety in the execrable murder of *St. Bartholomew*.

Henry III.

THE king of *Navarre* and the duke of *Alençon* continued to be close prisoners, under the custody of the queen-regent, at the time of the late king's death. She obliged them to sign whatever papers she laid before them, as if she and they were acting in the utmost harmony. Thereby she retained all her influence in the provinces, and the parliament addressed her to take the regency into her hands. This situation of affairs was her security. The magistrates and great officers, both civil and military, were kept in ignorance as to the real sentiments of the two imprisoned princes; and they were equally ignorant of the new king's sentiments, who remained still in *Poland*. The people of *Paris* were such enthusiasts for the *Roman* catholic religion, that the queen mother removed to the *louvre*, and committed the two marshals in the *bastille* to the custody of the burghers. She affected moderation towards the protestants, and took a body of *Swiss* and *Germans* into pay. She treated with the *Rochellers*, and permitted the hugonots to hold an assembly at *Milhaud*, in *Rouvergne*. They declared the prince of *Conde* their protector and captain-general; but assigned him a council; and they received into their association the marshal *d'Anville*, brother to *Montmorenci*, and governor of *Languedoc*, who considered himself as being proscribed at court.

The queen-mother was secretly enraged at those fruits of her indulgence to the hugonots. She ordered the count of *Montgomery*, who had surrendered himself prisoner upon promise of pardon, to be first tortured and then beheaded; and, having received from her son, the king of *France* and *Poland*, a confirmation of her authority, she set out for *Lyon*; but carried along with her the king of *Navarre* and the duke of *Alençon*.

In the mean while, *Henry*, with great address, after receiving the account of his brother's death, fled out of *Poland*, as from a prison, and was nobly entertained by the emperor *Maximilian* at *Vienna*; where that prince is said to have inspired him with favourable sentiments towards his protestant subjects. *Henry* then repaired to *Venice*, under an imperial escort; and there he spent nine days, as he used to say, under the enchantments of pleasure and magnificence. From thence he went to *Savoy*, where he was received with equal honours; but he consented to give up to that court *Pignerole*, and some other of his *Piedmontese* possessions. Wherever he came, he was advised to lenity towards his protestant subjects, and, while he was at *Turin*, he was persuaded, by the duke of *Savoy*, to send for *d'Amville*, whom he seemed greatly to care for. The emissaries of the queen mother about his person, entirely changed his

sentiments, if ever he had any, that were favourable to the protestants. He formed a scheme for arresting *d'Amville*; but the duke of *Savoy*, who had engaged for his safety, discovered it, and sent him back with a guard to *Languedoc*: where he swore he never would see the king's face again but upon his coin.

He renews the war against the protestants.

When *Henry* drew near his own dominions, he found that he must pass through the midst of countries possessed by the hugonots before he could reach *Lyons*. The professors of that religion were exasperated to the last degree by the late measures of the regent; and, though he retained about his person the duke of *Savoy's* troops till he was joined by the queen-mother and the duke of *Alençon*, yet the hugonots found means to plunder and carry off part of his baggage; and it was the sixth of *September* before he reached *Lyons*. Having now got some troops about him, instead of following the excellent advice he had received, he fell, with sword in hand, upon his protestant subjects, and attempted to storm the places which he might have received upon the most moderate terms. When he attacked the small town of *Lévrou*, the inhabitants called from their walls, "Come on, ye bloody murderers, ye shall not find us asleep, as ye did the admiral."

His ridiculous, contemptible conduct.

These dawnings of *Henry's* reign taught the protestants what they were to expect; and *d'Amville*, assembling the states of *Languedoc*, acquainted them, that he had associated himself with a confederacy, which he was to direct, for the re-establishment of the laws and tranquillity of *France*, and for freeing her from the pernicious influence of foreigners. The life of *Henry*, at this time, was a medley of devotion, the most infamous vices, and the most ridiculous weaknesses. The safety of the public consisted in his being destitute of his brother's great abilities for mischief; for he resembled him only in his dissimulation and cruelty. When he left *Lyons*, he came to *Avignon*; where he and his attendants practised all the penitential duties with such severity, that the cardinal of *Lorraine* is said to have lost his life by walking in one of his bare-footed processions at midnight. The *Roman* catholic party lost, in him, the wisest of its heads; and he left no subject in *France* behind him of equal abilities or authority, to have either enlarged or healed the wounds of his country. Some have thought that he was taken off by poison, administered by order of the queen-mother, who spoke of him always in extremes; sometimes as the scourge, sometimes as the guardian-angel of *France*. This frantic fit of devotion being over, *Henry* returned to his debaucheries; and the queen-mother employed the same kind of ladies about his person, as she had about those of the king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde*; so that she remained still mistress of the government, though the king, at times, affected to be extremely regular in the dispatch of business.

Death of the cardinal of Lorraine.

ness. He ratified the treaty of *Blois* with the queen of *England*; and, in a cold, but civil, manner, he restored the king of *Navarre* and the duke of *Alençon* to their liberty. He still loved the princess of *Conde*; but he heard of her death while he was consulting his mother about the means of obtaining her either by a divorce or otherwise.

It was happy for the hugonots that *Henry* had no money *Henry's* to keep his army on foot; and, as he was setting out for his narrow coronation at *Rheims*, one *Forvagues*, who had been a favourite in the late reign, threw himself at his feet in a peasant's habit, and discovered that two hundred resolute well-armed men were waiting at a certain place to carry him off. This discovery was confirmed by the duke of *Alençon*, who, on his knees, confessed all, upon promise of pardon; and, by the king's not setting out, the conspirators, knowing that they were discovered, left the kingdom in a body. When his coronation was over, he married the princess *Louisa* of *Lorraine*, daughter to the count of *Vaudemont*, and continued the war against the protestants. *Montbrun*, who had plundered his baggage on the frontiers, was beheaded by the sentence of the parliament of *Grenoble*; but his room was supplied by *Lesdiguières*, who afterwards made so great a figure in *France*. The hugonots were then joined by the moderate *Roman* catholics, and were so powerful, that *Henry* consented to treat with them. Their demands consisted of ninety-two articles, and comprehended an assembly of the states, an abolition of the new taxes, and the punishment of such a variety of crimes (magic among the rest) as, in fact, included the whole court; and the king drove the deputies from his presence with marks of indignation.

The war was then rekindled, and it soon appeared that flagitious the protestants were supported by queen *Elizabeth*, who conducted of supplied them with money for hiring a fresh body of Ger- the court. mans under prince *Casimir*. The queen-mother saw the danger of the government, and attempted the most desperate and flagitious means for breaking the confederacy. She procured poison to be administered to *d'Amville*, who recovered after it had been reported that he was dead. She persuaded her son to give *Sauvrai*, the only man about court who had sentiments of virtue, an order for dispatching the marshals *Montmorenci* and *Cossé* in prison; but *Sauvrai* accepted of it only that he might save them; which he did, for he persuaded the king to make them his friends by setting them at liberty.

The court was, about this time, alarmed by an imposthume appearing in the king's ear. He was so thoroughly persuaded that this was the effect of poison, administered to him by the duke of *Alençon*, that he called for the king of *Navarre*, and exhorted him to make sure of the crown, by putting the ruffian, meaning his brother, to death. The

king of *Navarre* expressed his detestation of the crime, but said he would not purchase a kingdom at the price of so much guilt; and the *French* king's constitution got the better of the ailment.

A fix
months
truce con-
cluded.

By this time the *German* auxiliaries were in march to join the protestants; and the duke of *Alençon* was so well apprized of his brother's suspicions, that he withdrew to *Dreux*, where he was soon joined by a numerous party. The valour of the duke of *Guise*, who beat the *German* auxiliaries in a battle, where he obtained the name of *Balafré*, prevented their joining the duke of *Alençon*; and the marshal, *Montmorenci*, joining the queen mother in a negotiation, a truce was concluded for six months, but upon the most mortifying terms for the *French* court. The king was obliged to pay the *German* auxiliaries, or rather *Swiss*, who had entered *France* under the prince of *Conde*. The duke of *Alençon* was to have guards; and the protestants were to be put in possession of *Niort*, *Saumur*, *la Charité*, *Mezieres*, *St. John d'Angeli*, and *Coignac*. It appears, from the management through which this peace was concluded, that the queen-mother and the duke of *Alençon* were equally obnoxious to the papists as the protestants; but the prince of *Conde* refused to agree to it.

It is fol-
lowed by
a pacifica-
tion in fa-
vour of
the pro-
testants.

The truce being concluded, on the twenty-third of *December*, 1575, gave both parties time for concerting the operations of the succeeding campaign. The king of *Navarre* having escaped from court to his government of *Guienne*, retracted his abjuration of the protestant religion; and the duke of *Alençon*, after putting himself at the head of the prince of *Conde*'s *German* auxiliaries, found that he commanded thirty-five thousand men; while all the army that the court could bring to the field, under the duke of *Maine*, who commanded during the indisposition of his brother, the duke of *Guise*, amounted to scarcely eighteen thousand. The queen-mother, assisted by the marshal *Montmorenci*, and, very possibly, by some heads of the protestants, who hated the duke of *Alençon*, now created duke of *Anjou*, broke the storm by fresh negotiations. At last, a pacification, consisting of sixty-three articles, was agreed upon; and the protestants gained thereby all they had so long contended for; which consisted in their being considered as a distinct people from the catholics, professing their own religion, and subjected to their own magistrates. The only restriction laid upon them, in the exercise of their worship, was, that they should not preach within two leagues of *Paris*, or the place where the court was held; the judiciary chambers in the parliament were to be composed of an equal number of protestants and catholics; the king solemnly purged himself of the admiral's death, and the massacre of *St. Bartholomew*; reversed all judgments consequent

consequent thereto ; and exempted from taxes, for six years, the descendants of those who fell in the massacre. The protestants had an additional security of eight cautionary towns ; and the king engaged to pay prince *Casimir*, who had again invaded *France* at the invitation of the protestants, his arrears.

However flattering this peace might be to the protestants, the principles on which it rested were inconsistent with civil government, and the observance of it was impracticable. The king of *Navarre* and the prince of *Conde* knew this, and that it had been brought about by the queen-mother gaining over the duke of *Alençon* and the *Montmorenci* party, which she was resolved to do at any rate. The duke of *Alençon* had been flattered with a promise of the sovereignty of the *Low Countries*, which the queen-mother never meant to perform ; and, though his name was useful to the protestants, they detested him.

It is certain that the hugonot party never wore so promising an appearance in *France* as at this time ; and that the league instituted by the *Roman* catholics had great reason to believe the protestant, would soon become the established, religion, through the weakness of the court, who opposed it. The late cardinal of *Lorraine*, uncle to the duke of *Guise*, had been of that opinion long before he died ; and had formed a scheme of an association, or, as it was called, a league, for the support of the catholic religion, independent both of the court and the protestants. The pacification, which was so much in favour of the reformed, gave the duke a plausible handle for carrying this league into execution, and he gave it the name of holy. One of its articles was, that the leaguers would defend one another, in the way either of justice or of arms, against all, without exception of persons. In short, the whole strain of the association tended to render the head of the league, who was not named, and his followers, independent of the civil power. The king and queen mother saw the blow that was aimed at the royal authority by this league ; but it could not be averted otherwise than by breaking the late pacification with the protestants. In a few weeks it was signed by all the staunch *Roman* catholics in the kingdom ; and it was soon known that the pope and the king of *Spain* had promised to support it. *Henry* was unable to maintain his own authority ; and, by the advice of his council, he declared himself its head.

The *French* monarchy had never, since the time of *Henry* Division V. of *England*, been in so low a situation as it then was. among The protestants and *Roman* catholics were equally its enemies, because each strove to be independent of the sovereign power. *Henry*, by declaring himself head of the holy league, had not diminished the credit of the duke of *Guise* with the *Roman* catholics ; and the possessions of the crown were, in

a manner, partitioned out among the princes of the blood and the great men. *Casimir*, and his *German* army, were permitted to live at free quarters till *Chateau Thierry* could be erected into a principality for him, and till he should receive seven hundred thousand crowns in ready money, besides an annuity of twelve thousand. The prince of *Conde* was in possession of *Picardy*, the king of *Navarre* of the greatest part of *Guienne*, and the marshal *d'Amville* of all *Languedoc*.

The states met at *Blois*, in *November*, 1576, and cancelled the edict of pacification; but neither the prince of *Conde*, the king of *Navarre*, nor *d'Amville*, though invited, were present in the assembly. Early next year, the states declared against any toleration of the protestants. The king, by his own authority, circulated the holy league round the provinces to be signed; but the states refused to grant him any money, the nation, as they alledged, being already exhausted. The misunderstanding that happened among the protestants, saved the court. *D'Amville* sought only to strengthen himself in *Languedoc*; and was so far from being thought well affected to protestantism, that he was suspected of keeping a private correspondence with the queen-mother. In fact, the hugonots, at last, looked upon him as their enemy; and seized *Montpelier*, which lay within his government. The people of *Rochelle* would not unite with the prince of *Conde*; and the king of *Navarre* remained on the defensive. The catholics were much better united; and, though the states would grant the king no money, yet he found means to raise an army, commanded by the duke of *Anjou*, and, under him, by the duke of *Guise*; and *la Charite*, and several other places, were taken from the protestants.

A new
peace con-
cluded.

While the war had thus a favourable aspect for the *Roman* catholics, the king stopped its progress. He hated his brother; he was jealous of the duke of *Guise*; and, by the mediation of the duke of *Montpensier*, first a peace, and then a treaty, was concluded; by which the edict of pacification was re-established, but not in its full extent. This peace had no other effect than to give *Henry* a fresh opportunity of again plunging himself and his court into the most criminal pleasures. The king's infamous minions, as they were called, were at perpetual variance with the ministers of state, the princes of the blood, and the commanders of the army. No day passed without some atrocious murder being committed. The duke of *Guise* had assassins at his command, whom the king durst not punish for the crimes they committed; and the duke of *Anjou* again left the court, where he did not think himself sufficiently considered. The queen-mother dreaded a rupture among the catholics; and, on pretence of making up the differences that had happened between her daughter, the queen of *Navarre*, and her husband,

band, she carried that princess, and some of her syrens, to the king of *Navarre's* court, and thereby found means to keep him quiet.

The remaining part of the year, 1577, passed in a state neither of war nor tranquillity. *Henry*, for fear of breaking with the king of *Spain* and the duke of *Savoy*, confirmed *Bellegrade* in possession of the marquisate of *Saluces*. The queen-mother obtained a cardinal's hat for *Birague*; and, at her recommendation, the seals were given to *Chiverny*. The parliament refused to register the money edicts sent them by the king; but he forced them, at last, into a compliance with his will.

The affairs of the *Low Countries* were, at this time, in the Affairs of utmost disorder; and intrigues were formed by the queen of the *Low Navarre*, who was a woman of genius and address, for putting the duke of *Anjou* at the head of the revolt there. Having secured *Cambrai* and *Mons* in his interest, he raised troops and offered himself, to the council of state, as successor to the archduke, whose authority was now become despicable in the *Low Countries*. *Henry*, knowing his brother to be now detached from all his concerns with the protestants, winked at the levies he made; but he durst not openly back him, for fear of disobliging queen *Elizabeth*, who, of all things, dreaded to see the *Low Countries* under a *French* dominion. To prevent that, she privately supplied the prince of *Orange* both with men and money; and engaged prince *Casimir*, if there should be occasion, to march to his assistance with his army. The protestants of *Amsterdam*, *Harlem*, and *Utrecht*, opposed the duke of *Anjou*; but his party had a majority in the council of state, and he was espoused by all the inhabitants of *Artois* and *Hainault*; and queen *Elizabeth*, to divert him from his purpose, gave his agent in *England*, *Simier*, such encouragement, that she drew the duke over to *London*, not to court, but, as he thought, to marry her; and he carried with him a set of articles, in favour of himself and his countrymen, especially the *Roman* catholics, which he required *Elizabeth* to sign. It belongs to the history of *England* to relate his disappointment, and the manner by which that artful princess evaded the match.

In the beginning of the year, 1678, the king instituted The order of the Holy Ghost, the mastership of which he annexed to his own crown. It was to consist of an hundred of the Holy Ghost persons, who were to hold no place, pension, or employment, instituted, under any foreign prince. This was the most politic act of *Henry's* reign, because it tended to weaken the league, and to break the dependence of the great *French* nobility upon the crown of *Spain*.

About the end of *February*, the queen of *Navarre* procured for the protestants three additional places of security in *Guienne*, and eleven in *Languedoc*; the former to be held till *August*, and the latter till *October*; and the treaty was concluded

concluded at *Nerac*, by the king of *Navarre* on the part of the protestants. The conferences of *Nerac* being over, the queen mother had an interview with the marshal *Bellegrade*, who died soon after, as was suspected of poison; and the famous *Nogarette de la Valette*, afterwards duke of *Epernon*, was appointed to assist his infant son, who succeeded him in his government. By this time, the *Montmorenci* title and estate had devolved upon *D'Amville*, and the king of *Navarre* suspecting that the queen mother had gained him over, entered into closer engagements than ever with *Lefdiguere*, who, was then considered as one of the ablest generals in *France*, and who, after surprizing *la Ferre* in *Picardy*, went to negotiate a fresh supply of troops in *Germany*.

The king of *Navarre* surprizes *Cahors*.

Till the treaty of *Nerac* was concluded, the king of *Navarre* had concealed the great talents he afterwards discovered; and the hugonots considered him but as a titular head of their party. *Montmorenci* required him to deliver up the cautionary towns; but instead of that he surprized *Cahors*, a place of the utmost importance, and defended with a numerous garrison under *Verins*, a brave, and able commander. The king acted with so much judgment and personal courage in that affair, that his character was all at once established, both as a general and a politician, especially as it was known that he had planned and conducted the whole by himself, and had undertaken it against the opinion of his best officers. He had recommended marshal *Biron* to be *Henry's* lieutenant in *Guienne*; but *Biron*, though he lived in the utmost intimacy with the king of *Navarre*, refused to obey any but his master's orders. *La Ferre* was retaken by the marshal *Matignon*, who commanded the royal army, and the duke of *Anjou* acted as the mediator between his brother and the king of *Navarre*, for the re-establishment of peace. *Henry*, on that occasion affected to act with vast moderation. The articles of *Nerac* were confirmed; the cautionary towns were afresh ceded to the protestants for six years, and the treaty was concluded at *Flex* in *Perigord*.

The pacification of *Flex*.

The violence of the prince of *Conde*, who was all this while negotiating in *Germany* for a fresh supply of mercenaries, had almost destroyed this salutary measure. He had promised them immense sums, and to put them in possession of cautionary towns till they were paid. The king of *Navarre*, and the other heads of the protestants, disliked the introduction of foreign troops into the strong places of *France*; and the pacification of *Flex* was ratified by them, the *French* king, and the parliament of *Paris*. The prince of *Conde*, *Lefdiguere*, and the rest of that party, still opposed the peace; but the death of don *John* of *Austria*, the prosperous situation of the duke of *Anjou's* affairs in the

Low

Low Countries, and, above all, the near prospect of his marriage with queen *Elizabeth*, obliged the prince of *Conde* and his friends to accede to the pacification of *Flex*. The accession of the crown of *Portugal* to the king of *Spain*, *Elizabeth*'s determined enemy; strengthened him so much, that *Elizabeth* resolved, if possible, to make the *French* king her friend; but it is uncertain to this day, whether she ever had any serious thoughts of marrying the duke of *Anjou*. The encouragement she gave him was, however, so great, and the assistances he received from her were so considerable, that he was at the head of an army of twenty thousand well appointed troops, and he forced the prince of *Parma* to raise the siege of *Cambrai*, which he had formed. He had reduced all the *Cambresis*; when *Pompe de Bel-lievre*, in the name of his master, the *French* king, disowned all the duke's hostilities against the *Spaniards*, and offered his mediation for a cessation of arms; but it was rejected by the prince of *Parma*. It was thought, that *Henry* acted in this manner to prevent any close connections between the kings of *Spain* and *Navarre*, the latter of whom affirmed to *Henry*, that the other had offered him troops for the conquest of *Guienne*.

This coldness of *Henry* towards the sovereignty which his brother had actually, by this time, obtained in the *Low Countries*, had almost proved fatal to the *Belgic* confederacy then formed by the prince of *Orange*. Tho' *Elizabeth* was the secrets of that prince, who never intended that the duke should have any other than a nominal power in the *Low Countries*, yet she was still backward in provoking *Spain*, because she was uncertain of being supported by *Henry*. She had actually promised to marry the duke of *Anjou*, if the *French* court would have entered into a secret treaty with her, offensive and defensive, the particulars of which have not come to our hands; but neither *Henry* nor his mother would agree to it, and *Elizabeth* suffered prince *Casimir*'s troops, who consisted of seven thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, to enlist themselves under the prince of *Parma*, or to return home, for want of pay. The artful queen mother seems all along to have distrusted *Elizabeth*'s intention to marry her son; for though a most splendid embassy, with the prince dauphin of *Auvergne* at its head, was sent over to *England*, and most affectionately received by *Elizabeth*, yet she insisted upon the secret treaty being concluded before she gave her hand to the duke. *Henry* and his mother, on the other hand, who never intended to yield to any terms that could be of prejudice to the *Roman catholic* religion, required that the marriage should be consummated before the treaty was concluded. The duke of *Anjou* was pressed for money; his army was mouldering away; the prince of *Orange*, who really made him his tool,

was

Affairs of
the *Low*
Countries.
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was neither able nor willing to serve him, and the prince of *Parma* was daily gaining ground.

The duke of *Anjou* had now only his marriage with *Elizabeth* to trust to; and the encouragement his agents had received determined him to put his little army into cantonments, after which he went over to *England* in *November* 1581, after obtaining a present of a hundred thousand crowns from *Elizabeth*. His courtship was so successful, that *Elizabeth* certainly drew a ring from her own finger and put it upon his, and the *French* historians have pretended to produce the marriage articles, signed by herself and her ministers. In short, all *Europe* thought that the match was concluded. The catholics of *France*, and the protestants of *England*, equally disliked it; and *Elizabeth*, next morning, when the duke came to receive her hand, told him she had considered better of the affair, and that she could not at that time think of marrying. This alteration of her mind was partly owing to her own unwillingness to share her power with a husband, and partly to the representations of her two ministers, *Hatton*, and *Walsingham*, who had always disliked the match.

His ambitious views.

Though the duke of *Anjou's* patience was, on this occasion, put to a severe trial, yet *Elizabeth* softened her refusal with most exquisite artifice. She managed so as to keep the duke in her interest, and when he returned to the *Low Countries*, he carried with him a large sum of money, besides other valuable presents, and a body of *English* volunteers, among whom were some of *Elizabeth's* chief nobility. All those appearances, with *Elizabeth's* own declarations, that she only delayed the match, gave him vast credit with the princes on the continent. He was in the month of *March* 1582, conducted to *Antwerp*, where the deputies of the provinces, with the prince of *Orange* at their head, recognized and installed him duke of *Brabant*, and he afterwards was acknowledged as duke of *Flanders*, at *Ghent*. An attempt made by a *Biscayan*, one *Gaspar Anastra*, upon the prince of *Orange's* life, was by the common people imputed to the duke of *Anjou*, and all the *French* in his retinue were disarmed. This made him sensible that his high sounding titles gave him no real power; and he demanded that the states should declare the king his brother his successor to his two dutchies in case of his death. The queen mother had at this time, a view upon the crown of *Portugal*, and *Henry* had quarrelled with the king of *Spain* upon that account. The duke therefore received some encouragement in his affairs from *Henry* and his mother, and they promised to support him, if by some bold and seasonable stroke he could render himself independent of the states, and sovereign of the countries which he held only in name. This hurried him into the mad ill-concerted attempt of seizing *Antwerp*; but in the mean time, the prince

prince of *Orange* is said to have discovered and disappointed a plot of the *Spaniards* for assassinating himself, the *French* king, and the duke. Such conspiracies are frequently mentioned, and the conspirators are said to have confessed their crimes; but we are to remark, that they were under tortures.

Whatever may be in those reports, it is certain that there He loses was now a thorough breach between the courts of *France* the sovereign and *Spain*, and that *Henry* was disposed to have effectually reigned of assisted his brother, if the latter could have made himself the *Nemaster* of *Antwerp*, and other capital places in the *Lowtherlands*. *Countries*. But *Henry* could assist him with no money. He had lavished immense sums upon his favourites, the dukes of *Foyeuse*, and *Epernon*, the former of whom he married to his own queen's sister, and the wedding entertainments cost him four millions of livres. Not satisfied with this, he created them dukes and peers of *France*, and gave them precedence over all the eldest noblemen of the same rank; and all this, when *France* was afflicted by pestilence and famine. Every resource of state for raising money was now exhausted; and the prodigality of the marquis *D'O*, comptroller of the finances, had squandered one million, three hundred thousand francs, which *Henry* had with great difficulty procured from the clergy. The hopes of plunder had converted the *French* soldiery into so many adventurers, and *Strozzi's* fleet, which was to have put the queen mother in possession of the *Azore* islands, was beaten by the *Spaniards*, while the *French* on board the ships that were taken, were treated as pirates, for presuming to assist rebels. The duke of *Anjou's* army was composed of men, who expected to be paid by the plunder of the provinces, which he pretended to govern. The daily proofs he discovered of his levity, ambition, and dissatisfaction with the prince of *Orange*, and the states, had prevailed with *Elizabeth* to withhold her hand from supporting him; and he was now under a necessity of precipitating the measures he had planned. He seized *Dunkirk*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Vilvorde*, because the states refused to receive his garrisons into those places; but he undertook to surprize *Antwerp* in person. In this he was disappointed by the valour of the prince of *Orange*, who killed fifteen hundred of his men, and forced him to fly to *Dunkirk*. He there entered into a secret correspondence with the *Spaniards*, which the prince of *Orange* discovered, and he had credit enough with *Henry* to procure, upon cheap terms, from the duke, the places which he intended to have sold to the *Spaniards*. After this, the duke of *Anjou* became despicable to all parties. His army, which was commanded by *Biron*, was beaten by the prince of *Parma*, who retook *Dunkirk*, *Furnes*, *Newport*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Menin*. The duke of *Anjou*, upon that, retired to *France*.

Henry

Henry's
plan of
govern-
ment.

Henry had, at this time, adopted new plans both of living and reigning. While he was immersed in the most infamous sensualities with his minions in the night time, he appeared sometimes by day at their head, clad in white sackcloth, with a whip and a string of beads hanging at his girdle, clothed as penitents, and he going by the name of friar Henry. Those and many other extravagant acts of devotion, rendered him despicable in the eyes of the public, and strengthened the league under the duke of Guise. Henry, if he had a meaning in what he did, intended to have formed in his kingdom a third party, who being attached to his person only should render him independent both of the protestants and the league. He is said to have been so much engrossed by his minions, that he consulted the pope about dividing his dominions between the dukes of Joyeuse, and Epernon. This intention was suspected by the queen of Navarre, and Henry accused her of intercepting one of his couriers, for which she was ignominiously arrested, and sent under a guard to her husband. The queen mother's influence over Henry was first diminished, and then destroyed, by his favourites, and she endeavoured to embroil the government which she could no longer direct. The Guises applied themselves to the duke of Anjou, whose spirit as well as fortune was now broken by intemperance and vexation; and they offered to make him their head. Either, levity or remorse of conscience, prompted the duke to discover this to his brother; and they seemed, for some time, to live together in the utmost harmony. The duke's health, however, was daily decaying, and he died on the tenth of June 1585, at Chateau Thierry.

Confulta- The holy league was still gaining ground. Its heads
tion of the were the dukes of Lorraine, Guise, Maine, and the cardinal
leaguers. of Guise, and under them were ranged many great lords, and all the friends and agents of Spain. The queen mother, after her son had disgraced her, joined them, and she proposed to divert the succession to her grandson, the prince of Lorraine; nor were there wanting many leaguers, who privately whispered, that his right was preferable to that of the house of Valois, as being descended; not from the Capetine, but the Carolingian line, by Charles of Lorraine. A grand meeting of the party was held at Bassompierre's house, near Nancy. It was therefore resolved not to provoke either the protestants or the Germans; but to draw up a state of the grievances which the nation suffered from the power of the minions. The death of the duke of Anjou disconcerted them, and the duke of Lorraine proposed that his son, the prince, should be declared their head; but the duke of Guise, who wanted to have the management of the whole, prevailed with the assembly, (as the king of Navarre, next heir to the crown by the salic law, was a heretic,) that the old cardinal of Bourbon, a weak man, and a violent papist,

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papist, and next to that prince in the succession, should be declared their head.

It is pretended, that *Henry*, even at this time, by a steady Firmness conduct, had it in his power to have dashed the league in of the pieces; but we can scarcely assent to that opinion, when king of we consider the complexion of the three parties which then *Navarre*. divided the kingdom. *Henry* very sensibly sought to make the king of *Navarre* his friend, and sent the duke of *Epernon* to him to convince him of his danger, and that he had no safety but by declaring himself a *Roman* catholic. The king of *Navarre* behaved with great decency on the occasion; but refused to change his religion, though he effected a reconciliation between *Henry* and the marshal *Montmorenci*. *Henry* seeing his danger, acted with more wisdom and spirit than he was thought to be possessed of. He now appeared often in public, and by his edicts he pronounced all associations and leagues to be high treason, annulling, at the same time, fifty-six money edicts, and giving up seven hundred thousand livres of his own revenue.

The protestant affairs in the *Low Countries*, were at this time, so low, the prince of *Orange* having been assassinated, that the *French* writers inform us, the states sent a deputation, to offer the sovereignty of their country to *Henry*, but that he refused it. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that he admitted the deputies into his presence, by which the *Spanish* part of the league were so much alarmed, that they called upon the duke of *Guise* to take the field immediately. He was the rather inclined to this, as he knew the duke of *Epernon*, after he returned from his interview with the king of *Navarre*, intended to have seized him. The cardinal of *Bourbon* was carried by the leaguers to *Peronne*, as being a place of safety, and a new treaty was concluded at *Joinville*; by which they engaged, upon the demise of *Henry III.* to raise the cardinal of *Bourbon* to the throne; to introduce the decrees of the council of *Trent* into *France*; and to restore *Cambray* to his *Catholic* majesty, upon his paying them fifty thousand crowns a month while they continued in arms. Could they have prevailed with pope *Gregory* to have entered heartily into their confederacy, *Henry* might have been dethroned; but his holiness, refused to agree either to that or to any attempt upon his person. Notwithstanding this, the duke, in the beginning of the year 1585, was prevailed on to take the field at the head of no more than five thousand men, while his party published a manifesto in the cardinal of *Bourbon's* name, tending to render *Henry* the object of his people's contempt, ridicule, and hatred.

The king of *Navarre* wrote, on this occasion, a most re- Weakness
spectful and affectionate letter to *Henry*, offering him his ser- of *Henry*.
vices, and at the same time challenged the duke of *Guise* to
fight him, either singly, or attended with what number of
friends

friends he should chuse to name. It soon appeared that the resolution and spirit of *Henry* were counterfeits. His mother undertook to mediate between him and the league, and he was secretly inclined to give up every thing, though even his appearance in the field would have obliged the duke of *Guise* to leave the kingdom. Instead of that, he took *Verdun*, and was prevented only by the vigilance of the duke of *Epernon* from seizing *Metz*, while the marshal *Maignon* secured *Bourdeaux* for the king. The city and citadel of *Lyons*, however, fell under the power of the leaguers; but they were driven out of *Marseilles*, which they had become masters of by a conspiracy, the heads of which were capitally punished.

His accommodation with the league.

Henry, at last, agreed to accept of his mother's mediation with the leaguers; and he published a manifesto, promising pardon to such of his subjects as should lay down their arms. The city of *Rheims* was pitched upon as the place of interview, between the queen mother and the leaguers; who came prepared with a schedule of their demands. These consisted in the king obliging the protestants to resign all the cautionary towns they held, and to withdraw their protection from the protestants of *Geneva*. He was likewise to put the chief strong places of his kingdom into the hands of the leaguers; to advance them money for paying their troops; and to cancel all the edicts that had been published in favour of the protestants. Such were the infamous terms upon which *Henry* purchased a peace from his rebel subjects, and it was solemnly proclaimed, in the month of *July*, by an edict dated at *Nemours*.

The king of Navarre's consternation.

The king of *Navarre* was struck with such consternation upon reading this edict, that the hair of one of his lips, is said, all of a sudden, to have turned grey. The king, at the request of the leaguers, invited him once more to renounce his heresy; but he kept his sword in his hand, and prepared to defend himself to extremity. *Henry* found himself now in a worse situation than ever. The leaguers were masters of his crown, and one of them, a private citizen of *Paris*, called *Rocheblen*, cantoned out his capital into sixteen parts, each of which was to be under the direction of a zealous leaguer. This partition gave rise to the famous council of sixteen. *Henry* had no sooner rendered himself the slave of the leaguers, than they raised money in great abundance in his name, though in fact it was to be employed against his person and authority.

Marshal *Montmorenci* continued to profess the catholic religion; but he was a declared enemy to persecution and to all connections with foreign powers on account of religion; and professed himself a friend to the constitution of his country. *Sixtus V.* was then pope, and though he carried his pontifical authority to the utmost stretch, yet his aversion

aversion to the crown of *Spain* did not suffer him to patronize the league. Considering himself as being the great The house disposer of kingdoms, he neglected the title of the cardinal of *Bourbon*; but he excommunicated the king of *Navarre*, *bon* ex- and the prince of *Conde*, whom he termed the bastard, and communi- detestable race of the house of *Bourbon*; and declared them cated. to have forfeited all right of succession to the crown. The same pope, by another bull, excommunicated all who should take arms against the king. The king of *Navarre* resented his excommunication in a most signal manner; for he posted up papers even in *Rome* itself, formally giving the pope the lye; and he made an appeal from the bull to the peers of *France*. *Henry* might have saved himself and his authority, if by one spirited step, he had thrown himself upon the king of *Navarre's* party, and that of the moderate *Roman* catholics under *Montmorenci*. But he was now in the hands of the leaguers, and on the fifteenth of *October*, he published a most rigorous edict, enjoining his subjects to resume the *Roman* catholic religion in fourteen days, on pain of forfeiting all their effects.

The leaguers by their violence, and submitting to the Violence pope's bull, hurt their own cause; for all the *Roman* catho- of the lics, who had any regard for the constitution of their leaguers. country, abhorred their proceedings. The king of *Navarre* was the life of the protestant cause; the prince of *Conde*, and *Lesdiguere*, were his seconds, but the chief weight of the power of the league was directed against the king. It is amazing, that the body of the people of *France* should be so infatuated as they were at this time. The duke of *Epernon* was the only great man who declared himself an enemy to all, whether leaguers, or protestants, who were enemies to his master's authority; and he acted against both at the head of an army in *Provence*, and *Dauphiny*. The duke of *Maine*, who was considered as the most zealous leaguer in *France*, commanded in *Guienne*, against the king of *Navarre*, who was not able to face him in the field, and was obliged to act upon the defensive. The marshal *Matignon* commanded in the neighbourhood of *Bordeaux*; but his principles, and conduct, were so moderate, that he quarrelled with the duke of *Maine*, who represented him as being a traitor to the league, and repaired to court, complaining, that his counsels were betrayed, himself unsupported, and his troops disbanding for want of pay. The duke of *Guise* was the only general of the league who joined great execution to great abilities; for he did more service to his cause, at the head of a small army, in *Champagne*, and *Burgundy*, than all his brother generals did.

The king of *Navarre* was, at this time, in a dangerous Danger of situation, as he had not only the king, and the league to the king oppose, but his own queen, who, after he was excommu- of *Na-* nicated by the pope, behaved as his most bitter enemy. *varre.* He

He had acted with great address during the campaign ; but through the irresistible passion he had for women, he had more than once exposed himself to the danger of falling into the duke of *Maine's* hands. The prince of *Conde* had been supported with some money from *England*, which enabled him to act with vigour on the side of *Xaintoigne*; and he gained over to the protestant interest the powerful duke of *la Trimouille*, whose sister he had married. The *Rochellers* continued to consider themselves as being a separate commonwealth of protestants, and both the king of *Navarre*, and prince of *Conde* endeavoured to induce them to act with greater vigour in assisting them to destroy the port of *Brouage*, which they thought hurt their commerce. Marshal *Biron* was sent with an army to oppose them, and he effectually checked their progress on that side ; but without being of any other service to the cause of the league.

Diffimu-
lation of
Henry.

Henry every day was more and more sensible, though he durst not discover his sentiments, that the success of the league would be more fatal to him than that of the protestants. He had, in the month of *June*, held a court, or as it was called, a bed of justice, where he ordered the parliament to register several money edicts, not for his own use, as he declared, but that of the league. He told all, in whom he could have any confidence, that he considered the leaguers as his greatest enemies ; and he gave secret orders to the generals he could trust, to keep that party from getting footing in the places they possessed. It has even been more than insinuated, that *Henry*, (though he sent over the marquis *de Bellievre* to intercede with *Elizabeth* for *Mary* queen of *Scots*,) was far from being displeased with her barbarous execution, because of her connection with the *Guises*. When the king of *Navarre*, however, procured from the protestant princes of *Germany* a deputation in favour of his hugonot subjects, *Henry*, out of fear of the league, durst not treat them with common civility, and drove them from his presence, because their masters had presumed to meddle in the internal affairs of his kingdom.

Power of
the duke
of *Mont-
morenci*.

The marshal duke of *Montmorenci*, by the neutrality he observed, may be said to have held the ballance of parties in *France* at this time. The king of *Spain* could not entirely trust the *Guises*, because of their dependence on the pope ; and both he and the duke of *Savoy* paid him vast subsidies, and by speaking of the hugonots as heretics, he was in high favour with the court of *Rome*. The kings of *France*, and *Navarre*, considered him as their trustee, in case the former should be oppressed by the league, or the latter succeed to the crown, because, on all occasions, he treated the leaguers as enemies to their country. The duke of *Guise*, and his faction, saw *Henry's* secret dispositions,
and

and did all they could to ruin him with the catholics, and the king once more employed his mother to obtain a peace from the protestants. She undertook it with the assistance of the duke of *Nevers*, and marshal *Biron*; but the king of *Navarre*, for that time, stood firm against all her *Syrens*, and as she had no power to offer a toleration of religion, she could only obtain a truce for a few months; yet such was the situation of *Henry*, that he told the marquis of *Rosni*, afterwards the famous duke of *Sully*, and first minister to the king of *Navarre*, that he would suffer his master to take twenty thousand *Swiss* into his pay, if he would promise to employ them against the leaguers.

The duke of *Maine* continued still in discontent at *Paris*, Queen and was the oracle of the council of sixteen, who omitted *Elizabeth* nothing that could blacken *Henry's* character with their supports party. The king had some spies among them, who in- the hugo- formed him of a design they had to seize his person at *Paris*, nots. and to send him prisoner to the duke of *Guise*. They were disappointed; but the king was forced to suffer the duke of *Maine* to leave *Paris*, without calling him to account. The affairs of the protestants in *France*, must have been again ruined, had not queen *Elizabeth* supplied the king of *Navarre* with money, and employed her credit so effectually in *Germany*, that the protestant princes there entered into a fresh league with the hugonots, and raised twenty thousand men for their assistance.

Henry was once more reduced to the necessity of throw- The king ing himself upon the league, or upon the protestants; and of *Na-* so great a slave was he to the *Roman* catholic religion, that *varre de-* he resolved upon the former, though the duke of *Guise*, in feats the a conference he had with him at *Meaux*, had treated him duke of with indecency and invectives. The *German* army had not *Joyeuse*: yet passed the *Loire*, and *Henry's* great business was to prevent their joining the king of *Navarre*. *Henry* on this occasion again threw off his indolent habits, and exerted himself with great abilities, both in the field, and the cabinet. He himself drew up the plan of operations. He gave the duke of *Guise* the command of an army, which was to watch the motions of the *Germans*, and to prevent their becoming masters of any place of importance, while he himself, with a third army, was to dispute the passage of the *Loire*. Besides those three armies, the duke of *Joyeuse* was placed at the head of a fourth, in order to fight the king of *Navarre*, in his march to join the protestants. That king and the duke met together on the twentieth of *October* at *Coutras*; and it was here that the king of *Navarre* gathered his first laurels in a pitched battle. Though inferior in strength to his enemies, he gave them battle; and fought at the head of his troops like a common soldier, while all his dispositions were those of a great general. He took several prisoners with his own hands, and after a

most bloody dispute, victory declared in his favour. The duke of *Joyeuse* was shot through the head, though he offered a hundred thousand crowns for his ransom: four hundred noblemen and gentlemen who attended him as volunteers, were cut in pieces, as were five thousand of his common soldiers. In short, the victory was complete on the part of the king of *Navarre*, who shewed himself worthy of it, by his humanity towards the vanquished.

but loses
the fruit
of his
victory.

It has been generally thought, that if after his victory at *Coutras*, the king of *Navarre* had advanced towards the *Loire* and joined his *German* auxiliaries, he might have reduced with ease the provinces of *Xaintoigne*, *Angoumois*, *Poitou*, and part of *Anjou*. But instead of attempting this, it is certain, that he carried the trophies of his victories to *Bearn*, where he laid them at the feet of the countess of *Grammont*. Others pretend to say, that the king had not money to keep his troops together, and that while he went to *Bearn*, the prince of *Conde*, who was not suspected of any intrigues with the fair sex, retired likewise to *Poitou*, from whence he went to *St. John d'Angeli*. Whatever might have been the motives of the conduct of those two princes, it certainly brought the protestant religion in *France* to the brink of ruin. The duke of *Guise*, a brave, and an active general, commanded against the *Germans*, whom he defeated, in two battles; and they being in no condition to subsist in an enemy's country, till the king of *Navarre* could again take the field, accepted of a sum of money, which carried them back to their own countries; and left the duke of *Guise* possessed of the title of deliverer of *France*. He made use of his popularity in executing a scheme for stripping *Henry* of all but the title of king. Though his successes had been in a great measure owing to the dispositions planned by *Henry* himself, yet he and his party accused him of having underhand invited the *Germans* into *France*, where their army was increased to thirty thousand men; and of his having all along kept a secret correspondence with the king of *Navarre*, and the heads of the hugonots. The doctors of the *Sorbonne* came to a resolution, that a prince may for malversation be deposed from his throne; and though they were reproved, yet they were not punished, by *Henry*.

Sudden
death of
the prince
of *Conde*.

While the prince of *Conde* remained at *St. John de Angeli*, he died suddenly, after having supped with his princess, whom the judge of the place committed to prison for having poisoned her husband. It appears, as if the king of *Navarre* himself had thought the prince did not die fairly; for his commissioners confirmed the sentence passed by the same judge for one of the prince's chief domestics being drawn asunder by four horses. The princess appealed to the court of peers, who declared her innocent; and

six months after she was delivered of a son, who was afterwards known by the name of the *Great Prince of Conde*. In the mean while, in an assembly held at *Nanci* by the duke of *Guise*, and the heads of the league, a paper, consisting of eleven articles, was drawn up to be approved of, or rejected by *Henry*. In this paper, they demanded that he should receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*; establish the inquisition throughout his kingdom; pardon no heretic, who did not abjure his religion; and banish all, who were obnoxious to them, from his person, and admit others of their recommendation to succeed them. *Henry*, though a complete master of dissimulation, could not conceal his vexation, when those, and other articles equally derogatory to his authority, were presented to him by the duke of *Guise*. He promised, however, to consider of them, and the duke repaired to *Soissons*, while the king remained at *Paris*. The proceedings of the leaguers there were disloyal beyond expression; and if *Henry* had not been too much under the influence of his mother, and one *Villequier*, a favourite, he might at once have seized all the council of sixteen; but he only reproved some of their heads, and thereby put them more upon their guard. *Henry* was faithfully served by one *Poulain*, as a spy, and it was owing to his intelligence that he escaped an attempt made by the dutchess of *Montpensier* for surprizing him, as he was taking the air, and sending him prisoner to her brother the duke of *Guise* at *Soissons*. He wrote two letters ordering the duke not to enter *Paris*, but according to *Voltaire*, not having money to defray the expence of sending them by special messengers, they had not reached him, when, on the ninth of *May*, he presented himself in that capital before the queen mother, whom he required to introduce him to her son. This insolent demand being communicated to *Henry*, he lost his usual temper, and declared that he would comply with it, that he might have the pleasure of seeing the traitor stabbed before his face; but he was again dissuaded from this violent resolution by the queen mother, and *Villequier*. The duke was escorted to his audience by the Populacclamations of the citizens, who called him the saviour of rity of the his country, and the defender of the catholic faith. After duke of he had returned safe from his audience, the king published *Guise*. another edict, ordering all strangers to leave *Paris*, and to enforce obedience to it, he ordered four thousand *Swiss*, and two thousand *French* troops to enter the city, where they posted themselves; but without any orders to fire. A number of the citizens, and the scholars of the university took arms, which had been provided before by the heads of their party, and raising barricades in the streets, they attacked the king's troops so briskly that they either forced them to submit, or drove them entirely out of the city;

upon which, *Henry*, who found himself now blockaded in the Louvre, came to a resolution of flying to *Chartres*.

The king escapes from him. While the king was contriving the means of escaping, several scenes of dissimulation passed between the queen mother and the duke of *Guise*, on pretence of bringing about an accommodation ; but in reality to gain time, which was equally necessary for both. The duke, at last, thinking he had obtained his ends, refused to treat any longer ; but the queen mother going on foot to his apartments to have another conference, the duke was giving her his final answer, when intelligence came that the king was escaped. The duke exclaimed against the queen mother for having amused him to his destruction ; and dispositions were now made on both sides for renewing the civil war with more fury than ever. All the foreign ministers at *Paris*, received from the duke, guards, and protections, excepting *Stafford*, the *English* resident, who though more obnoxious than them all, refused to accept of either.

They are again reconciled. *Henry*, in his journey from *Paris* to *Chartres*, travelled under the most apparent disquiet of mind, and was no sooner arrived there than he published a most bitter manifesto against the treasonable attempts of the *Parisians* ; whom the duke of *Guise* had now by his authority reduced to order and tranquillity. He quickly found, however, that the *Parisians* were far from being unanimous, in his favour ; that the parliament was disgusted with the proceedings of his party, and that he could not depend upon its leaders, who were most of them madmen, and enthusiasts. The queen mother carried along with her to *Chartres* deputies, both from the city and parliament, to implore the king's pardon for what had passed, which they obtained, on condition of the inhabitants behaving better for the future. It is uncertain, whether *Henry*, at this time, had fixed the resolution of assassinating the duke of *Guise* ; it is probable he had not, and that he was, at this time, entirely actuated by his mother, and his own bigotted notions of religion. The duke of *Guise*, on the other hand, disliked the appearance of submission that had been shewn to *Henry* by the parliament and city of *Paris* ; and thus both sides were disposed to a treaty ; but the king is said to have been strongly influenced by the *Spanish* armada (which was sent to invade *England*) appearing off the coast of *Bretagne*. He granted the leaguers almost the same terms that he had rejected with so much indignation when they were sent him from *Nanci* ; and a new edict was published, enjoining all his subjects, under the beforementioned penalties, to conform themselves to the *Roman* catholic religion ; but in the mean time, an assembly of the states was indicted to be held at *Blois*, in the *September* following. This was followed by a vast profusion of favours on the

part of *Henry* towards the leaguers. He declared the cardinal of *Bourbon* first prince of the blood; he gave the command of his armies to the duke of *Guise*, as lieutenant general, and he deprived the duke of *Epernon* of his government of *Normandy*, which he conferred on the duke of *Montpensier*. It was remarkable, however, that *Henry* in his return from *Rouen* (where he had concluded the pacification) to *Chartres*, refused, though strongly pressed to it, to enter *Paris*.

The late pacification made no other alterations of parties in *France* than by the king's authority being now thrown into the scale of the league. The dukes of *Montmorenci*, *Epernon*, and his brother the duke *de la Valette*, continued to make war or peace among themselves, as independent sovereigns. The queen mother, who hated the duke of *Epernon*, had procured the king's orders for the inhabitants to drive him out of *Angoulesme*, and in consequence of those orders he must have been murdered, had he not, with no more than thirty of his domestics, defended himself in the castle till he was relieved by the duke *de la Valette*. In short, a perfect disregard of the king's authority reigned throughout all the distant provinces; and *Henry* now passed his time chiefly in consulting with the duke of *Guise* upon the most effectual method of extirminating his protestant subjects. It is thought by many, that the queen mother, from the desire she had that the crown of *France* should descend to the family of *Lorraine*, was now sincerely reconciled to the duke of *Guise*. The duke of *Savoy* took advantage of those distractions, by driving the *French* from most of the places they held in his dominions, and reducing the important fort of *Carmagnoles*, where their magazines lay. The duke of *Guise* was all this time exulting in the public distractions. He was the idol of the league, and the common people, and by the good order to which he reduced *Paris*, he gave the public a specimen of his abilities for government.

Henry again returned to himself, and to that natural good sense of which he was master, when not under the delusions of favouritism, bigotry, and ignorance. Upon his arrival at *Blois* on the first of *September*, the chancellor *Chiverny*, was discharged from his post, which was given to *Antholon*, a violent leaguer; and the secretaries of state, with the comptroller of the finances, likewise lost their places, and were confined to their houses. The cardinals of *Bourbon*, and *Guise*, were chosen speakers by the clergy, who were represented by one hundred and thirty-four deputies. The count *de Brisac*, and the baron *de Magnac*, were speakers for the nobility, who were present to the number of one hundred and eighty; and *la Chapelle Martreau*, the provost of the merchants of *Paris*, was at the head of one hundred and ninety one deputies, who represented the third estate,

estate, or what we may call the commons. The session was opened on the sixteenth of *October* by the king in a speech, that by the manner of its delivery, and the weight of its contents, discovered how much he had hitherto abused his talents. Though he professed himself strongly attached to the catholic religion, yet he touched upon the great lines of government with great dignity, and in a masterly manner reproached the duke of *Guise*, and the heads of the league, for having formed alliances with foreign powers on account of religion. They were seen to change colour at his words; but he and they afterwards received the sacrament at the same altar in token of their being reconciled. This was an impious act of dissimulation on both sides, as the duke was actually concerting measures for shutting *Henry* up in a convent, and altering the succession; and *Henry* by his spies was made acquainted with all the duke's and his family's practices, and was determined to punish them. *Henry* had, at this time, scarcely a friend about him. He secretly distrusted, and indeed, detested, his mother for her connections with the *Guises*; but he thought he could open his mind to the marshal *d'Aumont*, *Nicholas d'Angemes*, and his brother *Lewis*, the sieur *de Rambouillet*, and *Beauvais Nangis*. He laid before them a detail of all the projects the league meant to execute, many of which had been discovered to him by the princes of the house of *Lorraine*, who disliked their kinsman's ambition, and, after long consultation, it was resolved that the duke of *Guise*, and his brother, the cardinal, were now too big for public justice, and should be taken off by assassination. *Henry* called for *Crillon*, colonel of his guards, and esteemed one of the bravest men in *France*, and asked if he would undertake it. His answer was, that he was a soldier and not a hangman; but that, if his majesty pleased, he would send the duke a challenge, and endeavour to kill him fairly in single combat.

Preparations of
assassination of the
duke of
Guise,

which is
executed.

Nothing but the distress in which *Henry* then was, and the nearness of his danger, could have induced him to so detestable a measure, and one *Loignac*, the first gentleman of his body guards, undertook the assassination. These according to Mr. *Voltaire*, consisted of forty five poor and desperate *Gascon* gentlemen, whom the duke of *Epernon* had placed about the king's person, as foreseeing that he might want their services on such occasions. The duke of *Guise*, it is uncertain by whom, had notice of his danger; but he despised the intimation. Early on the twenty-third of *December*, in 1588, the duke of *Guise* was called by *Revol*, the secretary of state, into the king's closet; but in lifting up the hangings, he was stabbed by the *Gascon* ruffians, in six different places with daggers, which *Henry* had presented them with his own hands. The memoirs of those times mention, that those *Gascons* had a particular quarrel

quarrel with the duke, who wanted to disband them, and that the king employed nine of them in the assassination ; that the duke was advised by the archbishop of *Lyons*, who was in daily expectation of a cardinal's hat, to leave the command of the army to the dukes of *Maine*, and *Nevers*, and to take upon himself the old office of mayor of the palace, which would entitle him to render the king a cypher, and to be always about his person. Many other particulars are related too minute for general history. It is certain, that the cardinal of *Guise*, and the archbishop of *Lyons*, who were in the next room, were put under arrest by the king's order ; and that he declared both to his council, and his mother, that he was now a monarch, because the duke was dead. It is uncertain whether the queen mother was in the secret of the king's design ; it is most probable that she was not, for all the preparations for striking the blow were made by the king himself, with the most impenetrable secrecy and address. The dukes of *Elbeuf*, and *Nemours*, the cardinal of *Bourbon*, the prince de *Foinville*, son to the duke of *Guise*, and his mother *Anne*, d'*Este*, were all put under arrest by the king's order, as were all the heads of the league, and his most intimate friends, who were then at *Blois* ; but the dukes of *Merceur*, and *Maine*, made their escape, and were soon after followed by the duke of *Nemours*. The cardinal of *Guise* had distinguished himself in a particular manner by his insolence towards *Henry's* person ; and he was next day murdered by *Henry's* halberdiers. The bodies of both the brothers were burnt, and their ashes scattered in the air, to prevent the veneration which it was foreseen the common people would pay to their relics.

Nothing could have given the leaguers any consolation for the death of the duke of *Guise* ; but that of the queen mother, which happened on the fifth of *January* 1589, in the seventieth year of her age. Her name is to this day held in detestation, as the mother of all the wickedness, impiety, superstition, luxury and debauchery of every kind, that had so long rendered the court of *France* infamous. When she saw her power irrecoverable, and her death unavoidable, she recommended to her son an alteration of his manners, and earnestly pressed him to cherish the king of *Navarre*.

Henry was miserably deceived in thinking that the death of the duke of *Guise* and his brother would put an end to the distractions of *France* ; for they now rose higher than ever, because they proceeded on the part of the league, from enthusiasm, which has often proved too strong for the sentiments of honour and loyalty. The duke of *Maine* fled to *Paris*, where the doctors of the *Sorbonne* openly declared the people to be absolved from their allegiance to the king ; and the clergy were ordered not to pray for him

in public. His statues, pictures and arms were demolished, and his person was treated in terms too coarse for the page of history to relate. The greatest part of the parliament, however, continued firm in their duty; but fifty of their presidents and counsellors were arrested, and carried prisoners in their robes through the streets of *Paris*, by *Bussy de Clerc*, whom the duke of *Guise* had made governor of the *bastile*. The duke of *Aumale*, was made governor of the city; the duke of *Maine*, was put at the head of their army, with the title of lieutenant-general of the royal state and crown of *France*; and it was with some difficulty that he avoided being declared king. A new parliament was created. *Brissson* was forced to accept of the first presidency, and *Moler* of being attorney general; both of them under terror of their lives. The new members took an oath to be firm to the league, and to revenge the death of the duke of *Guise*, and his brother. A council of forty members acted under the duke of *Maine*, and issued edicts for raising money. The example of *Paris* was followed by *Rouen*, *Lyons*, *Tholouse*, almost all the provinces of *Bretagne*, *Orleans*, *Marseilles*, *Bourges*, *Toulon*, *Aix*, and *Arles*, together with the provinces of *Maine*, and *Auvergne*.

The league supported by the king of *Spain*.

It now appeared that the league had been long supported by the king of *Spain*, for his ambassadors repaired to *Paris*. It was in vain for the king, and the *Roman* catholic nobility about his person, to make the strongest declarations against the heretics, and the hugonots, the war against whom languished on all sides. *Henry* then saw himself abandoned by all, whom his indolence, bigotry, and timidity, or the influence of his mother had induced him to trust; but they were replaced by men of honour and abilities, who still had vast influence in the kingdom. By the agency of *Diana de Angoulesme*, *Henry* accepted of the king of *Navarre's* generous offer of serving him unconditionally with all his force, and a thorough reconciliation was effected between them at *Tours*. The other princes of the blood, the dukes of *Montmorenci*, *Epernon*, and *Nevers*, with the cardinal *de Lenonceur*, repaired to the royal standards, and *Henry* emitted an edict removing the parliament and chamber of accounts from *Paris* to *Tours*. Before he could get together his army he was almost surprized and carried off by a detachment of the horse of the league; but he escaped to *Tours*, where they were bravely repulsed by *Crillon*, the colonel of his guards. Fresh forces, however, pouring in, *Henry* must have surrendered himself had he not been relieved by the king of *Navarre*; and in a few days *Henry* saw himself at the head of an army of between thirty and forty thousand men.

Meanness of *Henry*.

It is not to be dissembled that he did not support the first shock of the league with the firmness that became his situation. He wrote a mean letter to the duke of *Maine*, and he

he employed the pope's nuncio, to beg his holiness to forgive his brother's death, and offered to the house of *Lorrain* the third of his kingdom. The duke's answer was, "I will never forgive this miscreant." When the bull of his excommunication, by the pope, was published, he was struck with visible dismay, because it was seconded by the outcries of the people against him as a murderer, and a traitor to God. The league had declared the old cardinal of *Bourbon*, king. An impeachment was formally drawn up against *Henry*, by the name of *Henry of Valois*, heretofore king of *France* and *Poland*, at the suit of the duke of *Guise's* widow, for the murder of her husband; and the clergy refused absolution to all who continued to acknowledge him as their king. The reconciliation between him and the king of *Navarre*, was the first step that re-inspired him with any confidence. *Nicholas de Harley*, lord of *Sancy*, by selling his own lands and jewels, brought to his assistance ten thousand *Swiss*, and three thousand five hundred *Germans*; so that *Henry* was now in a condition to have marched to the gates of *Paris*, which the king of *Navarre* said was the best step he could take for being absolved from his excommunication. He unfortunately, in his march thither, lost time in beating the duke of *Aumale*, and in taking *Estampes*, and some other places, which must have surrendered of course had he been master of *Paris*, for that capital was not invested before the last of *July*, when *Henry* took up his head quarters at *St. Cloud*, as the king of *Navarre* did his at *Meudon*.

The leaguers were not wanting to their own defence. who is Their general, the duke of *Maine*, posted himself with four assassinat- thousand men in the suburbs of *St. Honore*, and dispositions ed. were made for a vigorous defence, while the king was using every precaution for cutting off all their supplies of provisions. Notwithstanding the fury, and the numbers of the leaguers, they knew that *Henry* had a strong party in his capital, who would not fail to declare themselves as soon as the city was pinched by famine, which it must be in a few days; and this consideration, probably, suggested to some of their most desperate enthusiasts the thoughts of taking *Henry* off by assassination. One *Jaques Clement*, a *Jacobine* friar, about twenty-five years of age, whose brain had been turned by the preaching and denunciations of his party, and who thought that his murdering the king would secure him in the possession of heaven, was pitched upon for that purpose; and he undertook the assassination. Enthusiasm inspired him at once with resolution and cunning, and having procured a passport from the count *de Brienne* to the king's head quarters, he told *la Guesle*, the king's attorney general, that he had dispatches of the last importance, which he could deliver only into the king's own hand. As he had formerly been employed by the royalists on the like occasions,

occasions, he was the less suspected, and *la Guesle*, introducing him to the king, *Clement* presented him with his dispatches. While *Henry* was reading them, the assassin drew a knife, which he had concealed in his sleeve, and stabbed the king in the belly, leaving the weapon in the wound, from whence *Henry* drew it out, and wounded *Clement* in the face, at the same time that *la Guesle*, beat him with the pomel of his sword to the ground, where he was incautiously dispatched by the other attendants.

Such are the most important circumstances of this detestable murder. The immediate death of the assassin gave rise to many groundless conjectures, as if *Clement* had not been the real murderer. But without entering into any minute disproof of those suspicions; we are to consider that *Henry* lived long enough after his wound to have discovered his real murderer, if he was any other than *Clement*. The physicians at first, had some hopes of his recovery; but the symptoms soon appearing mortal, the king of *Navarre* was sent for, and *Henry*, after tenderly embracing him, and declaring him his successor, expired in his arms, on the second of *August*, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and the thirty-ninth of his age. The indecent treatment which his dead body met with before its interment, gave some countenance to the surmises of his having received his death's wound from one of his domestics.

His character.

Henry owed his vices, and consequently, his misfortunes, to the councils he received from his mother. While he was young and in the field, out of her influence, he behaved well; but after his return from *Poland*, he fell into a state of mind, that partook equally of idiotism and fury. Danger alone could fix him in that courage and reason, which he possessed from nature; but he soon relapsed into his weaknesses. The great historian, *de Thou*, says, that he behaved like a hero, and an accomplished general, when he defended *Tours*. His wife, *Louisa*, of *Lorraine*, whom notwithstanding his unnatural vices he always treated well, survived him about twelve years. But his memory has, perhaps, suffered in some respects by his being equally detestable to the hugonots, as the *Roman* catholics.

Henry IV. surnamed *the Great*.

Descent of *Henry IV.* **R**OBERT VI. son of *St. Lewis*, having married the heiress of *Bourbon*, was succeeded by his son, *Lewis*, in whose favour, as we have already seen, *Charles the Fair*, erected the barony of *Bourbon* into a dutchy and peerage. *Lewis* was succeeded by his son, *Peter*, who is called the first duke of *Bourbon*. His son, *Lewis*, was renowned for his virtue and riches, in the reign of *Charles VI.* and

and he was succeeded by his son, *John*, who died in 1434, and had for his successor, his son, *Charles*, whose son, *John II.* surnamed *the Good*, was created constable of *France*. He dying in 1488, he was succeeded by his brother, *Peter*, lord of *Beaujeu*, and he leaving only a daughter, the male line of the house of *Bourbon* became extinct in that branch, and the title returned to *Charles de Bourbon*, count of *Vendosme*, who was descended from a count *de la March*, who was son of the first duke of *Bourbon*. His son, *Anthony de Bourbon*, married *Joan d'Albert*, daughter and heiress of *Henry*, the first king of *Navarre*, and from that marriage was born *Henry IV.* who by the principles of the *falic law*, now succeeded to the crown of *France*; though he stood but in the twenty-second degree of relationship to his predecessor.

La Guesle published a circumstantial account of all he who is reckoned concerning the person of *Clement*, the murderer cognized of the late king; and many incidents concurred to put it by part of almost beyond a doubt, that the chiefs of the league in his army. *Paris* were privy to the assassination. Strong suspicions likewise arose that some persons even about the late king knew of the design. Those were alarming considerations to *Henry*, but he was so well served by *Sanis*, who acted as lieutenant colonel of the *Swiss*, that they took an oath of fidelity to him, and declared that they were ready to follow his fortunes; an unusual diffidence and uneasiness appeared among the *Roman catholics* in his army. Their heads, were the duke of *Longueville*, *D'O*, *D'Enstranges*, *Dampieire*, and others of poor abilities; but all of them of great influence. After consultation, they repaired to the king and acknowledged his title; but at the same time expressed their desire that he would turn *Roman catholic*. His answer to this perplexing question was, "That the change of religion was an important point, which he could not consider till he had revenged the barbarous murder of the late king." While he was yet speaking, *Givry*, one of his most faithful officers, came into the assembly, and said aloud, that none but cowards had the least thought of abandoning their king, and that the brave nobility who followed him had put off their mourning till they had revenged the late king's barbarous murder. The protestant and *Swiss* officers expressing their satisfaction at what *Givry* had declared; the catholics in general drew up a paper on the fourth of *August*, containing some articles for the security of their own religion, and the king signed it; upon which, all of them, but the duke of *Epernon*, took the oath of fidelity.

That duke was thought to be the proudest man in *France*; His negotiations and he withdrew his troops from those of the king on the frivolous pretence, that the marshals *Biron*, and *d'Aumont*, with *England* had signed the oath of fidelity before him. His withdrawing

ing struck a damp on the affairs of *Henry*, as he had been always personally attached to the late king, to whom he had done prodigious services. *Henry* soon saw the effects of his secession by the thinness of his army; and he found himself obliged to raise the siege of *Paris*, and to retire towards *Normandy*, that he might preserve his communication with *England*, the only power on which he could depend. He sent over *Beauviour*, as his ambassador to queen *Elizabeth*, to represent the deplorable state of his affairs, and to request a pecuniary assistance, and she instantly remitted him twenty-two thousand pounds; which he himself acknowledged was a greater sum than ever he had seen before. Not content with this, she signified by her letters to the governors of *Calais*, and the other sea-ports opposite to her coasts, that she would treat all the *French* as rebels who did not acknowledge *Henry* as their lawful sovereign. His affairs must have been irretrievably ruined without this seasonable assistance. The money secured the *Swiss* troops in his service; and the letters prevailed with the governors of *Dieppe*, and *Caen* to receive his troops. *Elizabeth*, did still more, for she sent *Pallavicini*, an able negotiator, to engage the *German* protestant princes to raise an army for *Henry*; she promising to contribute largely towards its payment, and lord *Willoughby*, her general, in the *Low Countries*, was ordered to march to his assistance with four thousand of her best troops.

Conduct
of the
duke of
Maine.

The *Parisian* leaguers offered to proclaim the duke of *Maine* king; but he declined that honour in favour of the cardinal of *Bourbon*, who was still a prisoner. Marshal *Matignon* held *Bordeaux*, as the marshal *d'Aumont* did *Angiers*, for *Henry*; but his army in *Normandy* did not amount to above eight thousand in the field. A secret jealousy which the duke of *Maine* had conceived against *Philip II.* of *Spain*, to whom many of the violent leaguers offered the crown of *France*, contributed to *Henry's* preservation; and the duke persuaded the leaguers to put him at the head of an army of thirty thousand men, with which he proposed to retake *Dieppe*, and to give the finishing blow to *Henry's* hopes. The army was soon raised; but when the duke carried it into *Normandy* he found the king entrenched behind a river, and under the cannon of the castle of *Arques*. There is some reason for believing that the duke of *Maine* was so distrustful of the consequences, that he did not act with a proper vigour during this campaign; for he had intelligence, that if the king was defeated, the marquis *de Pont*, eldest son of the duke of *Lorraine*, would declare himself king, which would infallibly ruin the catholic party, and deprive them of the king of *Spain's* powerful assistance in money. Orders were given, however, to attack the king in his entrenchments; and the

German

German troops in the pay of the league made such an impression upon him, that *Henry's* person was in danger from one of their officers; but by his valour he repulsed the duke who is de- of *Maine*, who lost six hundred men, and retired towards feated. *Paris*. By this time, the lord *Willoughby* had advanced as far as *Abbeville*, and after the battle of *Arques*, he joined the king's army, which immediately marched to *Paris*.

The duke of *Maine* had carefully concealed the disgrace he had received at *Arques*; and the *Parisians* expected to have seen *Henry* brought through their streets as a prisoner, when they saw him appear at their gates as a conqueror. He had no artillery; but he was in hopes of carrying the city by storm. He attacked three of the suburbs, and the *English* stormed a bastion between *St. Marcellus's* gate, and the river, when the duke of *Maine* threw himself with his army into the city, and put an end to *Henry's* hopes of taking it.

As the *French* historians have, through a mean unpardonable jealousy, concealed the brave actions performed by the *English* on this memorable occasion; we are glad of so good an authority to correct them, as a letter under *Henry's* own hand, which he wrote to *Elizabeth*; the translation of which is as follows:

“MADAM,

“THE great share which your majesty has in our war, The bra- by the seasonable assistance you have given us, together very of with the obligations I am under to you for the care and the *English* good will you have shewn for my interests, makes it highly acknow- reasonable you should be acquainted with what passes here. ledged by I have therefore thought proper, after the success of the a letter alarm and consternation which I carried to *Paris*, of which from I had almost made myself master, to order the lord *Beauvoir*, *Henry* to as I do at present, to impart every thing to you. *Elizabeth*.

“You may, Madam, be entirely satisfied, that I have been so effectually served by your troops, and have had such convincing proofs of the good conduct and courage of the lord *Willoughby*, who is worthily seconded by all the other gentlemen, your subjects here, that they more and more do honour to your judgment in your choice of them, and encrease the many obligations I lie under already to your majesty. All I can add farther, and I do it with great good will, is, to declare, that I think myself bound to be more yours than my own, nor can my affection receive any addition to what I have long felt; all I am, and all I can do, is, without reserve, yours; therefore, most humbly kissing your hands, I beg that you will believe, that I shall be ever more yours than my own.

HENRY.

“Postscript, I assuredly expect the continuance of your good will, especially in my necessities.”

Henry.

He raises
the siege
of Paris.

Henry, after raising the siege of *Paris*, withdrew to *Tours*; while the duke of *Maine* formally proclaimed the cardinal of *Bourbon*, king, in *Paris*, by the name of *Charles X.* This step gave a fresh alarm to the council of sixteen, which still subsisted, and were in the *Spanish* interest. Being powerfully supported with money by *Philip*; whose view was to have his daughter, *Clara Eugenia*, proclaimed queen of *France*, they were very strong; but the duke of *Maine*, who was secretly their enemy, shewed amazing abilities in disconcerting them. Perceiving the pope's legate to be in the *Spanish* interest, he procured his holiness, instead of *Philip*, to be declared protector of the league; a step which the other party had no pretext to oppose, and he gave a mortal blow to the authority of the council of sixteen, in appointing, by virtue of his king's authority, a privy council, and by taking the seals from *Montholon*, and giving them to the archbishop of *Lyons*.

Henry's great safety, now, lay in the divisions of his enemies. The duke of *Savoy* intrigued with the parliament of *Grenoble* to be declared king of *Arles*; but he was disappointed by the duke *de la Valette*, who was firmly attached to *Henry*, and lost his life in his service. His brother, the duke of *Epernon*, loved his money and power too well to share either of them with *Henry*, by submitting to a reconciliation; but he carried on an incessant war against the leaguers, by which he served the royal cause. The duke of *Maine*, however, took *Pontoise*, and besieged *Meulun*, *Henry* relieved it, and besieged *Dreux* in his turn. The duke of *Maine* being reinforced by four thousand horse, and three thousand infantry, all of them choice troops from the duke of *Parma's* army, and commanded by count *Egmont*, advanced to raise the siege. *Henry* hearing of his approach called his chief officers together, and told them that he could lose no honour in abandoning a siege that he might fight a battle; but he found that his army did not amount to above ten thousand men, while that under the duke of *Maine* was sixteen thousand strong.

and gains
the battle
of Juri.

The siege being raised, *Henry* met his enemies at *Juri*, and in a short memorable speech, he made before the engagement, he told them, "If you lose your colours, repair to where you see my white plume of feathers; you will always find it in the road to honour and glory." *Henry* gained the victory, chiefly, by his personal valour. The *Spanish* troops were routed, and their general killed. The duke of *Maine* is said to have lost as many men as the king's army amounted to, besides his baggage, and four pieces of artillery, which were all he had. Some of the *French* infantry joined a body of the *Swiss* troops after the rout, and formed themselves into a hallow square; but *Henry* offered them quarter in a manner so noble and gallant, that

that all of them came over to his service. The victory, next to *Henry's* own valour, was chiefly owing to the skillful conduct of marshal *Biron*, who, though he did not engage, made an excellent use of the division he commanded. "Your majesty (said he to the king after the battle was over) this day acted the part of marshal *Biron* incomparably well; and I did my best to act that of the king." The duke of *Maine* escaped over the *Seine*, by persuading the people of *Mante* that *Henry* was defeated and killed.

The want of money retarded *Henry's* progress for a few days; but having got a remittance from *England*, he broke off a sham negotiation he had entered into with the duke of *Paris*, *Maine*, and marching to *Paris*, he entirely blocked up that capital. The old cardinal of *Bourbon*, the mock *Charles X.* had died in his prison on the day the battle of *Juri* was fought; but the leaguers continued to recognize his authority, and to coin money with his effigies. They had made the duke of *Nemours* the governor of *Paris*, and the death of their king seemed only to render them, and the doctors of the *Sorbonne*, the more determined to oppose *Henry de Bourbon*, as he was called. The legate formed a regiment of thirteen hundred ecclesiastics; but *Henry* must have taken *Paris* by famine, had he not suffered the useless mouths to pass through his camp rather than turn them back to perish in the city. Though *Philip II.* was far from being pleased with the conduct of the duke of *Maine*, and the leaguers, yet, upon the death of the cardinal of *Bourbon*, he sent repeated orders to his general, the duke of *Parma*, to march to the relief of *Paris*. *Henry* had intelligence of this, and demanded from queen *Elizabeth* another supply of four thousand *English*, who had served in the *Low Countries*, together with three pieces of cannon. It appears from *Henry's* own letters, and those of the marquis of *Brandenburg*, one of the wisest prince in *Germany*, that *Henry* owed his victory at *Juri* to the *English* auxiliaries already in his service, and she agreed to send four thousand men to *Normandy*, under the earl of *Essex*, and three thousand to *Bretagne*, under Sir *John Norris*, both which provinces had been already invaded by the *Spaniards*. Notwithstanding this generous assistance, and the repeated remittances of money which *Elizabeth* sent to *Henry*, his affairs upon the march of the duke of *Parma* towards *Paris* had a most wretched aspect. He could not suffer his soldiers to live at free quarters; and he was so far from having money for keeping them together that he could not afford himself decent cloathing, and for want of a dinner he sometimes invited himself to other people's tables.

The taking of *Paris* would have given a more favourable turn to his affairs; but he was disappointed in that hope by the excellent measures which the duke of *Parma* took for its relief. *Henry* was obliged to raise the siege of *Paris*, and march towards *Parma*.

towards the end of *August*; and this was of infinite prejudice to his interest. The duke of *Savoy*, after taking *Frejus* and *Antibes*, was declared protector of *Provence*; and the pope, who was by birth his catholic majesty's subject, persecuted *Henry*, by his fulminations, with the greatest inveteracy. *Henry*, notwithstanding all his discouragements, continued still indefatigable, and made two attempts to take *Paris* by surprize, but was disappointed in both. He had once more recourse to *Elizabeth*, who pressed the government of the *United Provinces* to give such a diversion to the duke of *Parma* as might disable him from again entering *France* with his army. She, at the same time, sent him fresh supplies both of men and money; but it was on the express conditions, that the taxes and gabelles about *Rouen* and *Havre* should be assigned to her commissaries for her repayment, and that he should immediately form the siege of *Rouen*. *Henry* consented to all she required, but was in no condition to perform the terms; and she threatened to recall the earl of *Essex* and all her troops out of *France*. *Henry* had too much understanding to think she was in earnest, and he prevailed with her to suffer Sir *Roger Williams* and his regiment, which he always kept about his own person, to remain in his service.

It was owing to them that, in the year 1591, he surprised *Louvieres*; but we find, at this time, that *Elizabeth* had engaged herself for vast sums to the *German* princes, with whom her minister, *Pallavicini*, had bargained for eleven thousand troops to be employed in *Henry's* service. We mention those circumstances the more particularly, as they can be proved by letters still extant from *Henry* himself, and because all the obligations which the house of *Bourbon* lies under to the crown of *England* are most ungratefully suppressed by the *French* historians.

Elizabeth *Henry* would gladly have drawn *Norris*, and the *English* auxiliaries, from the sea-coasts, to serve him in the more inland parts of *France*; but finding *Elizabeth* averse to that, he was forced to begin his operations in *Normandy*. He intended to take *Laballe*, but he was repulsed: the *English*, however, took *Chatillon*, *Cinquesance*, with several other places, and plundered *Aumale*. *Elizabeth* gave orders to the earl of *Essex* to undertake no service but that of the siege of *Rouen*; but the duke of *Longueville*, *Henry's* governor of *Picardy*, persuaded him to undertake that of *Noyou*, which he carried in fight of the duke of *Maine* and his army; and his success somewhat pacified *Elizabeth*. But we are now to review the internal state of *Henry's* affairs.

State of
the war. During his operations in *Normandy*, he had given the seals to *Chiverney*, and had taken prisoner the bishop of *Evreux*, upon whom was found the copy of a treatise he had composed in defence of the murder of *Henry III.* for which he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The parliament

ment of *Chalons* ordered all the papal proceedings against *Henry* to be burnt by the common executioner, and a price to be set upon the nuntio's head; and *Henry* succeeded, with great difficulty, in taking *Chartres*. On the other hand, the young duke of *Guise* had escaped out of prison, where he had been confined ever since his father's death; and the *Parisians*, who were again guided by the council of sixteen, were inclinable to put themselves under his command, and to nominate the king of *Spain* for their protector; while the young cardinal of *Bourbon*, son to *Lewis*, prince of *Conde*, was a competitor for the crown, as being the catholic head of the house of *Bourbon*. *Henry* very critically became master of all their proceedings, and sent the original papers to the duke of *Maine* in *Picardy*. The duke, it is probable, had, long before this, repented of the lengths he had gone; but had persevered, because he found it dangerous to retract. He now appeared compliable with *Henry's* desire; and they agreed to send the president, *Jeannin*, whom both of them could trust, to sound his catholic majesty. *Jeannin* made his report, with great plainness, that, when *Philip* talked of *Paris*, *Lyons*, and the other great cities of *France*, he called them, "My towns;" and that he spoke of his daughter, and her husband, the archduke *Ernest*, as "queen and king of *France*." He was encouraged in his ambitious notions by the proceedings of the council of sixteen; who, on the fifteenth of *November*, had hanged their president, *Brissot*, and two of their counsellors, in prison, because they did not think them sufficiently in the *Spanish* interest. The duke of *Maine* considered himself now as on the brink of ruin; and returning to *Paris* with his army, after seeming to make up matters with the leaguers, he seized four of the council of sixteen in their beds, and hanged them in his own hall. *Bussy le Clerc* then delivered up to him the *bastille*, and died afterwards in poverty at *Paris*.

Henry did not now consider the duke of *Maine* to be the which is same irreconcilable enemy as before; but *Henry* was, at continued this time, on the point of losing *Elizabeth's* friendship; by *Elizabeth* and, had it not been for the affection she had for the earl *Essex*, who was a friend to him and his cause, it is more than probable she would have recalled her troops, on account of his trifling so long with her by delaying the siege of *Rouen*. *Essex* was passionately fond of action; and, by his influence in *Henry's* council, it was agreed upon, that the siege of *Rouen* should be formed by himself, the duke of *Montpensier*, and marshal *Biron*. Even this agreement was broken by *Henry's* generals; and *Essex* trespassed so far upon *Elizabeth's* partiality for him, as to assist *Biron* in undertaking the siege of *Gournay*. That of *Rouen* was, at last, formed upon *Elizabeth's* assurance of paying *Henry's* foreign troops. His army, in the whole, consisted of about

thirty-five thousand men; but his great dependance was upon the *English*, who were six thousand in number. The earl of *Essex* did wonders in his own person, and stormed the fort on *Mount St. Catharine*; which he kept against all the enemy's efforts. *Henry* took upon himself the command of the siege, and exposed himself equally with the meanest soldier in his army; but he was not now master in his camp. His *Roman catholic*, and even protestant, officers, thought, (perhaps with some reason) that, if the city was taken, it would be plundered by the *English*; and were so averse to the service, that the duke of *Parma* had time, once more, to assemble his troops and to march to the relief of *Rouen*; when the governor, *Villars*, one of the best officers in *France*, was on the point of capitulating. *Henry's* person was never in greater danger than on this occasion; and, had it not been for the valour of his *English* auxiliaries, he must have been killed or taken prisoner. He left marshal *Biron*, with a part of his army, to continue the siege; and he attempted to surprize the duke of *Parma*: but that general was *Henry's* superior in the art of war; and, instead of being surprized, he opened a communication between his army and *Rouen*.

The siege of *Rouen* raised by the duke of *Parma*. The cautious proceeding of the duke of *Parma*, who was not to be forced to a battle, made *Henry* lose all patience. He rode about like a common dragoon; and, though he was now at the head of an army of forty thousand men, he was obliged to be in a manner inactive. The march of the duke of *Parma*, and the duke of *Maine*, who had now joined him, and whose army was far inferior in number to that of *Henry*, was full of difficulties and dangers; but the excellent order and discipline introduced by that great *Italian* general, who behaved with as much ease as if he had been in the midst of a court, surmounted all obstacles, tho' he was carried unarmed in an open sedan. *Henry* attacked the van of his army, near *Aumale*, with so much fury, and with such a disregard to discipline, that he himself was wounded in the reins; and it was with difficulty he was brought off by the duke of *Nevers* and by his *English* auxiliaries. At last, in the beginning of *March*, the duke of *Parma* threw succours into *Rouen*, and actually separated his army. *Henry* took that opportunity to resume the siege, and *Villars* informed the two dukes, who had taken *Neufchatel*, that he must capitulate if not relieved within a few days. The duke of *Parma* reassembled his army, and marched against *Henry*; who, after a five months continuance of the siege, was obliged to raise it. The duke of *Parma* was for fighting a decisive battle, but the duke of *Maine* opposed it; and, with their joint forces, they besieged and took *Caudebec*, where the duke of *Parma* was wounded.

Henry

Henry instructed his ambassador, *Beauvoir*, to magnify to *Henry* in *Elizabeth* every circumstance that was in his favour; but to great danger conceal and disguise whatever was otherwise: and the sup- ger. plies she continued to give *Henry* had rendered his army more numerous than ever; and he undertook the siege of *Ivetot* in the sight of his enemies. In reconnoitering their camp, attended only by a troop of light-horse and an hundred and fifty foot, but most of them *English*, he was surrounded by a strong detachment of the enemy. In a letter of *Henry* to *Elizabeth*, in which he gives an account of the action that ensued, he says it was one of the most dreadful that ever was seen; “and, madam,” continues he, “I can say, with great justice, that your troops behaved with so much intrepidity and courage, that it was impossible for my *Frenchmen* to equal them.”

Being, with great difficulty, disengaged from this encounter, *Henry* prepared to be revenged on the two dukes; and took his measures so well, that young *Biron* demanded of his father the command of six or seven thousand men to finish their destruction. “Son,” replied the old man, “thou and I must then go and plant cabbages at *Biron*.” The *Seine* was, at this time, on the rear of the duke of *Parma*’s army, and considerably broad. He was in no condition to fight, and his troops had no subsistence; so that it was expected every hour that he would have demanded a capitulation. In this situation, he assembled, or built, a great number of boats; and, in the space of half a day, he ran up two redoubts on the opposite bank of the river, which favoured his retreat across it with all his troops. That great soldier thought this operation the most masterly he had ever performed; and he sent a trumpet to *Henry* to know what he thought of it. *Henry*, in his vexation of spirit, at being obliged to remain little better than a spectator while his enemies escaped him, answered peevishly, “That he could give no opinion, because he was not used to retreats.” The duke of *Parma* continued his march, took *Espernai*, and returned to the *Low Countries*.

The secret views of all the parties concerned in this war, excepting those of *Henry*, which could not be mistaken, were averse to each other. The duke of *Maine* hated and dreaded both the *Spaniards* and the leaguers, but durst not close with *Henry*. *Philip II.* on pretence of religion, intended to render *France* a province of his crown. *Elizabeth* assisted *Henry* chiefly with a view of keeping the *Spanish* armies employed in *France*; and both the *Roman* catholic and protestant officers, who served for pay, as most of them did, dreaded the return of peace. The dukes of *Epernon* and *la Valette*, *Lefdiguieres*, and other great officers of the provinces, were too fond of independency to see royalty again re-established under such a prince as *Henry*; and a vast party in the kingdom, consisting of those who both favoured

and opposed the league, were for the establishment of a commonwealth.

Marshal
Biron
killed.

The duke *de Mercœur* defeated the princes of *Conti* and *Dombes*, who commanded for *Henry* on the frontiers of *Anjou*. The king retook *Caudebec*; and, renewing the blockade of *Rouen*, he besieged, and took, *Espernai*; but with the loss of his best general, marshal *Biron*, whose head was shot off by a cannon-ball. It was thought, that, being disappointed in some ambitious views, he was willing that *Henry* should be sensible of his importance by his inactivity at the siege of *Rouen*, and in opposing the duke of *Parma*. His loss was, in some measure, replaced by the viscount *de Turenne*; who, by *Henry's* interest, married the heiress of the house of *la Marck*; and, in her right, became duke of *Bouillon*, to the vast disappointment of the house of *Lorraine*. He was an acquisition of great consequence to the king, as he possessed the strong town of *Sedan*, and its principality, as well as the dutchy of *Bouillon*. The marshal of *Lorraine* had besieged *Beaumont* for the league; but the duke of *Bouillon*, now made a marshal of *France*, beat him, relieved the place, and took all his baggage and artillery. The duke *de Joyeuse* was, in like manner, beaten, with the loss of two thousand men, and his own life, by *de Themmes*, who commanded for the king in *Languedoc*; and *Lesdiguières* drove the duke of *Savoy* out of *France*, and pursued him almost to the gates of *Turin*. The duke *de la Valette* being now dead, was succeeded by his brother, the duke of *Epernon*, as governor of *Provence*; and took *Antibes* from the *Spaniards*, as well as drove them from before *Bayonne*.

Services
of *Eliza-*
beth to
Henry.

The prince of *Anhalt* then commanded the *German* auxiliaries in *Henry's* service; but they proving too expensive for his finances, he was obliged to dismiss them. Queen *Elizabeth*, however, prevailed with the prince to keep them together, in case their assistance should be farther wanted. She had, at this time, above twelve thousand men in *France* under *Norris*, and was perpetually upbraiding *Henry* for leaving his sea-coasts, opposite to *England*, disfurnished of troops; but his situation became, at this time, extremely critical.

The duke
of *Parma*
ordered to
march in-
to *France*.

The immense sums furnished by *Philip*, to keep up his party among the leaguers, had such an effect, that he flattered himself, by the pope's assistance, to procure the salic law being set aside by a decree of the states of *France*, and his own daughter to be declared queen. It was with this view that, notwithstanding his engagements with the archduke *Albert*, he had kept her still unmarried, that he might give her to a prince of the house of *Lorraine*, or some other, who might be more agreeable to the *French* nation. The throne, in the sense of the league, was still vacant. *Henry* most certainly had a correspondence with the duke of *Maine* for defeating the *Spanish* party in their views on the crown; but

but he durst not entirely break with him, nor even appear to distrust him. The pope had taken upon him to issue his orders for the meeting of the states of *France*; and the *Spanish* party insisted upon their assembling either at *Soissons* or *Rheims*. The duke of *Maine* stuck to their meeting at *Paris*; but the duke of *Parma* had orders from his master once more to march into *France* with his army; and the *Spanish* agents among the leaguers were authorized to declare, that, if his daughter was chosen queen, he would support her title with millions of money, and an army of sixty thousand men.

The duke of *Maine* was saved from his distress by the death of the duke of *Parma*, as he was assembling his army. The death of that great prince, the ablest, but the worst supported, general of his time, was equally providential for the leaguers as for the royalists. All *Henry's* resources, but in the queen of *England*, were exhausted. His protestant subjects had served him faithfully; but they, as well as he, were miserably poor, and their numbers greatly reduced. The best head among them, *Rosne*, afterwards duke of *Sully*, advised *Henry* to change his religion; and his *Roman catholic* subjects, though they had hitherto served him with fidelity, were somewhat peremptory in desiring him to declare himself on that head; and *Henry*, perceiving his ruin to be inevitable if he did not, gave them such an answer as left them in no doubt of his compliance; which was a blow the leaguers dreaded the most of any.

On the twenty-sixth of *January*, 1592, the states of *France* assembled at *Paris*, being convoked by a sensible, elegant, and moderate edict, published by the duke of *Maine*, and a rash, intemperate mandate by the legate. When they proceeded to business, the legate sat as president; but the royal chair of state was left vacant. He and the *Spanish* faction proposed, that the assembly should enter into an association not to acknowledge the king of *Navarre* as their sovereign, even though he should profess himself a *Roman catholic*.

The duke of *Maine*, when strengthened by the royal party and the more moderate leaguers, was sensible that his interest in the assembly was superior to that of the *Spaniards*. He opposed the legate's proposition with great weight and dignity, and the archbishop of *Lyons* shewed that it was derogatory to his holiness. While they were intent on those debates, a paper of propositions was sent, by the royal party of the *Roman catholics*, to the count *de Belin*, governor of *Paris*, for a conference to be held, near that capital, by the deputies on both sides; and the duke of *Maine*, against the opinion of the violent leaguers, remitted it to the consideration of the states; but had so much interest as to prevail with them to do nothing decisive upon it till he had had an

interview with the duke of *Feria*, *Philip's* ambassador, who was at *Soissons*.

They accordingly met, and both of them treated each other with haughtiness. *Feria* proposed the repeal of the *salic* law, and that the *infanta* should be immediately declared queen of *France*. The duke of *Maine* answered, that kingdoms were not to be acquired by promises. Some of the more moderate *Spanish* ministers made the duke of *Feria* sensible of the duke of *Maine's* influence in the states; upon which he offered him the sovereignty of *Burgundy*, to himself and his family, for ever; the government of *Picardy* for his life; the command of all the troops of *France*, with the title of lieutenant general, and the payment of, or security for, immense sums of money. It is uncertain whether the duke of *Maine* was not touched with those proposals; and, after taking *Noyon*, he introduced the duke of *Feria* into the assembly of the states. He there renewed his violent propositions for the repeal of the *salic* law, and the election of the *infanta* and the archduke *Albert*, to be king and queen of *France*. Both motions were rejected, and the parliament of *Paris* issued a solemn arret, declaring it to be treason against the constitution of the kingdom, even to admit of any treaty for transferring the crown to foreigners, or for the repeal of the *salic* law. The duke of *Maine* appeared to be offended with this officiousness of the parliament; and the duke of *Feria*, in his master's name, proposed the duke of *Guise* as a husband for the *infanta*.

The repeal of the *salic* law opposed.

It was not, perhaps, at this time, in the power of the two dukes, though they had been united, to have carried their point against the *salic* law. It was now known that *Henry* was, for form sake, under the instructions of the bishops for reconciling himself to the church of *Rome*. The conferences that had been proposed between his deputies and those of the states, had been agreed to, and were actually going on at *Surene*, the archbishop of *Lyons* being the first commissioner for the states, and the archbishop of *Bourges* for the king.

On the twenty-eighth of *July*, affairs took a sudden turn, by *Henry* formally hearing mass at *St. Dennis*, and receiving absolution from the archbishop of *Bourges*. He was then besieging *Dreux*; but the king no sooner declared himself a *Roman* catholic, than a truce for three months, from the first of *August*, was agreed on. The enthusiastic leaguers had foreseen this stroke, and had provided against it; for they had spirited up one *Pierre Barrier*, a waterman, to assassinate *Henry*. The plot was discovered by one *Seraphin Bianchi*, a *Dominican* friar, and one *Brancaleon*, a domestic of the queen-mother; by whose activity the fellow was apprehended, and executed, after confessing who his accomplices among the leaguers were.

The

The face of affairs was now changed in favour of the king, whose virtues must have won the hearts of all but the most detestable enthusiasts. He had received a most severe letter from *Elizabeth*, when his conversion was notified to her by *Mornay*, his ambassador at her court; but he knew that her interest would keep her firm in his alliance. The marshal *Matignon* had, by the assistance of some *English* and *Dutch* ships, beaten a fleet of *Spaniards*, which, however, afterwards relieved *Blaye*; and *Lefdiguieres* had cut in pieces three thousand *Spaniards* upon the frontiers of *Savoy*; after which he marched against the duke of *Epernon*, who tyrannized over the people of *Provence*, without declaring for the king. The duke of *Montmorenci* continued to be master of *Languedoc*, where he preserved matters in perfect tranquillity; and, upon *Henry's* conversion, he did him such excellent service, that he was rewarded with the constable's sword. The chief opposition *Henry* now met with, was from the violent protestants, whom he had given leave to assemble; but they were prompted by their zeal to present him with fourteen articles, which he could not comply with without the ruin of his affairs.

The more the royal cause prospered, the more strongly did the duke of *Maine* link himself with the *Spanish* party, who now threw out to him the bait of the infant's marriage with his son. This proposal carried him great lengths; and *Henry* discovered that a treaty was on foot between him and the *Spaniards*, who were to furnish him with a body of eighteen thousand men. *Henry* was unwilling to exasperate the duke of *Maine* beyond all measure; but he informed old secretary *Villeroy*, one of the ablest men in *France*, and the president *Jeannin*, who had managed the private correspondence between him and the duke, of his new engagements. The duke, on the other hand, had interest enough with the states to prevail upon them to renew their oath of union in favour of the *Roman* catholic religion, and to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*; but with such a salvo in favour of the *Gallican* church, as rendered the edict of very little effect.

It was about this time that the duke of *Nemours*, the duke of *Maine's* brother by the mother, was encouraged to hope for the infant in marriage, and attempted to form an independent government in the *Lyonnois*, by fortifying that city. The archbishop of *Lyons* counteracted him by the duke of *Maine's* influence, and the people sent the duke of *Nemours* prisoner to *Pierre Encise*. Soon after this, secretary *Villeroy* was so thoroughly convinced of the duke of *Maine's* dangerous practices, that he broke off all correspondence with him, and retired to his son's government at *Pontoise*.

Henry had now reduced *Dreux*; but the languor of the *Roman* catholics, of his party, even after his conversion, ties of

Henry at was amazing. No places of great importance submitted to the court him, through the general opinion which they entertained of *Rome* of the duke of *Maine's* good intentions, joined, perhaps, after his to the distrust they had of the sincerity of *Henry's* conversion. The marquis *de Vitri* was the first nobleman who had the courage to reconcile himself to *Henry*, in the most gallant manner. He had, like the duke of *Epernon*, left the king, but had joined the league, and was made governor of *Meaux*. No sooner did *Henry* declare his conversion, than he ordered his garrison to evacuate the town; and prevailed upon the magistrates, to whom he resigned the keys, to send them to *Henry* by their deputies, whom he received as his children; and, at their desire, he replaced the marquis *de Vitri* in his government.

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We have already seen the dispositions of the court of *Rome*, with regard to *Henry's* cause. *Clement VIII.* had been his violent enemy; and for some time refused to admit into his presence *Henry's* ambassadors, cardinal *de Gondi*, and the marquis of *Pisani*; and even after he was inclined to have given him absolution, he was overawed by the *Spanish* faction. *Henry* had made the most humiliating advances to be reconciled to his holiness. For that purpose he employed, at the court of *Rome*, various agents, and particularly the famous *Arnold d'Ossat*, afterwards cardinal, and one of the ablest negotiators of his age. The cardinal found the forms of the court of *Rome* so intolerably slow, and the pope himself so mysteriously dilatory, that *Henry* sent the duke of *Nevers*, at the head of a pompous embassy, to quicken his holiness, to whom he talked with great freedom. In short, he rendered *Clement* at length sensible that he was in danger of losing two thirds of the kingdom of *France*. The marquis *de Vitri*, and the people of *Meaux*, had addressed the inhabitants of *Paris* to follow their example. *Charenton*, and many places about *Paris*, were reduced by *Henry*; and what was still of more consequence, the people of *Lyons* declared for him, without giving their archbishop the merit of being instrumental in their submission.

His progress against the leaguers.

The spirit of the kingdom ran now so much in favour of *Henry*, that the marshal *de la Chastre* abandoned the league, and delivered up to *Henry* his government of the *Orleannois*, and *Berry*, with the city of *Orleans*; as *d'Alincourt*, son to *Villeroy*, did *Pontoise*. *Rheims*, however, was still in the power of the leaguers; and *Henry*, who was sensible of what importance a coronation was to his title, resolved that his should be performed at *Chartres*, which it accordingly was, on the twenty-seventh of *February*, with as much solemnity as the confusion of the times could admit of. The effects of his coronation were so amazing, that the cardinal legate, to stop them, published a mandate, declaring

declaring the pope to be so far from receiving the duke of *Nevers*, as *Henry's* ambassador, that he resolved never to give him absolution. This intemperate zeal ruined the affairs of the league. The *Roman* catholic royalists were now convinced that the pope, and not *Henry*, was to blame, and that the intention of *Philip* was to involve them in a perpetual war; for which reasons they repaired to *Henry's* standards in greater numbers than ever.

By this time, *Henry* had once more blockaded *Paris*, and the duke of *Maine* retired with his family to *Soissons*; but left the command of *Paris* to the count *de Brisac*. There was then in *Paris* a garrison of three thousand *Spaniards* besides mercenaries in their pay, and a *French* garrison likewise, many of whom were devoted to the league. Though the count *de Brisac* had given the duke of *Maine* the strongest assurances of his defending the capital against *Henry*, yet he found it impracticable, and soon formed connections with the royalists within the city for delivering it up to the king. Their heads were the president, *le Maître*; the attorney general, *Molé*; the provost of the merchants, *Lullier*; and the sheriff, *L'Anglois*. To disguise their consultations from the *Spaniards*, and the violent leaguers, *Brisac* pretended to have a violent quarrel with his brother-in-law, *St. Luc*; and he ordered the new gate to be strongly guarded under the sheriff *L'Anglois*, till it could be walled up, because, as he observed, it was the most commodious for the entrance of the king's troops. Matters, however, were not carried on with so much secrecy as to prevent the duke of *Feria*, and the *Spanish* general, don *Diego d'Ibarra*, from suspecting what was transacting, and the count of *Brisac* ran the risk of being stabbed by their officers. He acted with vast address, and disengaging himself from their company, he made such dispositions that the king's army was next morning, by five o'clock, admitted into the city without opposition, and almost without bloodshed; for not above sixty or seventy obstinate enthusiasts, (who refused to call out *vive le roy*) were cut in pieces.

The cardinal legate was sick in bed, when he heard of this catastrophe, which affected him so much, that he instantly expired. Though *Henry* had a right to have treated the *Spaniards* as prisoners of war, yet he gave them leave to depart, and jocosely sent his compliments to their master by the generals, and told them, that he never again expected to see them in *Paris*. *Henry*, the day of his entering his capital, heard mass, dined, and kept his court in public, as if he had resided there for years before; and in a few hours the tranquility and traffic of the city were entirely restored. On the thirtieth of *March*, the parliament repealed all the acts that had been made in prejudice of the royal authority, since the death of the late king; and the heads

heads of the university, with the violent doctors of the Sorbonne implored his pardon on their knees, and retracted all their seditious decrees, and proceedings.

*Henry's
successes
in other
parts of
France.*

The capital being thus secured, *Henry* turned his thoughts towards *Rouen*, which was still governed by *Villars*, who had so bravely defended it before. He was among the other *French* generals of those days who looked upon a government as a life rent, of which they could not be divested without receiving a valuable consideration. He had been created admiral of *France*, and he demanded of the king four hundred thousand crowns, a pension of sixteen thousand livres, the continuance of his government, and his office of admiral, with many other augmentations of his power, and independency. *Henry*, to please queen *Elizabeth*, who could not be easy while *Rouen* was in the hands of the leaguers, granted him all he demanded. He gave young *Biron* a marshal's baton, and received the submission of the duke of *Elbuef*, the governor of *Poitou*. The marshal *d'Aumont* was ordered to take under his command the *English* troops in *Bretagne*, and he made himself master of *St. Malo*, and *Morlaix*. He next laid siege to *Crodon*, which, by the help of Sir *Martin Forbisher*, he took from the *Spaniards*, who were all put to death. The attack of that fort, which was erected at the entry of the bay of *Brest*, was fatal to Sir *Martin Forbisher*, who died of a wound he received there.

The reduction of *Champagne* under *Henry's* power was attended with remarkable circumstances. The government of that province had been granted to *St. Paul*, whom the duke of *Maine* had made a marshal of *France*; but he was killed by the duke of *Guise* in a private quarrel upon the streets of *Rheims*. The people of the province immediately chose the duke for their governor, and he accepted of the terms of submission prescribed him by *Henry*, who soon after gave him the government of *Provence*, out of which *Lesdiguiere* had driven the duke of *Epernon*. The duke of *Lorraine* now considered the affairs of the league as desperate, and made his terms with *Henry*. *Amiens* declared for him after he had besieged and taken *Laon*; and *Cambray* likewise submitted.

The pope
humbled.

The successes of *Henry* humbled the haughtiness of the pope; but increased that of *Philip*. His holiness privately advised *d'Ofsat* to wink at his connivance with the deputies of the leaguers, and promised that, at a proper time, he would give his master absolution. *Philip*, on the other hand, omitted no means, public or private, to distress him; and *Henry*, at last, resolved to declare war against him, and to attack his *Low Countries*; for such was the peculiar situation of *Henry*, that though daily hostilities were committed between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, yet no declared war subsisted between the two nations. It is thought, that beside

besides the public motives which inclined him to this step, he was influenced by the famous *Gabrielle d'Estrees*, his mistress, whom he loved to a degree of distraction, and who wanted a provision for her son. The duke of *Bouillon*, who was now a widower, had views in favour of the prince of *Orange*, and advised *Henry* to the war; while some of his other generals had motives of ambition or rapine.

While *Henry* was consulting upon this great affair, the *Henry Jesuits*, by their diabolical doctrines, were daily exciting attempted their votaries to assassinate him. One *John Chastel*, a youth to be of no more than nineteen years of age, the son of a rich assassin-draper, but weak brained and overheated by their discourses, ed. thought he could purchase the pardon of all his sins, by murdering *Henry*. With this view he repaired to the Louvre, and aimed a blow at the king's throat with a knife; but by *Henry's* stooping to embrace a nobleman, he received it on his mouth, where it beat out one of his teeth. He was immediately seized, and he avowed the fact, which he said was meritorious, because the king had not yet received absolution from the pope. He was condemned to death and executed. As he had received his education among the *Jesuits*, his tutor, *Gueret*, and one father *Guignard*, were apprehended. *Gueret* stood the torture without making any confession, and was banished the kingdom. Among *Guignard's* papers, were found some treatises justifying the doctrine of king-killing for heresy, for which he was hanged; but he could not be brought to ask pardon of the king, or to acknowledge that he had offended him. The same pernicious doctrine was found to be common to all the *Jesuits*, for which they were banished *France*; as were *Chastel's* father and mother, their house was demolished, and a pillar of infamy erected, where it stood. The parliaments of *Bordeaux*, and *Tholouse*, refused to second that of *Paris*, and the other parliaments of *France*, in this expulsion of the *Jesuits*; and nine years after, *Henry*, for political reasons, consented to their being recalled.

Gabrielle d'Estrees, is said to have been a weak woman; He settles but she was entirely mistress of *Henry's* affections, and his affairs. secretly governed the most important measures of his life. It was owing to her suggestions, that, at this time, he Vol. X. formed the design of conquering *Franche Compté*, which he p. 297. designed to give to her son; but, under the protection of the *Swiss* cantons, who were to be its lords paramount. In the mean while, pope *Gregory* pronounced *Henry's* absolution, in the persons of *Perron* and *d'Ossat*; but it had not the expected effect upon his affairs. *Biron* had been successful in *Picardy*; tho' a number of places in that province were still in the duke of *Maine's* hands. The duke of *Nemours* had escaped out of *Pierre Encise*, and, by the duke *Savoy's* assistance, he had surprized *Vienne*, and was attempting to block up *Lyons*; but he died of heart-break, after being

being defeated by *Montmorenci*. The duke of *Maine* soon after lost *Dijon*, the capital of *Burgundy*, where his chief force then lay; and *Henry*, after settling his affairs at *Paris*, where he declared the prince of *Conti* president of the council, prepared to open the campaign in person for the conquest of the *Franche Compté*. The whole of his conduct, on this occasion, was dictated by his extravagant passion for his mistress; for while he was in *Burgundy* he received certain advice, that *Velasco*, constable of *Castile*, had joined the duke of *Maine*, with an army of fifteen thousand *Spaniards*. The castle of *Dijon*, which *Henry* had ordered to be besieged, still held out, as did that of *Talan*; and so impatient was he to make his promise good to his mistress, that while his army was marching to its rendezvous, he fell in, at the head of no more than two hundred horse, with the duke of *Maine's* van guard. Had that duke been able to have persuaded the constable to move, *Henry* must have been killed, or taken prisoner; but by a most amazing exertion of valour, he defended himself so well, at the head of his little troop, that he gave time for a body of eight hundred of his horse to come up, and disengage him.

The duke of Maine The duke of *Maine*, thro' the inactivity of the *Spaniards*, by which *Henry's* troops had reduced two castles, saw that leaves the the *Spaniards* were resolved to fight only for themselves; *Spaniards*. and *Henry*, who could not be ignorant of his sentiments, offered him a truce of three months, as he was on the point of retiring into *Savoy*. The duke accepted of it, and at *Henry's* request he went to *Chalons*, with a full resolution of employing the time of the truce in treating of peace. *Henry*, after the separation of the duke of *Maine* from the *Spanish* army, might very possibly have reduced *Franche Compté*; but he had been so blinded by his passion, that he had not secured the *Swiss* cantons in his interest; so that all he could do was to ravage the country which he intended to conquer. He went to *Lyons*, where he was magnificently entertained by the people, and their archbishop, who had been so serviceable to the duke of *Maine*. He there received the places which were held in *Anjou*, and *Maine*, by *Bois-Dauphin*, and returned to him the baton of marshal, that had been conferred upon him by the duke of *Maine*, whose authority *Henry* disallowed of. While he resided at *Lyons*, he concluded a truce with the duke of *Savoy*; but he expressed great indignation, when he found by *Lefdiguieres*, that the insolent duke of *Epernon* had recovered his interest in *Provence*, by means of a large pension paid him, monthly, by the king of *Spain*.

Conduct of queen Elizabeth Queen *Elizabeth* took umbrage at *Henry's* expedition into *Franche Compté*; and it was with the utmost difficulty that his minister, *Chevalier*, prevailed on her not to recal her troops out of *Bretagne*, and *Picardy*, where the *Spaniards* under the *Conde de Fuentes*, were making an alarming progress.

gress. The duke of *Nevers*, the marshal *de Bouillon*, the count of *St. Paul*, and the admiral *Villars*, commanded for *Henry*. The dislike of the three latter to the duke of *Nevers*, perhaps, was detrimental to *Henry's* affairs. *Fuentes*, who had under him fifteen thousand men, took *Catalet*, and laid siege to *Dourlens*. *Henry's* generals undertook to relieve it; but were defeated by the duke of *Aumale*; and the admiral, *Villars*, who was taken prisoner, with some others, were murdered in cold blood, for having abandoned the league. The parliament of *Paris* imputed this barbarity to the duke of *Aumale*, and he was therefore proclaimed a traitor, with the highest marks of ignominy. To counterbalance those misfortunes, *Humiere*, another of *Henry's* generals, surprized, but with the loss of his life, the strong town of *Ham*, and put the garrison, consisting of sixteen hundred men, to the sword. *Henry* hearing of the progress of *Fuentes*, set out for *Picardy*; but was met on the road by the duke of *Nevers*, who informed him, that the *Spaniards* had taken *Cambray* likewise; that *Artois*, as well as *Picardy*, was in the utmost danger, and that the king, with the force he had, could do little for their relief. The desponding manner in which the duke (who was reckoned one of the worthiest, as well as bravest men in *France*) spoke, drew from *Henry* an answer, which affected the duke so much, that it broke his heart in a few days. *Henry* finding himself unable to regain *Cambray*, besieged *la Fere*, and sent over *Lomeni*, to assist *Chevalier* in soliciting queen *Elizabeth* for a new recruit of forces. That princess thought herself, with some reason, ill-treated by *Henry*, and she gave *Lomeni* so tart an answer, that he upbraided her with the loss of *Cambray*. Not chusing, however, that *Henry* should be obliged to make peace with *Spain*, she ordered her lord high admiral to fit out a fleet for his assistance; but it was impossible for him to put to sea.

In the month of *January*, the long expected accommodation took place with the duke of *Maine*, who, to the amazement of the world, obtained far better terms than the state of his affairs promised him. He treated as the head of a party, and therefore, in some degree, of equality with the king. He, and all his followers, were restored to their estates; an oblivion of all that was past was stipulated both for him and them; the king undertook to discharge three hundred thousand crowns of his private, and all his public debts; he was made governor of the isle of *France*, and obtained, by way of security, the towns of *Seure*, *Chalons*, and *Soissons*; and he and his friends were absolved from all imputation of the late king's death. *Henry* had many reasons, public, as well as personal, to induce him to this accommodation. He detached his most powerful subject from his alliance with *Philip*, and made a friend of a man, whom he knew had great qualities to recommend

commend him ; and who, notwithstanding all his demerits, had saved *France* from becoming a province of *Spain*. In fact, the duke became, from that time, an admirer of the king's virtues, and a faithful subject ; while *Henry* treated him ever after, on the footing of the most intimate friendship. It was about this time, that *Henry* created *Gabrielle d'Estrees*, dutchess de *Beaufort*, and gave her the marquise of *Monceaux*.

The reconciliation of the duke of *Maine* with *Henry* had great effects. On the death of the duke of *Joyeuse*, his brother, who had betaken himself to a convent, and quitted it to serve the league, was made governor of *Tholouse*, which he now delivered up to *Henry*. The duke of *Nemours* made his submissions likewise ; and the duke of *Guise*, *Henry's* governor of *Provence*, surprised *Marseilles*, which was held by the *Spaniards* ; and when *Henry* heard that *Marseilles* was recovered, he is said to have exclaimed, " I am a king at last." His placable behaviour to the duke of *Maine*, and his other enemies, encouraged the duke of *Epernon* to present himself before him, and to demand the government of the *Limosin* ; which was granted him. This easiness was censured in *Henry* as weakness ; and he is accused of having been more generous to his enemies than grateful to his friends ; not to mention that the duke had treated him with personal indignities.

who loses
Calais.

Of all the king's subjects, the sieur de *Rosne*, was, now, the most dangerous. He had received the title of marshal from the duke of *Maine*, but *Henry* would not confirm it ; and he had in a manner obliged him to throw himself into the hands of the *Spaniards*, to whom he did the most important services, in *Picardy*, and *Artois*. *Henry*, after a tedious blockade and siege, reduced *la Fere* ; but the cardinal archduke, *Albert*, governor of the *Low Countries*, had now entered *France*, with twenty thousand men, and a noble train of artillery. *Rosne* was, at that time, suspected by the *Spaniards*, of intending to leave them, and he would have been put to death had he not been saved by *Fuentes*. While they were debating on his fate, he was informed of his danger, and entering, with an intrepid air, the room where the council of war was sitting, he offered to put them in possession of *Calais*. The archduke accepted of his proposal, and left to him the direction of the operations. *Henry* knew of the undertaking when it was too late, and sent over *Sancy*, to advertise queen *Elizabeth* of his and her own danger. He opened his commission, and she asked him, whether his master would chuse to see *Calais* in the hands of the *Spaniards* or the *English* ; he honestly answered, in those of the *Spaniards*. She disdained, after this, to treat with *Sancy* ; but she sent the lord *Sidney*, to *Henry*, to demand *Calais*, if she should contribute to relieve it. *Henry* was so provoked with this request, that he turned his back upon *Sidney*, saying, that he had rather be torn by a lion than

than a lioness. He then attempted to enter the port of *Calais* with a few troops; but he was driven back by stress of weather, and the place, on the twenty-second of *April*, was obliged to surrender to the vigorous efforts of *Rosne*, who in that campaign reduced likewise the important town of *Ardres*.

Those disgraces hurt the reputation of *Henry's* arms with He suffers his best friends. It was said that he was attempting in his reputation. to make conquests for the dutches of *Beaufort*, when he ought to have secured *Picardy*, and fortified *Calais*. He soon felt the effects of this disreputation. The duke of *Merceur* commanded for the league in *Bretagne*, and being supported by the *Spaniards*, he disregarded all offers of accommodation with *Henry*. In this, he was encouraged by the behaviour of the king's old friends, the hugonots, who had at their head the dukes of *Bouillon*, and *Trimouille*. The whole party thought they had been very indifferently treated by *Henry*; but the situation of his affairs prevented his giving them any relief. Upon this, they took some very disagreeable steps, by raising contributions, and fortifying their towns, at a time, too, when *Henry*, in *Picardy*, was destitute even of necessaries. It is to his credit that he incurred those difficulties, by his punctually discharging the vast debts he had contracted, and that his necessities never made him take a dishonourable step. To retrieve his reputation, he sent *Biron* into *Artois*, which he ravaged; and *Elizabeth*, who was now really apprehensive of the power of *Spain*, renewed all her treaties with him, and soon after sent him over two thousand fresh troops, under Sir *Thomas Baskerville*. He had the good fortune to find the cardinal *de Medici*, the pope's legate, to be a moderate, well meaning man, and to discourage all cabals on the part of the *Roman* catholics.

According to the duke of *Sully*, who could not be mis- the assembly taken in what he advances, in the year we treat of, nobly of his more than thirty millions of livres came into *Henry's* nobles at coffer, out of a hundred and fifty millions of the royal *Rouen*. revenues that were raised upon the people, by his creditors, or their collectors. Thus overwhelmed with difficulties, he took the two most proper steps that wisdom and policy could dictate; for he committed the entire administration of his finances to the duke of *Sully*, and he convoked an assembly of his nobles, who formed a kind of general estates at *Rouen*; because the plague was then at *Paris*. He opened the assembly, by a speech which does him honour, as the father of his people. He told the members, that he had called them together, to put himself entirely into their hands, and that the love he bore for his people rendered every thing possible, and honourable to him. This speech had the desired effect. A new system of policy was introduced; but the protestants, notwithstanding all the king's

king's earnest endeavours to mollify them, remained dissatisfied.

His difficulties
increase.

While *Henry* was preparing to reap the fruits of his new arrangements, *Portocarrero*, the *Spanish* governor of *Dourlens*, formed a scheme to surprize *Amiens*, where the inhabitants had refused, (because they had freely submitted to *Henry*) to receive his troops. *Portocarrero's* scheme succeeded, and he took *Amiens*. *Henry's* indigent circumstances, at that time, embittered this loss, and he seemed inclined to take some desperate step; when he was presented by *Sully* with a scheme, by which he raised six hundred thousand crowns by loan, increased his revenue, and drew from his farmers two millions and a half of livres, to prevent their being called to an account. This money could not be raised all at once, and *Henry's* necessities increased, when the effects of some irregularities obliged him to go to *Paris* for a cure; it being then free of the plague. There he heard, with the utmost chagrin, that, under the patronage of the queen of *England*, the dukes of *Montpensier*, *Bouillon*, and *Trimouille*, had formed a party which they called the patriotic; that the affections of the protestants were so alienated from him that they pretended to be under the horrors of a new *St. Bartholomew's* day; and that the duke of *Merceur* was stronger than ever in *Bretagne*. Even his friend the duke of *Florence*, had seized upon the fort of *If*, which commanded the harbour of *Marseilles*, under pretence of his not being paid the great sums he had advanced to *Henry*. To say the truth, he performed his pecuniary engagements much more punctually towards his own subjects than towards foreigners. The openness and frankness of *Henry's* character, his courage, his clemency, and good faith, operated wonderfully in his favour on this occasion.

Loyalty
of the
duke of
Maine.

The duke of *Maine* employed not only his interest, but menaces, to keep the *Roman* catholics quiet. *Lefdiguieres*, who, without money, had carried on a successful war against the duke of *Savoy*, threatened to turn his arms against the protestants if they continued longer refractory. The duke of *Sully*, though a protestant himself, exposed to the hugonots their own madness, and the parliament of *Paris* refused nothing that *Henry* could desire; so that the party formed by the three dukes vanished. The money being raised, and more troops arriving from *England*, *Henry* at once saw himself at the head of thirty thousand men, with whom he proceeded to the relief of *Amiens*. He trusted the chief command of his army to the duke of *Maine*, who well knew the *Spanish* manner of fighting; but when he came before the place, he found it fortified with additional works, and the archduke in his rear with twenty five thousand veteran troops. By the advice of the duke of *Maine*, *Henry* remained in his trenches, on the defensive, and repulsed the *Spaniards* in several attacks, upon which, the place

place surrendered on the twentieth of September, and the archduke retired to *Arras*, which was insulted by *Henry*.

The success of this glorious campaign re-established not *Henry's* only the reputation, but the affairs of *Henry*. *Lefdiguieres* glorious continued still to be successful against the duke of *Savoy*, campaign. by whose means, *Henry* seems to have received the first intimation of *Philip's* being inclinable to enter into a negotiation for peace. Upon *Henry's* return to *Paris*, he punished with death some of the mad remains of the league, who were renewing their intrigues with the king of *Spain*, and the duke of *Mercœur*. The latter had intelligence that *Philip* was, at this time, offering to treat of a peace with *England*, and it was concluded that it would be impossible for him to maintain his footing in *Bretagne*. He therefore concluded a truce with the marshal *de Brisac*, while the secret managements between *d'Ossat* and the *Spanish* ministers at *Rome*, where *Henry's* ambassador, the duke of *Luxembourg*, was highly carressed, had settled all the preliminaries for opening the conferences.

The few weeks of truce with the duke of *Mercœur* being over, *Henry*, who knew that he would not be supported by *Spain*, opened an early campaign against him in person. He reduces the duke of *Mercœur*. The duke's wife was the heiress of the house of *Penthievre*. It was partly in her right that he had so long held the duchy of *Bretagne*, which he flattered himself would remain with him and his heirs; but he now found himself deceived in all his expectations. He neither could prevail with the *Spaniards* to act, nor prevent some of the chief *Breton* nobility from delivering up their fortresses to the king; so that his wife, the haughtiest woman alive, was forced to go *Angiers*, where she threw herself at *Henry's* feet, and implored that accommodation which her husband had so often proudly rejected. *Henry*, who never wanted to come to extremes with any of his subjects, was on this occasion influenced by the vast affection he bore for his son, *Cæsar*, whom he had by the duchess of *Beaufort*, and whom he immediately married to the duke of *Mercœur's* daughter, the heiress of all his vast estate, with such a settlement, as made *Cæsar* the richest subject in his dominions. The duke was likewise obliged to resign to his son-in-law, his government of *Bretagne*, and the king raised in that province, during his short stay there, twelve hundred thousand crowns, which the states were enabled to advance him, from the money they received from *Spain*.

Henry had now scarcely the face of opposition in his own kingdom, and was in a condition to fulfil the promises which he had so often made to the protestants. They repaired to him at *Nantes*, where it is said, that *Chamier*, one of the worthiest of their pastors, presented him with the famous edict which bears the name of that city, ready penned, and which *Henry* passed, after it had been thorough-

ly examined. This was the more generous in him, as he had of late experienced more duty and submission in his catholic, than in his protestant, subjects. But he had many wise and important considerations that influenced him to pass the edict of *Nantes*; because he intended to re-establish his kingdom in tranquility, both at home, and from abroad. This edict was by the protestants very justly considered as a fundamental law of the kingdom. It not only re-established all former edicts in their favour, but granted them a free admission to all places of profit, trust, and dignity. Chambers in which there was an equality of members of both religions were appointed, and the protestants had the privilege of educating their children at the universities, without any concessions to the *Roman* catholic religion. The parliament of *Paris* made some difficulty in registering this edict; but *Henry's* reasons were so cogent, and he enforced them with such plain manly sense, and in a strain of unaffected yet commanding eloquence, that he was obeyed, and even those who had opposed him retracted their opinions, and did justice to his wisdom.

He concludes the peace of *Vervins*,

But though *Henry* had succeeded, by his firmness, in thus providing for the internal state and quiet of his kingdom, he found great difficulties in reconciling his allies to the favourite purpose he had now adopted, and which he was resolved to complete. Both queen *Elizabeth*, and the *States General*, sent ambassadors to dissuade him from any peace with *Spain*; to offer their assistance in continuing the war, and to remind him of the strong engagements he lay under to them, to admit of no peace without their participation. *Henry* gave *Cecil*, queen *Elizabeth's* ambassador, a private audience, and admitted the truth of all he said; but pleaded the necessity he was under for what he was doing. Finding that *Cecil's* discourse bore too hard upon him, he remitted him, and the famous *Barneveldt*, ambassador from the *States General*, to an audience of his council, where he himself was present, and heard himself treated, by *Cecil*, in terms which nothing but his own moderation, and the obligations he lay under to *Elizabeth*, could have digested. The council followed his example, acknowledged the truth and rectitude of all that the ambassadors urged, but repeated his argument of necessity; and the negotiations went on in such a manner as indicated that they would soon be brought to a conclusion. *Elizabeth*, who had all *Henry's* firmness and good sense, but with more acrimony in her temper, justified the behaviour of her ambassador towards him, by a most bitter letter, she wrote, in which she says, that, if there be such a sin as that against the Holy Ghost, it is that of ingratitude.

to great advantage.

The conferences at *Vervins*, which was the place appointed for the treaty, were carried on under the mediation of the pope's legate, and *Gonzaga*, bishop of *Mantua*, his nuntio,

nuntio. *De Bellievre*, and *Sillery*, were plenipotentiaries for *Henry*; and those for the archduke (for the king of *Spain*, had none there, on pretence of avoiding disputes concerning precedence) were *Richardot*, *de Taxis*, and *Verreiken*, who produced, under his *Catholic* majesty's hand, an obligation that he would stand by whatever they should conclude. After some debate, the *French* plenipotentiaries agreed to admit the duke of *Savoy*'s ambassador, and the *Spaniards* yielded to those of *England* and the *States General* being present at the conferences. Many attempts were made to divide *Elizabeth* from her connections with the *States General*; but all to no purpose, and on the second of *May*, the treaty of *Vervins* was signed; but a farther time for its publication was reserved, that he might employ his good offices with *Elizabeth* and the *States* for their accession. By this treaty, the conquests on both sides (that of *Calais* included) were to be restored; and the dispute between *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy*, concerning the marquisate of *Saluces*, was to be referred to the arbitration of his holiness; as likewise were, for form sake, many other disputable points between the two crowns of *France* and *Spain*. By this treaty, *Henry* recovered *Blaye* in *Bretagne*, *Ardres*, *Montulin*, and all that the *Spaniards* held in *Picardy*. The duke of *Arfehote*, and the admiral of *Arragon*, on the part of the archduke, received *Henry*'s oath for confirming the treaty at *Paris*; and the marshal *Biron*, with *Bellievre*, and *Sillery*, went to *Brussels*, where they received the archduke's confirmation in the same manner. About the time the treaty of *Vervins* was concluded, the great duke of *Tuscany*, or *Florence*, by *d'Ossat*'s management, consented to the restitution of the island of *If*, and all the places he had taken belonging to the crown of *France*, upon *Henry*'s acknowledgment of the debt he owed him; and, in compliment to his person, he even remitted the stipulation of twelve hostages, whom *Henry* was to send him for the payment of the money.

The treaty of *Vervins* was more glorious as well as advantageous to *France*, than any she had concluded since the *Henry*'s days of *Philip Augustus*; and left *Henry* at liberty to execute the vast schemes he had formed for the good of his people. In this he was assisted by the ministry of the great *Sully*, who replenished his finances without oppressing his subjects. *Henry*, on his part, did all that could be expected from the father of his country, which he had raised from greater distress than it had ever experienced from the power of the *English*. He disbanded all his useless troops; he retrenched all his unnecessary expences; he attended to *Sully*, who laid before him a clear and consistent, but magnificent, scheme of œconomy; he remitted twenty millions in taxes, that either were oppressive, or impracticable to be raised; he gave to commerce and the arts lustre and dignity; he re-established the manufactures of gold and silver stuffs, which had been prohibited

hibited by sumptuary laws, and which have been since of immense value to *France*; he encouraged the weaving of rich tapestry; he dug canals, and built a-croſs the *Seine* the noble bridge which ſtill bears his name. He embellished, enlarged, and improved his capital, and all the royal palaces, in ſuch a manner, that the *Spaniſh* ambaffador, upon his return to *France*, did not know where he was; and he completed all thoſe and many other noble deſigns, while he was every day paying off his debts, and without diminifhing either the luſtre, or the gaiety of his court. We have, in this place, exhibited the peaceful glories of the ſucceeding part of *Henry's* reign, that we may be under no neceſſity of interrupting the narrative of his civil and military tranſactions.

Death of
Philip II.

and of
the dutch-
eſs of
Beaufort.

Soon after the peace of *Vervins* was concluded, *Philip II.* died, and *Henry* recovered from a dangerous fever. He married his ſiſter to the duke of *Bar*, though ſhe was a proteſtant, and he a *Roman* catholic. His popiſh clergy, with ſome reaſon, remonſtrated to him, that the dignity of his crown was violated by one of the articles of the edict of *Nantes*; which had been inſerted to ſaſtify the duke of *Bouillon*, “permitting foreigners, without the royal leave, to aſſiſt at the proteſtant ſynods.” *Henry* modified this article. But while he acted thus ſo greatly in his royal character, he ſunk to meannefs in his private. His paſſion for the dutcheſs of *Beaufort* was now ſo violent, that he ſollicited a divorce at the court of *Rome* from his wife *Margaret*, that he might marry his miſtreſs. While he was proſecuting this infane and ſcandalous ſcheme, the dutcheſs died, and *Henry* (ſo quick were the viciffitudes of his paſſions) ſoon forgot her, and in three weeks he filled her place with madame *d'Entragues*. *Henry* was ſo little maſter of himſelf, that he made this lady a promiſe of marriage under his hand, and ſhewed it to *Sully*; who tore it, without regard to his maſter's diſpleaſure. *Henry* replaced it, by a freſh promiſe; and while *Sully* thought himſelf diſgraced he gave him the maſterſhip of the ordnance, in addition to his other great employments. Queen *Margaret*, before the death of the dutcheſs of *Beaufort*, had oppoſed her divorce, becauſe the king's reſolution to marry that lady was publicly known; but upon her death, ſhe conſented to the divorce, as having been forced by her brother to marry him; and the pope pronounced the ſentence. *Henry's* miniſters, to prevent his running into a ſcandalous match, contracted him, though not without his knowledge, yet contrary to his expectation, to *Mary de Medici*, the neice of his friend the great duke of *Tuſcany*. He diſliked the match, but he married the lady. We have already mentioned that the pope, by the treaty of *Vervins*, was rendered arbiter of the differences between *Henry* and the duke of *Savoy*, concerning the marquiſate of *Saluces*. *Henry's* open, frank manner, gave that duke a contempt

contempt of his understanding, and he resolved to visit the *French* court, in hopes that, either by his address, he would over-reach *Henry*, or by his intrigues, embroil him with his great subjects.

The patience, and perseverance of *Henry*, under the provocations he met with, form, perhaps, the most amiable part of his character. His great lords, before the peace of *Uervins* was concluded, had scarcely known a superior, and, at this time, they were so fond of the prerogative of independency, that *Henry*, though it did violence to his nature, was sometimes obliged to let them know that they were subject to him and the laws of their country. He had very justly reprimanded the duke of *Bouillon*, who owed him all he possessed, for endeavouring to strengthen himself, by foreign or factious alliances, against the royal authority. Though he had pardoned the duke of *Epernon*, yet he could not reduce him to the rank of a dutiful subject; for he was perpetually over-rating his power and his merits. The dukes of *Montmorenci*, *Trimouille*, *Montpensier*, and *Biron*, had all of them capital objections to their subordinate stations, and at times, even insulted their sovereign. The duke of *Savoy* had intelligence of their discontents, and when he came to the *French* court, where he lived in a manner equally elegant and splendid, he endeavoured to improve them; and it is certain that he made some impression upon the marshal duke of *Biron*, whose head was already turned with vanity and insolence. *Henry's* firmness defeated him of his other expectations. He told the duke, that he absolutely expected the marquisate of *Saluces*, or an equivalent. The duke promised the latter, and *Henry* honourably suffered him to return to his dominions without detaining him as a pledge for the restitution of the marquisate, which had been most iniquitously taken from *France*. Upon his return to *Turin*, and finding that *Henry* was proof to all his arts and refinements, he applied to *Philip III.* for protection and assistance, against the execution of the treaty he had concluded, obliging him to restore to *Henry* the marquisate, or an equivalent. *Henry* was not to be amused, and though the court of *Spain* promised to support the duke, he attacked him in three different parts of his dominions, the greatest part of which he reduced in one campaign. It is to the glory of *Henry*, that we mention his having, during that campaign, re-established the liberties of *Geneva*, which the duke of *Savoy* was upon the point of crushing, by means of fort *St. Catharine*, which he had built to bridle that city.

Though *Henry* met with many embarrassments from his great lords, no prince was ever better served than he was by ministers. Upon the death of *Chiverny*, he had given the seals of the chancellorship to *Pompone de Bellievre*, a man of equal abilities and probity. *Sillery* managed his affairs at

He mar-
ries *Mary*
de Medici.

Rome with incomparable address. The president *Jeannin*, conducted the internal affairs of government with great capacity, and a moderation that was entirely agreeable to *Henry's* disposition; and the name of the duke of *Sully*, is, to this day, but another appellation for a faithful minister, an able financier, and a sincere friend to the person of his prince. Such was the state of *Henry's* government, when he finished his campaign in *Savoy*, and married his bride at *Lyons*, to which city she was conducted, with all the pomp and magnificence that *France* and *Italy* could exhibit. The duke of *Savoy*, by this time, perceiving that he was in danger of being stript of all his dominions, had recourse to the mediation of the pope. He had been the dupe of his own refinements. The duke of *Sully*, a name by which he is better known than that of marquis of *Rosni*, not only advised, but conducted, the war, in his capacity of master of the ordinance. It was owing to him, that many places which the duke of *Savoy* had deemed to be impregnable, were almost instantly taken; and *Henry*, by his councils, about the time of his second marriage, shewed himself to be well disposed towards a treaty with the same prince, whom he had, in a manner, at his mercy. A treaty was, accordingly, concluded between *Henry*, and him, upon the terms that the former was pleased to prescribe.

His nar-
row es-
capes.

Though *Henry* was, in the eye world, thus fortunate and victorious, yet no prince in his time escaped so many attempts, as he did, of assassination and poison. Three monks had been executed for plotting against his life; and when he entered upon the war with *Savoy*, a woman had been burnt alive for undertaking to poison him. Though the duke of *Biron* had served him nobly in the field, through the vanity of conquest, yet the duke of *Savoy* had found means to flatter his foibles so effectually, that he secretly brought him over to his interest. *Henry* was above all suspicion, and continued to employ him, both as a general, and an ambassador, and was never tired of loading him with favours, though *Biron* requited them with insolence and ingratitude. He employed the duke of *Sully* to come at the real sentiments of that great princess queen *Elizabeth*, with regard to the affairs of the *Low Countries*; which the duke effected, by pretending to make a tour to *England*, merely through curiosity.

He
marches
to *Picardy*.

The siege of *Ostend* had, about this time, been undertaken by the archduke *Albert*; and the following incident which happened at *Valladolid*, had embroiled *Henry* with the court of *Spain*. His ambassador, the count *de la Roche-pot*, had killed, upon the stage, a *Spanish* actor, who played the character of an officer, with his foot upon the neck of *Francis I.* and *Henry*, not satisfied with the punishment of the actor, had demanded farther satisfaction, in so peremptory a manner, that it interested his holiness in the dispute;

dispute, as a mediator. *Henry* would not, perhaps, have prosecuted this affair so warmly, had he not perceived that the count *de Fuentes*, and the archduke *Albert*, had been intriguing with his subjects for surprizing *Marseilles*, and *Metz*; and he thought himself so highly concerned in the event of the siege of *Ostend*, that he went in person to *Calais*, and surveyed the state of his fortifications towards the *Low Countries*. Queen *Elizabeth* was, then, at *Dover*, and she sent over Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, not only to compliment *Henry*, but to desire an interview with him upon the sea, offering to meet him half way; but he declined the invitation, on pretence that her majesty's health might suffer. The truth is, *Henry* distrusted *Elizabeth*, and had some apprehension that she might carry him a prisoner to *England*, in order to be paid the great sums he owed her, and to oblige him to give up *Calais*; a measure which she had always at heart. Add to this, that *Henry*, who was naturally an œconomist, did not chuse to vie with the magnificence of the *English* court.

He broke, however, into his usual frugal maxims on this occasion, for he sent over marshal *Biron* with a train of two hundred noblemen and gentlemen, the whole of his retinue exceeding four hundred, to return his compliments to *Elizabeth*.

We are now arrived at the most difficult and impenetrable part of *Henry's* history. We have already mentioned the character of the marshal duke of *Biron*. *Elizabeth* found out his weak side, and predicted that his fate would be the same with that of the earl of *Essex*, whom she had beheaded some time before *Biron's* arrival in *England*. During *Henry's* campaign in *Savoy*, *Biron* had received many applications, both from that duke, and the court of *Spain*, with promises, even to the extent of his ambition, if he would betray the *French* army, and assist in dethroning *Henry*. *Biron*, upon reflection, presumptuous as he was, trembled at the thoughts of such engagements, confessed to *Henry* the offers that had been made him, and asked his pardon for not having sooner discovered them. It is uncertain what motive determined the king to trust him after this acknowledgement; for he seemed to do it in a more unreserved manner than before. The king very probably was afraid of him; for when he sent him to *England*, he planted many spies about his person, and the first intelligence of *Biron's* treasons seems to have been communicated from thence to *Henry*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that *Winwood*, *Elizabeth's* resident at *Paris*, was again entrusted by the duke of *Sully* with every step of the discoveries which either he or his master made, relating to his intrigues with *Spain* and *Savoy*. They found that *Biron*, about the time of his *English* embassy, had not only renewed his intrigues both with those two powers, but had entered

His negotiations there.

He is again embarrassed.

into a treasonable association with the duke of *Bouillon*, and the count of *Auvergne*, who had accompanied him to *England*, to stand by each other. This gave a sensible alarm to *Henry*, who had about him a kind of political timidity, with regard to the protestants; but could trust his subjects with his resentments against *Spain* and *Savoy*. He suffered, on that account, *Biron* to proceed in his practices, and even gave him thirty thousand crowns for his services in the wars of *Savoy*, and employed him in renewing his alliance with the *Swiss* cantons; upon the birth of a dauphin, which happened about this time, and filled all *France* with extasies of joy.

Birth of a Dauphin. An heir to the crown strengthened the throne of *Henry* against all intrigues, foreign, and domestic. He instituted a court of enquiry into the mismanagements of his revenue, and received a magnificent ambassy from the *Othman* emperor, who complained that the duke of *Mercoeur* was the *Austrian* general against him; but *Henry* evaded giving him any satisfaction on that head, because that duke was a vassal to the *German* empire as well as to *France*. By this time, marshal *Biron* had, with a most amazing address, concluded a very advantageous treaty for his master with the *Swiss* cantons, which confirmed *Henry* in his opinion, that, whatever dangerous appearances his conduct wore, he was faithful in his heart, and that he would ever remain so, by keeping him employed.

Henry's weaknesses *Henry* was now at the period of his life and reign which shewed him to be much more capable of encountering adversity, than improving prosperity. Every little weakness of his disposition now appeared, and was magnified beyond its real extent. His frugality, though necessary for discharging his vast debts, was construed into avarice and ingratitude to his best friends. His taxes, however necessary, were termed oppressive, and he was obliged to move to *Blois*, *Poitiers*, and other places, to suppress the insurrections they created. The public discontents were fomented by the agents of *Spain*, and *Savoy*, and even by the *Italian* attendants of his queen; so that *Henry* was in a more perplexed situation than he was when fighting for his life and kingdom. *La Fin* was *Biron's* agent, and the duke of *Sully* made him sensible that he was no stranger to the marshal's practices; upon which, *la Fin*, to save himself, put into *Henry's* hands the treasonable association we have already mentioned. *Henry*, on this occasion, shewed that he could dissemble as exquisitely as any of his most secret enemies, found that it was necessary for him to take off *Biron's* head. It is, however, not to be denied, that his unsteady, mean conduct in his amours, had given the public a contemptible idea of his person and morals, which had extended itself to every branch of his government.

While

While he was at *Poitiers*, he had such proofs of the reality of his danger from *Biron*, that he hurried to *Fontainebleau*, from whence he sent advices to queen *Elizabeth*, charging the duke of *Bouillon*, whom he knew she favoured, with treason. As he was afraid of proceeding capitally against that duke, he desired him to remain about his person; but he first escaped to *Chartres*, and from thence to *Geneva*, the whole body of *French* hugonots making his cause their own. *Henry* was far from being displeased at the duke's escape, as it carried with it the appearance of a consciousness of guilt; but the duke of *Epernon* quieted all his suspicions, by not only offering to remain about his person for six months, but to give up his sons as hostages for his future behaviour.

The only measure *Henry* was now to take was to decoy *Biron*, who was at his government of *Burgundy*, into his power. For that purpose he threw out several kind expressions, in the hearing of those whom he knew to be the marshal's friends, and even accomplices; which when reported to him, determined him to go to court, where he arrived on the thirteenth of *June*, the king being then at *Fontainebleau*. The king, on this occasion, behaved with unparalleled generosity. He employed the duke of *Epernon*, and *Biron's* other friends, to let him know that he was safe, if he made an ingenuous confession of his guilt; but *Biron* answered all applications of that kind, by laying his hand on his sword, and threatening destruction to his enemies. The king talked to him with his usual affability and openness; and made him sensible that he was no stranger to his practices; upon which both he, and the count of *Auvergne*, had concerted their escape, but were prevented by their being arrested the very day they were to have put it into execution. *Biron* was tried by a commission of the parliament, before whom he appeared with a degree of insanity. Finding that all his arts did not avail him, when, on the twenty-seventh of *July*, he appeared before all the chambers of the parliament assembled, the peers not chusing to assist at the trial; he made so moving and so manly a defence, that the members were dissolved in tears; and it was thought, that had the vote been immediately put, he must have been acquitted. But the king had gone too far to suffer him to escape; and two days after, he was condemned to death; which he suffered with a pusillanimity and confusion, that amazed the spectators, as he had always shewn himself, in the greatest dangers, intrepid to a degree of insensibility. Such was the end of the hero of whom the king used to say, "This is the man whom I present to my friends, and to my enemies."

Biron's death was attended with vast discoveries. The Confessor *de Fontenelle*, one of his accomplices, was broken alive upon the wheel. The baron *de Lux*, his confident, the same made

The duke
of *Biron*
condemned
and
put to
death.

made such important discoveries, that the king found it proper to conceal them, because he thought the parties affected were too great to be brought to justice. The count of *Auvergne* was pardoned at the intercession of his sister madam *d'Esfragues*, and the king pretended that he paid that compliment to the only living male representative of the house of *Valois*, the count being the natural son of *Charles IX.* The *French* historians have scandalously concealed the important services of queen *Elizabeth*, when *Biron's* conspiracy was discovered; for it certainly was owing to her moderation, that the duke of *Bouillon*, and all the hugonots in *France*, did not then take arms; in which they would have been supported by *Spain* and *Savoy*.

Henry is
congratu-
lated.

It was with horror the king looked back on the dangers he had escaped; for it appeared, from the papers laid before him, that there scarcely was a great man in his court or kingdom, uncorrupted by foreign gold or promises. Even *Sully* had been named among the discontented; but by that we are only to understand, the free open manner in which he taxed his master's weaknesses with regard to women. The principal powers of *Europe* congratulated the king upon his escape from this conspiracy; and the king of *Spain*, with the duke of *Savoy*, among others, sent him their ambassadors, with compliments; but they were disregarded. To prevent a return of the like dangers, the king nominated the dauphin to the government of *Burgundy*, and the duke *de Bellegrade* to be his lieutenant. In the autumn of the year 1602, forty-two deputies from the *Swiss* cantons and the *Grisons* appeared at *Paris*, and renewed their league with *Henry*, who confirmed them in all their privileges; but refused to augment the annual subsidies they received from his crown, which amounted to four hundred thousand crowns.

Though the king had some mistaken notions with regard to personal courage, that gave too much countenance to the barbarous custom of duelling; yet there was now an absolute necessity for checking it, as four thousand of his subjects had been killed during one year, in single combats. An edict therefore was published, declaring duelling to be high treason, and that all quarrels of honour should be determined by the constable and marshals of *France*. In that same year *Henry* again supported the people of *Geneva* against the duke of *Savoy*, and the king of *Spain*, and procured them such a peace as has ever since preserved their liberties. In a journey he made to *Metz*, he relieved the inhabitants from the oppressions of two of the duke of *Epemon's*, the governor's, lieutenants; and he had several conferences with the *German* princes, or their deputies, concerning the favourite measure of his reign; the reduction of the *Austrian* power.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding all that has been said of *Henry's* religion, His alliance with it is to this day uncertain whether he was not a thorough and sincere convert to the church of *Rome*, and whether he king did not remain so to the time of his death, whatever the political motives of his conversion might originally have been. *James.* It is certain that, after his establishment on the throne, and after he came to have a good understanding with the see of *Rome*, he found himself more at ease with his *Roman* catholic, than his protestant, subjects, who were perpetually upbraiding him with the obligations he owed them; and, even after the publication of the edict of *Nantes*, demanded privileges that he could not grant them consistently with the duty he owed to his own dignity and safety. His weakness, however, in readmitting, as he did, at this time, the jesuits into his dominions, is inexcusable; especially as it was against the sense even of his *Roman* catholic subjects. The best apology that can be made for *Henry*, on the head of religion, is, that he found it would be dangerous for him to act otherwise than he did.

He was greatly afflicted with the news of queen *Elizabeth's* death; and, as soon as he recovered from a dangerous indisposition with which he was seized about the same time, he sent over the duke of *Sully* to manage his concerns with her successor king *James*, with whom he was not upon very good terms. The great plan of *Sully's* negotiation was to prevent any connections being formed between *James* and the house of *Austria*; and, to flatter *James*, *Sully* was instructed to hint to him, that he might, if he pleased, render himself the head and protector of the protestant party in *Europe*.

The count of *Aremberg* was then at the *English* court on the part of the archduke, and had actually laid before *James* proposals for a treaty; which *Barneveldt*, the ambassador from the *States-general*, endeavoured all he could to traverse. Sir *Robert Cecil* was the *English* secretary of state, and, in political abilities, perhaps, not inferior to *Sully*; but he was warped by a partiality for *Spain*. *Barneveldt* made *Sully* sensible of this, and the latter refused to treat with any but *James* himself; with whom he managed so artfully, that *James* checked *Cecil* for being an enemy to *France*; and a treaty was actually concluded at *Hampton-court*, offensive and defensive, between the two crowns; who agreed, at the same time, to support the *States-general* against the crown of *Spain* and the archduke.

Sully, upon his return to *France*, was censured for his Conduct in this treaty; but he had taken the precaution to obtain his instructions from *Henry*, under his own hand; and that king, by procuring the name of antichrist, which stood in the protestant confession of faith for the pope, to be struck out, and restoring the jesuits to *France*, soon made his peace with the court of *Rome*.

It

It was about this time that *Henry* projected the settlement of the province of *Canada*, which was strongly opposed by his minister, *Sully*; who foretold, that it would prove no other than a drain to the population and riches of the nation. Whether the king or his minister were in the right, may be justly questioned; but, in our opinion, that settlement was of much greater detriment than advantage to *France*; which was owing to two reasons. The first is, that the *French* were void of the true principles and spirit of colonization: the next is, that the colony itself proved no other than a province of the jesuits. Their interest at court prevented the colonists from taking any advantage of their settlement; nor did the benefit which the crown drew from it ever answer the expence of the plantation.

Discovery
of new
treasons.

The death of the king's sister, the dutchess of *Bar*, who was a sincere protestant, was a fresh matter of affliction to *Henry*; whose ambassador at *Madrid*, at this time, discovered that all his secrets were betrayed to the *Spanish* ministry by one *Hote*, an under secretary to *Monsieur de Villeroy*, the principal secretary of state. The court of *Spain* suspected the discovery, and put *Hote* upon his guard; but he is said to have been drowned in endeavouring to make his escape. This affair is still dark. *Sully* thought that *Villeroy* himself was in the secret; but he vindicated himself in public, in a printed apology; and *Henry* seems to have believed him, by restoring to him his friendship and place at the council-board. Whatever may have been in this, the *Spaniards* no sooner made a peace with *Great Britain*, than they imposed a tax of thirty *per cent.* upon all *French* goods; which amounted to a prohibition of them. *Henry*, upon that, forbade all commerce with *Spain*. The difference was adjusted by the pope, and the prohibitions, on both sides, were withdrawn.

Sully's
great ser-
vices.

It was fortunate for *Henry* that such a man as the duke of *Sully* was his first minister, and a protestant at the same time. The dukes of *Bouillon* and *Trimouille* encouraged the factious spirit of the hugonots; and *Henry* was obliged to counterballance their credit, by giving the government of *Poitou* to *Sully*, who soon put a stop to their cabals. On the other hand, *Henry's* marriage proved to him a continual source of disquiet. He was too generous in his nature to treat his queen ill, notwithstanding the vast provocations she gave him from her wayward, peevish, jealous disposition; and yet he found it dangerous to indulge her with any degree of confidence, because he knew that she was weak enough to discover all his secrets to her hungry *Italian* dependents, who sold them to the court of *Spain*. *Henry* had often threatened to dismiss them; but he was as often intimidated by the court of *Rome*, whose friendship he found actually necessary for his quiet; and even *D'Ossat*, his great negotiator there, was suspected of being too vio-
lent

lent a churchman, and of endeavouring to revive in *Henry* the persecuting spirit of the *Valois* family.

The vexations, however, which he received from his *Henry's* queen, were far more tolerable than the insolence of his distresses, mistress *d'Entragues*, whom he had created marchioness *de* who parts *Verneuil*, and who treated him with an equal degree of rude- with his nefs and ridicule. Her arrogance, at last, became so insup- mistress. portable, that *Henry* gave her twenty thousand crowns for the promise of marriage he had signed with her; and consented to make her father, *d'Entragues*, a marshal of *France*; upon which, she retired to a private life.

It was not long before it was discovered, that she and her Her fami- brother, the count *d'Auvergne*, and all her family, were ly's con- known to be engaged in the most dangerous practices against spiracy the king and his state. The count, under pretence of be- and pu- ing a spy upon the court of *Spain*, had betrayed to that mi- nishment. nistry all *Henry's* secrets that had been communicated to him by his sister. He was, with some difficulty, made prisoner; and sent to the room which *Biron* had possessed in the bastille. Old *d'Entragues*, and one *Morgan*, an *Englishman*, were found to be concerned in the treason; and *Henry* ordered the process of all the parties to be made out before the parliament, seemingly with an intention that they should experience the rigour of justice. The proofs were plain against them; the count *d'Auvergne*, old *d'Entragues*, and *Morgan*, were condemned to lose their heads; and the marchioness *de Verneuil* to be shut up in a convent. None of those sentences were executed. Some doubts were suggested by the *Spanish* faction at *Rome*, whether their crimes amounted to high-treason. The count *d'Auvergne* was condemned to imprisonment for life; the marchioness and her father to reside upon their own estates; and *Morgan* was banished *France*.

Henry continued to meet with equal, if not more severe, He is em- vexations from the quarter of protestantism. The heads of broiled his hugonot subjects, besides the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Tri- with the mouille*, were *Lefdiguieres*, *du Plessis Mornay*, and *Aubigni*. protest- They thought that they were not sufficiently secured in the ants. possession of their privileges; and they pretended to foresee what afterwards happened, that a bigotted prince, upon the throne of *France*, might revoke the edict of *Nantes*; upon which they had recourse to their old scheme of an association. The king obtained a copy of it, and the duke of *Sully* was ordered to assist in their synod at *Chatelleraud*; where he exposed the dangerous and treasonable nature of their proceedings so effectually, that they were ashamed of the scheme, and it was dropped by the more understanding part of the assembly. It unaccountably happened, that even the bigotted court of *Spain* was always ready to support the *French* hugonots in the uneasiness they gave to *Henry*, who

He reduces the duke of Bouillon.

no longer hesitated to proceed against the duke of *Bouillon* with firmness and severity.

Henry's first wife, *Margaret of Valois*, was still alive, and proved to be one of the most loyal of his subjects. She had found out some intrigues among the hugonots of *Perigord*, *Guienne*, and other places; which she laid before the king; and he rewarded her not only with a great part of the count *d'Auvergne's* forfeited estate, but with a licence to live at *Paris*. Some of the protestant conspirators, who were found to be connected with the *Spaniards*, were executed upon her discoveries; and *Henry* put himself at the head of an army to reduce the estates and places belonging to the duke of *Bouillon*, and those of his other subjects, who were engaged in dangerous practices with the *Spaniards*. The duke was in no condition to resist him. He ordered his governors to lay the keys of their towns at *Henry's* feet; and even the *Rochellers*, jealous as they were of their privileges, surprized the king by a deputation, inviting him to their city; and offered to beat down their gates if they were not sufficiently wide for his reception. *Henry* was pleased with the compliment, accepted the invitation, and left *Rochelle* with a high opinion of the politeness and loyalty of its inhabitants.

The punishment of the conspirators in other parts of *France* was, all this while, going on. It was discovered that two brothers, who were gentlemen of some figure in *Provence*, had offered to sell *Narbonne* to the *Spaniards*; for which they lost their heads; as did *Mariarques*, a person of great eminence in *Marseilles*, for offering to betray that city to the catholic king. Towards the latter end of the year 1605, *Henry* narrowly escaped being assassinated by one *John Lisle*, who proving to be a lunatic, was punished only by being shut up in a mad-house.

The duke of *Bouillon's* submissions were far from removing *Henry's* apprehensions, and he took the spirited resolution to lay hold of *Sedan* itself. The duke of *Sully*, as master of the ordnance, was ordered to prepare a train of artillery for the expedition. The duke thought he had a powerful support in the *German* princes, the *Swiss* cantons, and the *Spanish* faction about the court; but they all failed him; and, upon *Henry's* advancing against *Sedan*, he threw himself upon the king's mercy, who pardoned him for all offences against his person and government; while the other consented that the king should garrison *Sedan* for four years; but he knew so well how to work upon *Henry's* generosity and openness, that the latter withdrew his garrison in a month's time; and, when the duke waited upon him at *Paris*, he received him into his favour.

The king, after this, ventured upon several vigorous measures, which he durst not complete before. He erected
a new

a new chamber for calling the financiers, those leeches of his people, to account; and he obliged them to disgorge six hundred thousand crowns of their ill-got gains. Upon the birth of his second son, the duke of *Orleans*, he rendered himself more independent than he was before upon the princes of his blood. The chief of these were, the prince of *Conde*, who would have succeeded *Henry*, had he died without male issue, the prince of *Conti*, and the count of *Soissons*, his brother; but none of them were of abilities sufficient to acquire popularity. About this time, his former queen, *Margaret*, recovered great estates in her own right, before the parliaments of *Tholouse* and *Paris*; but she converted their revenues into a pension, and conveyed the lands to the dauphin. When *Henry* was thus just beginning to taste felicity as a king, he and his queen, with the dukes of *Vendosme*, and *Montpensier*, with the princess of *Conti*, in their return from *St. Germain*, were in the most imminent danger of being drowned, by the king's horses falling into the water, and pulling the coach after them. The king was saved by swimming, and the sieur *de Chasteneraye*, dragged the queen out by the hair of her head.

All the excellent qualities of the king could not defend *Henry's* him from a kind of personal contempt which his subjects growing contracted for him, on account of his growing weakness weakness for women. He relapsed into his former fondness for the for women marchioness *de Verneuil*, and he conferred the title of countess *de Moret*, upon a new mistress. The necessities he had encountered during his youth, and the payment of the vast debts he had contracted, made him too sensible of the value of money, which he was daily accumulating. In this he was not a little encouraged by the duke of *Sully*, who was blamed for winking too much at the oppressions of the people by the under farmers, that he might squeeze money out of them, which did not go back to the injured subject, but went into the king's coffers. This failing in *Henry's* government gave a vast advantage to *Sillery*, the keeper of the seals, and to secretary *Villeroy*; both of them enemies to *Sully*, who had no protection, but the private opinion the king had of his honesty and abilities. These rendered him one of the most useful ministers any king ever had. They maintained his credit among the protestants, who, in general, thought him too moderate; but his candour and strength of reasoning were such, that he always carried through the king's measures in their assemblies at *Rochelle*.

Henry, in his government, seems to have proposed his great He imi-
coteremporary queen *Elizabeth*, as his model. His council- tatesqueen
board, as already hinted, was composed of different parties, *Elizabeth*.
and all of them had freedom of debate. The conduct of the
protestants, who expected from him greater favours than he
could

could grant them; had soured him too much, and gave vast advantages to the *Spanish* and popish party. According to the *French* authors, who are not discountenanced by others, he had some view of bringing the *Dutch*, who, in 1607, were in great distress, to implore his protection. *Barneveldt*, and the *Dutch* patriots, suspected this; and took measures for disappointing it; for they treated with the archduke, as a free state, and united themselves at the same time to the king of *England*. Henry finding his scheme not practicable, sent the president *Jednnin*, to assist his resident *Buzenval*, at the *Hague*, in forming a definitive treaty between himself, and the *States General*, as a sovereign power. The *French* ministers acquitted themselves to admiration. By this treaty, *Henry* engaged to lend the states ten thousand men, if they were attacked, and the states were to lend him five thousand men in the like exigency, either by sea or land. This was a wise measure, as it rendered the dominions of the states a barrier to those of *Henry* against the power of *Spain*, in the *Low Countries*.

His public spirit.

The king often differed with his great minister, *Sully*, in matters of internal policy. His views were now more enlarged than those of *Sully*, who had too contracted notions of national improvements, that were attended by expence. The king thought no expence too great that could promote them. Besides the introduction of silk worms, he laid out large sums on the encouragement of tapestry weaving, and the linnen manufacture; two branches of trade that have been since of immense profit to *France*. The king's public spirit in this was the more remarkable, as the bounties were originally given to foreigners; nor did the returns immediately accrue to his coffers. While he was thus intent on his domestic affairs, he did not forget his patrimonial estates, which, all but those which lay in *Bearn*, he united to the crown of *France*. The birth of a third son, who had the title of duke of *Anjou*, was an additional felicity to *Henry's* government, and the court of *Spain*, now aimed at very near connections with him; in which they were but too much encouraged by their party in the cabinet. *Don Pedro de Toledo*, one of the ministers of *Philip III.* proposed to *Henry* a double match, between the dauphin and his daughter, and between his eldest son and *Henry's* daughter, as a prelude to a catholic league for overawing the *French* hugonots; and in the end, all the protestants in *Europe*. *Henry* gave no encouragement for those propositions; and his disquietude, while the *Spaniard* remained at *Paris*, was visible to all about him. Even his subjects remembered so much of the *Spanish* practices, that during his abode there, the public was entertained with little but plots, conspiracies, and attempts against the king's life, by steel, poison, or magic, and the ridiculous accusation

accusation of the latter brought some innocent, but busy, people to the scaffold.

Henry's deliverance from his apprehensions of *Spain* was and *pr* far from contributing to his private felicity. The queen vate un- was continually intriguing against his quiet, on account of happiness. the marchioness of *Verneuil* regaining her ascendancy in his affections. His distrust of the protestants encreased every day; and made him reject a project for receiving into his dominions six hundred thousand *Spanish Moors*, who offered to become his subjects, and to improve the lands of *France*. *Henry*, in this impolitic refusal, was not a little influenced by the court of *Rome*; and, towards the latter part of his reign, his jealousy of the protestants encreased. Though he loved and esteemed *Sully*, he could not bear the thought of his continuing to be a protestant; and he offered to give his son, the marquis of *Rosni*, his natural daughter, in marriage, with vast sums in money and estates, together with the reversion of the constable's sword, upon the death of *Montmorenci*, to the duke himself, provided he and his son would turn *Roman* catholics. That wise minister declined this offer, and demonstrated to his master that he could serve him much more effectually by remaining a protestant.

We have already related the differences between the re- Vol. X. public of *Venice* and pope *Paul II.* which were compromis- p. 307, ed by *Henry*, whom the pope now considered as the only 308. friend he had amongst the *European* princes; and in fact,

Henry thereby prevented the *Venetians* from throwing off the papal yoke. He was now at the time of life that requires ease and security; but both were interrupted by his own restless passion. He brought about a marriage between the prince of *Conde*, who had been betrothed to the duke of *Maine's* daughter, and the daughter of the constable *Montmorenci*, who was to have married *Bassompierre*.

Henry's view in this was, that he might indulge a violent His passion passion that he had conceived for the young princess, whose for the husband he thought would be tractable on that head. This princess of dotage, however he endeavoured to conceal it, encreased *Conde*, his domestic disquiets, which were augmented by the jealousy entertained by the *States General* of his power; and Vol. IX. which we have elsewhere treated of. P. 343.

Henry's minister, *Jeannin*, conquered all the opposition Account he met with in the *Low Countries*; and if we are to believe of his the hints thrown out by the duke of *Sully*, and the other great historians of the time, *Jeannin* had orders to agree, on any scheme, terms, to a truce between the archduke and the states, that *Henry* might be at liberty to turn his thoughts to the most important concern of his life, that of humbling the house of *Austria*. *Henry* durst not disoblige the pope, and the catholic party in his council, of which the queen was the head, was perpetually exciting him to severity against the

protestants, which must have been equally dangerous to his repose. He saw, that not only the tranquility of his kingdom, but the legitimacy of his children, depended on his continuing to acknowledge the papal power, while at the same time he was firmly convinced that his safety depended on humbling its two chief supports, the *German*, and the *Spanish*, branches of the house of *Austria*. He proposed to do this by restoring the *Hungarians*, and *Bohemians*, to their liberties, and by protecting the *German* princes in their opposition to the emperor; as well as by circumscribing the power of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*, and on the side of *Savoy*. It was with this view, if we are to believe the same authorities, that *Henry* had amassed his vast treasures, and endeavoured to unite all his subjects in his great design.

ibid.

p. 134.

The death of the duke of *Cleves*, without issue, gave *Henry* a plausible opportunity for putting the mighty machine in motion. The duke of *Sully*, however, on this occasion, enters upon some very extraordinary discussions, which we shall just mention in general; for indeed they are too chimerical to be particularized. He tells us, that *Henry* had conceived an idea that it was possible to form the powers of *Europe* into a kind of republic, (a notion which possibly might then have been suggested to him from the constitution of antient *Greece*); by which means not only the power of *Austria* might be limited, but the *Ottoman* empire overthrown. This republic was to have been formed by a new partition of power among the *European* potentates, of whom *France* was to have been the head; but without any other advantage accruing to her, than the glory of having planned so noble a system. We need not detain our reader with any observation on the impracticability of this scheme, however plausible it was.

His ridiculous intrigues with the princess of *Conde*.

It was the fate of *Henry* to suffer the most abject meanesses to mingle with his most elevated purposes. The romantic project already mentioned, is not so incredible as that the prodigious armaments he had on foot, were put in motion by the inordinate, but ridiculous passion, he continued to entertain for the princess of *Conde*, and which was now so notorious, that it effected a kind of a reconciliation between the queen and the marchioness of *Verneuil*. The prince had carried his wife into *Picardy*; and the king was discovered in attempting to visit her in disguise. The prince soon after came to court, and the king, in violation of all decency, ordered that his princess should attend him. The prince pretended to comply; but on the last of *November*, carried her to *Landreci*, which belonged to the archduke. The king's uneasiness at this event was despicable and inconceivable. He sent *Praslin*, the captain of his guards, with such menaces to the archduke *Albert*, as would have intimidated

intimidated him from giving his protection to the illustrious pair, had he not been reassured by *Spinola*, who persuaded him to invite them to *Brussels*. This drove the king into all the fury and vexation of a capricious tyrant. The effects of a formal declaration of war would have been too slow for his purpose, and the marquis *Cœuvres*, the prince of *Conde's* confident, was sent to carry off the princess, if he failed in persuading him to return, under pretext of putting her into the hands of madam *de Angoulesme*, who had brought her up. The king unguardedly discovered this scheme, which he imagined could not fail, to his queen, who found means to put the marquis of *Spinola* upon his guard; and, a few hours before the plot was to have been executed, the archdutchess, at his request, secured her in his own palace. The king sunk into childishness at the disappointment; and the public imagined that the double dispatch which was now employed in his military preparations, was with a view to his recovering possession of the princess.

We shall not amuse the reader, instead of informing him, He raises about all the preparatory steps said to have been taken by a great the king for the accomplishment of his favourite league. army.

Some of the facts are not sufficiently authenticated; others are too chimerical for belief, and a cloud of incertainty hangs over the whole. The king's vast armaments, however, can admit of no doubt. His army consisted of forty thousand excellent troops, commanded by veteran officers, under himself, who was now the most experienced general in *Europe*. Besides these, the king had taken a large body of *Swiss* into his pay, and was to have been joined by a great number of volunteers raised among the noblemen and gentlemen of *France*; and he had already ordered a large body of troops to defile towards *Juliers*, to support the princes of the league in opposing archduke *Leopold's* commission, by virtue of which he had seized, in the emperor's name, that dutchy, and that of *Cleves*. The siege of *Juliers*, by this time, had been resolved upon by the protestant princes, while the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* remained unconcerned spectators. Archduke *Albert* durst not refuse *Henry* a passage through his dominions against *Juliers*; but *Henry*, all this time, remained at *Paris*, in a most distracted state of mind. The prince of *Conde* had escaped from *Germany*, and from thence to *Milan*, where the conde *de Fuentes*, the *Spanish* governor, by his court's order, gave out that the children whom *Henry* had by *Mary of Medici*, being illegitimate, the prince was to be considered as next heir to the crown of *France*. This did not give *Henry* so much concern as a certain inward dread, which, according to the duke of *Sully*, hung at this time upon his spirits, of meeting an untimely end, and that too in a coach. Notwithstanding that, *Henry* concerted with the duke of *Sully*, and his other ministers, a plan for carrying his great scheme

into execution ; but all *Europe* was amazed on hearing that his grand army, preceded by fifty pieces of brass cannon, the greatest train of artillery that ever had been known, was to march through *Luxembourg*, against so contemptible an enemy as archduke *Leopold*, and so poorly fortified a town as *Juliers* ; which the protestant league was able to have reduced.

His queen crowned, and pre-
sages of his death. The means taken by the king for securing the tranquility of his kingdom, during his absence, were proportioned to the supposed importance of his expedition, and the governor of every province was assigned a council to assist him, while *Sully* assured the king, that he might command forty millions in ready money. Before his departure, the queen, influenced, perhaps, by the reports of the *Spaniards*, concerning her childrens illegitimacy, expressed a violent desire to be crowned. The duke of *Sully* knew the parade and expence of such a ceremony to be disagreeable to the king, and would have opposed it ; but the queen prevailed, and she was crowned on the thirteenth of *May*, at *Senlis*, by the cardinal *de Joyeuse*. Every circumstance relating to the fate of so great a prince as *Henry IV.* is thought to be of importance ; but those preceding his death were so various, and some of them so unaccountable, that we cannot insert them without transgressing our proposed bounds. The chief is, that *Henry* was heard to say, softly, “ My God, what is this within me, that will not let me be at rest ! ” The ceremony of the queen’s coronation was next day to have been followed by her public entry into *Paris* ; and the king was desirous to see the preparations and triumphal arches that were erecting.

He is
murdered
by *Ra-
valliac*.

About four o’clock in the afternoon, on the fourteenth of *May*, dinner being over, the king went in his coach, with the dukes of *Epernon*, and *Montbaçon*, the marquisses *de la Force*, and *Mirebeau*, and messieurs *de Ravardin*, *Roquellan*, and *Liancourt*. The coachman was ordered to drive to the cross of *Tiroy*, and from thence to the church-yard of *St. Innocent*, from whence it turned into the narrow street of *la Ferroniere*, where it was stopt by two carts meeting. The king had sent his guards before ; one of his pages was busy before the coach horses in clearing the passage ; another was behind, tying his garter, and the rest had gone round by the church-yard. While the coach was thus stopt, a young man, named *Ravalliac*, who had for some time meditated the murder, stept upon one of the spokes of the hind wheel, and aimed a-cross the duke of *Epernon*, a blow, with a knife, which struck the king, and he called out, “ I am wounded.” The assassin, with amazing quickness, repeated the blow, which divided the *vena cava*, and proved instantly mortal. *Ravalliac* might have escaped had he thrown the bloody knife under the coach and run off ; but he remained stupified as it were, upon the spoke, and the

the duke of *Epernon* having prevented a gentleman from killing him, ordered the coach doors to be drawn up, and the body was reconducted to the Louvre. Thus died, by the hand of an assassin, *Henry IV.* in the thirty-eighth year of his reign over *Navarre*, the twenty-first over *France*, and the fifty-eighth of his age; and his body was interred on the twenty-ninth of *June*.

The bright side of *Henry's* character is easily known by His character, the prodigious difficulties he surmounted in his own person, before he made his way to the crown of *France*; and by the happy state to which he raised his subjects, whom he dearly loved, from anarchy, and misery of every kind. His strong propensity to gaming arose from his love of money; but no prince was more excusable than he was in that respect. He reflected on the distresses which the low state of their finances had brought upon his predecessors; and he bestowed vast sums, not only upon magnificent palaces, and public works, but in the encouragement of commerce, manufactures, and the fine arts. He was master of ready wit, and his style, both in speaking and writing, was flowing and manly. He railly'd, (especially his own foibles) with a good grace; so that they who knew him, were not shocked at a certain levity he indulged in his behaviour, and vanity of self applause, that would have appeared ridiculous in any other man. We have already taken notice of his passion for women; but we cannot think, with his encomiasts, that it did not on some occasions affect the affairs of his government. Not only he, but his minister, *Sully*, were weak enough to believe in judicial astrology; but it was a weakness in common with the greatest names on the continent of *Europe*. The frankness and generosity of *Henry's* temper, made almost all his subjects his friends before his death; for though he was a deep politician, he never was known to forfeit his word when he passed it in favour either of a doubtful friend, or a reconciled enemy.

Henry had no issue by his first queen, *Margaret of Valois*. and issue. By his second wife, *Mary de Medici*, he had the dauphin, the duke of *Orleans*, who died the year after himself, and a third son, *Gaston*, who succeeded to the title of *Orleans*. He had likewise three daughters, *Elizabeth*, married to *Philip IV.* of *Spain*; *Christina*, the wife of *Amadeus*, duke of *Savoy*; and *Henrietta Maria*, the queen consort of *Charles I.* of *England*. His issue by his mistresses, was so numerous, (and perhaps, so uncertain likewise) that their names cannot be admitted here. In his person, *Henry* was among the tallest of the middle sized men. His face is well known by his pictures, which are said to have a striking resemblance; and though he made very free with his constitution, yet the gout was almost the only disease that gave him disquiet.

Lewis XIII. *surnamed* the Just.

Doubts
concerng-
ing his
murder.

THE public is, to this day, greatly divided with regard to the original authors of the assassination of *Henry IV.* Though it is almost certain, that *Ravalliac* had no accomplices, and was actuated only by his own disturbed brain, which had suggested to him, that it was lawful to kill the king, because he tolerated two religions in his dominions; and that the vast preparations he was making were intended against the pope; yet it is certain, there was somewhat very suspicious in the unconcerned behaviour of the *Spaniards* before his death; and the *Jesuits* were not thought to be blameless.

His ten
wishes.

It is a known fact, that *Henry* used to express himself to be extremely earnest in accomplishing ten things, which he called his wishes. The first was, that he might obtain the grace and assistance of God; the second, that he might die in the full possession of his senses; the third, that he might secure the exercise of the protestant religion; the fourth, that he might obtain a divorce from his wife, *Margaret*; the fifth, that he might restore *France* to her ancient glory; the sixth, that he might recover *Navarre*, *Flanders*, or *Artois*, from the *Spaniards*; the seventh, that he might gain in person, one victory over the king of *Spain*, and another over the *Ottoman* emperor; the eighth, that he might reduce his protestant subjects to their duty, without making use of violence; the ninth, that his great dukes of *Epernon*, *Bouillon*, and *Trimouille*, should be so far humbled as to implore his clemency; and the last, that he might live to execute his great design. It is on account of the three last of those wishes that we have reserved them for this place.

The protestants, at the time of *Henry's* death, enjoyed a state of independency, which might have been dangerous to any other prince but *Henry*, who, by the good faith he had always observed towards them, entirely conciliated their affections. The dukes of *Bouillon*, and *Trimouille*, behaved as became good subjects; but the character, and conduct, of the duke of *Epernon* is almost singular in history. He had, as we have already seen, been raised by the partial favour of *Henry III.* but through all the remaining part of his life, he seemed to forget that he had ever been a subject, or that he had any superior. He long maintained himself, without any connections, against the leaguers, the royal, the protestant, and the patriot parties in *France*; and *Henry*, at the time of his death, both respected and feared him, having raised him to be colonel general of his infantry. This stream of good fortune was owing to *Epernon's* known intrepidity; and even his pride, for which he was more noted than any man of his time, contributed towards

towards it; for *Henry*, and the public, thought it to be of such a nature as did not suffer him to stoop to dissimulation, or meannesses. As to *Henry's* grand design, the last of his wishes, it was now a heavy lump, that could not be re-animated but by his spirit. All knowledge of it, with certainty, was, its having the reduction of the house of *Austria* for its capital object.

The prince of *Conde* remained still absent from court. The and the count of *Soissons* had retired from it in disgust before queen de-*Henry's* death. The absence of those two great princes of clared re- the blood was of infinite service to the queen-mother, gent. who soon recovered from the grief into which her husband's murder had thrown her; and the duke of *Epernon*, the very evening of *Henry's* death, entering, with his hand upon his sword, the room where the parliament was assembled, obliged the members to declare the queen regent, by which they exceeded the constitutional powers invested in them; because such a declaration ought only to have come from an assembly of the states. The duke of *Sully* thought the complexion of the court was so little favourable to himself, and the protestants, that he retired to his government of the *Bastile*, with a resolution to have held it out, if matters had come to extremity; but the edict of *Nantes* being confirmed, and a favourable proclamation for the protestants being published, the duke went to court, and was well received.

The day after *Henry's* death, the young king held a bed The king of justice, in which, the tutorship, and regency, was so- holds a lemnly confirmed to the queen; but it was remarkable, bed of that the chancellor *Sillery*, who was the queen's declared justice, partizan, collected the votes of the presidents of the parliament, before those of the princes of the blood, or the peers. The punishment of the late king's murder was next taken into consideration. The relation of the dreadful death the assassin suffered, his examinations, his answers, and the conjectures about those who employed him, have filled up volumes, but are matters rather of curiosity than information; and the contradictions and uncertainty that mingle with them, render them unfit for general history. It is certain, that the furious enthusiasm with which *Ravalliac* was possessed, sufficiently accounts for *Henry's* murder, without our having recourse to any other suggestions, however plausible they may appear. The prince of *Conde* was at *Milan*, when *Henry* was murdered; but firmly resisted all the addresses made him by the conde de *Fuentes*, to set up a claim to the crown. The count of *Soissons* had already returned to *Paris*, where the queen gained him over to her interest; and he was followed by the prince of *Conde*, who being poor, accepted of large appointments, and was quieted; so great was the influence.

of the vast sums which fell into the queen's hands upon her husband's death. The council of regency was numerous, but the queen regent was chiefly directed in the choice of her cabinet council, by *Conchini*, who was made marquis *d'Ancre*, and his wife, who was, in a manner, the queen's sole favourite; both of them *Italians*.

State of
France.

When the execution of the late king's grand design came under the consideration of the cabinet, they found themselves greatly embarrassed. *Henry's* connections with the *German* princes, and the king of *England*, had gone so far, that twelve thousand men were sent, under the marshal *de la Chatre*, towards *Juliers*, but that city was reduced by the protestants, before the *French* troops arrived. The plan of the *French* court was pacific, and they intimated the same to *James*, who sent over the lord *Wotton*, as his ambassador, to *Paris*. *James*, at the same time, entered into a league offensive and defensive with *France*; and *Boderie*, the *French* ambassador at *London*, paid him sixty thousand crowns. The connections of religion had been, during the late reign, disused in *France*; but they were now resumed, and the queen attached herself to the courts of *Rome*, *Madrid*, and *Florence*. The duke of *Savoy*, with whom the late king had entered into very strong engagements, was left to the mercy of *Spain*, and obliged to send his son, prince *Philibert*, to ask pardon of that court. As to the queen, she behaved with great address, and affected moderation towards all parties.

The king
crowned.

The cardinal *Joyeuse* crowned the king at *Rheims* on the seventeenth of *October*; and, to all appearance, the duke of *Epernon*, who was above joining with any party, was the first minister of state. Whatever private differences might be among the contending factions of the *Roman* catholics at court, they united in rendering the duke of *Sully's* public spirited, but parsimonious, councils, so useless to the state, and so dangerous to himself, that he retired to his estate at *Sully*, after surrendering into the queen-regent's hands his superintendency of the finances, and his government of the *Bastile*.

Differ-
ences a-
mong the
protestants

It is an amazing circumstance, that the duke of *Bouillon* carried his resentment against the duke of *Sully* farther than the chancellor, the secretary *Villeroy*, and the president, *Jeannin*, (who had always opposed him) did theirs. He endeavoured to ruin him with the protestants, in an assembly they were permitted to hold at *Saumur*; in which case, *Sully* must have fallen an easy sacrifice to the *Roman* catholic party. He was disappointed, for *Mornay* was chosen president of the assembly. The members addressed the queen in favour of *Sully*, in so strong a manner, that she durst not take from him either his government of *Poitou*, or the mastership of the ordnance.

Among

Among the other arts made use of by the queen, to retain or encrease her authority, she employed that of amusing the parliament, and the public, with fruitless enquiries into the late king's death, upon rumours and surmises raised, probably, after that melancholy event. All her practices could not prevail with the parliament to suffer her creatures, the jesuits, to open their college for the instruction of youth; and the writings of *Mariana* were burnt, as those of *Bellarmino* were suppressed, because they favoured the doctrine of king-killing. This year, the king's brother, the duke of *Orleans*, died, and was succeeded in his title by his younger brother, *Gaston*; and the crown of *France*, about the same time, lost one of its firmest supports by the death of the duke of *Maine*, who had been formerly its greatest enemy.

The queen, all this while, was cultivating the secret intimacy she had formed with the other *Roman* catholic powers upon the continent; and, by the mediation of the pope and the great-duke of *Tuscany*, a match was concluded between the *French* king and the eldest infant of *Spain*, whom king *James* had demanded in marriage for his eldest son the prince of *Wales*. Some of the heads of the protestants of *France* looked upon this match as the forerunner of their destruction; but the duke of *Bouillon* remained still in high favour at court; where the *Spanish* ambassador publicly signed a treaty of marriage between *Philip*, prince of *Asturia*, his catholic majesty's eldest son, and the princess *Elizabeth*, eldest sister to *Lewis*. The queen-regent prevailed with the duke of *Bouillon* to go to *England*, and to endeavour to reconcile *James* to the double marriage; and to offer her second daughter, *Christina*, in marriage to the prince of *Wales*. All that the duke did, according to *French* authors, was to propose a marriage between the princess, daughter to *James*, and his nephew the elector-palatine, the richest and most powerful prince in *Germany*, except the emperor; which match afterwards took place. *James* did not seem to dislike the proposed match between the prince and *Christina*. The duke of *Bouillon* tempted *James* with the offer of five hundred thousand crowns as the fortune of the princess; but the prince of *Wales*, *Henry*, received the proposal coldly, and treated the whole as a matter of convenience.

Intrigues
of the
duke of
Bouillon.

It certainly was the interest of the queen-regent to engage *England*, at this time, in her interest. The princes of *Conde* and *Soissons* began to be uneasy when they saw that they were called to the council-board for little more than form-sake. They quarrelled with the ministry, who, they said, were lavishing the treasures of the late king upon worthless subjects. *Conchini* sided with neither party; but, upon the death of the count of *Soissons*, which happened about this time, he leaned towards the prince of *Conde*, who once more returned

returned to court; and, at last, a perfect reconciliation seemed to take place between him and *d'Ancre*.

Proposals
of mar-
riages.

The protestants were not less divided among themselves than the *Roman* catholic princes and ministers. Though the duke of *Bouillon* had united himself to the court of *England*, yet he never could prevail with his party to abandon the duke of *Sully*, or to embrace the dangerous projects he had in view, and which centered in rendering himself the head of a protestant republic within *France*. He pretended to the queen-regent, that it would be always in his power to counterballance the interest of the princes; and that, if the crown would give its protection to the protestants, the king would always find in them a faithful support. She believed, or seemed to believe, him; and he discouraged the meetings of the party at *Prives* and *Rochelle*, because their proceedings were not to his liking. He, at the same time, flattered the queen with the hopes that a match might be effected between the princess *Constance* and *Charles*, prince of *Wales*, who had succeeded to his brother *Henry*, now dead.

Great art
of *d'Ancre*
and his
wife,

While those intrigues were going forward, the inferior people in *France* were reduced to the utmost misery, through the spirit of dissipation and luxury that prevailed at court; and, under pretence of reforming the police, an edict was published, rendering it penal to relieve a beggar in the streets of *Paris*; which filled the provinces with objects of famine and misery. The chevalier *de Guise*, son of the duke, who had been assassinated at *Blois*, killed the two barons of *Lux*, father and son, who had attached themselves to the ministers; and the queen pardoned him, on the ridiculous pretext that it was highly generous in a man of the chevalier's rank, to condescend to fight a duel with a person of inferior quality. This proceeded from the queen-regent (whatever appearances she might assume) being, in secret, entirely directed by *Galigai*, *d'Ancre's* wife, whose power over her was such, that people who were far above the vulgar, attributed it to witchcraft. It was not long before the queen found it absolutely necessary to check the too great ascendancy which the princes had in the ministry; and *d'Ancre*, for some time, to appearance, was under a cloud at court.

He soon recovered his credit by persuading the prince of *Conde*, the dukes of *Maine*, *Bouillon*, and *Nevers*, to quit the court; and he took advantage of their absence to negotiate with the ministers whom he proposed to unite with the princes against the duke of *Epernon* and the house of *Guise*; and the cement of the union was to be a marriage between his son and *Villeroy's* daughter. His receiving the baton of a marshal of *France* seemed to turn his brain; and he was now raised to such a pitch of greatness, that he disdained not only the alliance of his family with that of *Villeroy*, but all his former connections.

D'Ancre

D'Ancre now stood upon his own footing against the who are princes, the ministers, the duke of *Epernon* and the duke of hated by *Guise*. The princes retired from court, and met at *Mezi-* the nobi-
eres, where they digested all the grievances of the state in lity.
the form of a manifesto, which was sent by the prince of
Conde to the queen. She laid it before the council, and re-
called the dukes of *Epernon* and *Guise* to court. An answer
to the manifesto of the princes was then drawn up; and the
grand charge, that of public profusion, was shewn to be
chiefly owing to themselves, who had received and dissipated
vast sums of public money. At the same time, her majesty
promised that a meeting of the states should be called as soon
as the king should be of age.

The manifesto of the princes was far from having the ef-
fect they intended. The parliament disregarded it; and
not only the nobility, but the people in general, were dis-
posed to support the royal authority. The dukes of *Epernon*
and *Guise* were for proceeding against the princes as rebels,
but *d'Ancre* and his friends proposed a negotiation, which
was accepted of; and meetings were held, first at *Soissons*,
and next at *Menchaud*. It soon appeared that the root of
the grievances complained of lay in the necessities of the
princes, which had been occasioned by their own extrava-
gancies.

An accommodation took place. A meeting of the states A treaty,
was agreed on; redress was promised of some grievances,
and others were postponed. The prince of *Conde* had an
annual appointment allowed him of four hundred and fifty
thousand livres, besides the town of *d'Amboise* as a surety.
The duke of *Mayenne's* appointment was three hundred
thousand, and that of the duke of *Longueville* one hundred
thousand, livres a year. A pardon was likewise stipulated
for all that had passed, and the conduct of the princes was
to be approved of at court.

Great difficulties occurred in ratifying this treaty, which which is
was considered to be so disgraceful to the royal authority. ratified.
The queen had bought from the duke of *Roban* the colonel-
generalship of the *Swiss*, and given it to *Bassompierre*. She
had a fine army on foot; and the dukes of *Epernon* and
Guise, at the head of the courtiers, were for rejecting the
treaty. The queen, who had been prevailed upon, with
difficulty, not to resign the regency, was inclined to have
followed that advice; but was dissuaded from it by *d'Ancre*
and the president *Jeannin*, who made her sensible that the
princes, in case of a civil-war, would certainly be supported
by the protestants both of *France* and *Germany*; and by *Spain*
and other foreign powers; and that the forward zeal of the
dukes of *Epernon* and *Guise* proceeded from the desire each
had to succeed *Montmorenci*, who was just dead, as constable.
Villeroy joined with them in their sentiments, and the
treaty of *Menchaud* was confirmed. The duke of *Vendosme*
had

had been put under arrest by the queen, but had escaped out of prison; and, though he was included in the treaty of *Menchaud*, he took arms against the duke of *Montbazou*, who had been appointed governor of *Bretagne*. The son of *Henry IV.* and the heiress of the house of *Mercœur*, soon put him at the head of a party, which gave him possession of *Blaye*; and the prince of *Conde*, at the same time, with a like disregard to the treaty of *Menchaud*, endeavoured to obtain possession of *Poitiers*.

The queen, finding herself thus abused on all hands, came to a resolution full of dignity and spirit. She marched, with her son at the head of his army, first to *Poitiers*, and then into *Bretagne*, with such a shew of resolution as overawed the prince of *Conde* and the duke of *Vendosme*, who made their submissions; and the fortress which the latter had erected at *Blaye* was demolished.

The king
declares
himself
of age.

Lewis, upon his return to *Paris*, in *September*, declared himself to be of age in parliament; and, by the first act of government he emitted, he confirmed the edict of *Nantes*. The assembly of the states met at *Sens*, from whence they were removed to *Paris*; but their resolutions came to nothing, each order being embroiled with the other. The most remarkable affair that passed in this assembly, was a motion brought in by the third estate, which consisted of magistrates representing the people, for the publication of a law, That no person, spiritual or temporal, has a right to dispose of the kingdom, or to release the subjects from their oath of allegiance; and, that the opinion of its being lawful to kill kings, was impious and detestable.

We mention this as a proof that the spirit of the league, which was composed chiefly of the third estate, was now extinguished, and that the people of *France*, in general, were inclined to support the royal authority against the spiritual, and all intermediate, orders.

Debates
in the
assembly
of the
states.

Cardinal *Perron* opposed the promulgation of this law by fulsome encomiums upon the papal power; and declared, that he should be obliged to excommunicate all those who should persist in maintaining, that the church has not the power of deposing kings. This insolent doctrine was not resented by the body of the nobility, who, from the hatred they had to the third estate, joined, on this occasion, with the clergy, and it was tacitly understood, that a king might make so bad a use of his power, as that he might be deposed. It is also remarkable, that, so much were the queen-mother and her descendants creatures of the court of *Rome*, they did not support the decree of the third estate; which would have rendered the king absolute and independent. The result of the whole was, that all the grievances of the kingdom were laid open, but not one of them redressed.

Upon the dissolution of the assembly of the estates, the princes connected themselves with the parliament, which

was

was then at variance with the ministry ; and espoused their cause out of hatred to the duke of *Epernon*, who had insulted them. The prince of *Conde* resigned the government of State of *Amboise*, as a token that he thought he had nothing to the court dread while he was united with the parliament ; and the queen-mother, through the overbearing spirit of *d'Ancre*, gave that government to one *Luynes*. He was a young man of an ignoble original ; and, having been recommended to *Henry IV.* was put about the person of *Lewis* ; whose affections he gained by making him a present of two magpies, which he had trained to strike down little birds in the same manner as hawks do the greater. His manners were insinuating, and it was thought he had the finest person of any young man in *France*.

D'Ancre's design in thus pushing the fortune of an obscure personage, was, undoubtedly, that he might find, in his growing favour with the king, a resource, if the countenance of the queen should fail him ; but the power of *d'Ancre* became now terrible to the parliament itself, whose arrets were superceded by the edicts of the council of state. Being made governor of *Amiens*, he ordered the chief magistrates of the place to be assassinated ; and he would have hanged the provost-marshal without any form of trial, if the garrison had not threatened to mutiny. The prince of *Conde* having, by the king, been prohibited from assisting at the deliberations of the parliament, had retired to a private life, from whence he was drawn by the fresh insolences of the favourite. He published a new manifesto, which comprehended all the grievances in his former, and mentioned the manifest neglect of enquiring into the authors of the late king's murder, and the violation of the edict of *Nantes*, with the introduction of *Jews* and magicians into the kingdom ; concluding with a kind of request, that the king would delay his marriage, the consummation of which the queen-mother had greatly at heart, till the internal affairs of his kingdom were settled. The queen-mother saw the storm that was impending over her and her favourites, and persuaded the king to act in his own name. He took two millions and a half out of the bastile ; put himself at the head of twelve thousand horse and four thousand foot, and marched towards the frontiers to receive his bride ; while another army of twenty thousand men, under marshal *Bois Dauphin*, was raised to oppose that of the princes.

France was now divided into more parties than, perhaps, which is it ever had known. The parliament maintained its authority by the deference which the people shewed to its edicts, and the persons of its members. *D'Ancre* was strong by the countenance and presence of the king, who was attended by the dukes of *Guise*, *Epernon*, *Elbeuf*, and *Uzes*. The protestants had for their heads the dukes of *Bouillon*, *Trimouille*, *Sully*, *Rohan*, the marshal *de Lesdiguières*, and the sieur *Mornay* ;

Mornay; and they might have given the law to the other parties, had their leaders, who were as able men as *France* ever produced, been united in any one principle; but each had different views and different maxims. The party of the prince of *Conde*, who was first prince of the blood, was strengthened by the dukes of *Longueville*, *Maine*, a vast number of the nobility, and, occasionally, by the duke of *Bouillon*, who undertook to negotiate between him and the protestants. The ministry may be considered as a fourth party, on account of the great credit which the chancellor, the president *Jeannin*, and others, had with the queen-mother; by which they sometimes checked the towering ambition of the favourite.

Marriage
of the
king.

The king, by this time, had received his bride; given away his sister; and was himself married, on the twenty-seventh of *November*, at *Bordeaux*. The war went on, but not much to the advantage of the royalists. The dukes of *Nevers* and *Vendosme* joined the cause of the princes; and, an accommodation being effected between the prince of *Conde* and the protestants, he passed the *Loire* to join their army, which was commanded by the duke of *Rohan*. It soon appeared that the prince's party was no better than a rope of sand; for, though all the protestant *Swiss* in the king's pay left his service, as soon as war was declared against the protestants; yet the views of the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Lefdiguieres* were as different from those of the prince of *Conde* as his were from those of the dukes of *Rohan*, *Sully*, and *Trimouille*; who were the only protestant chiefs that had acted with firmness and upon principle.

The court was well informed as to all those particulars, and found it no hard matter to amuse the prince of *Conde* by a negotiation, which he was inclined to accept of, but was overawed by the duke of *Rohan* and his other two friends. Matters continued in a sort of suspense when the prince of *Conde* applied himself to the king of *England*; whose vanity was flattered, as usual, with the hopes of putting himself at the head of all the protestants in *Europe*. The bait took effect; and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, the *English* minister in *France*, by his master's order, proposed an accommodation just as the king, at the head of his army, was preparing to give battle to that of the princes. It is said that the duke of *Guise* had orders to have seized the princes while they were in consultation about this proposal, but that he had advertised them of their danger. It is certain a suspension of arms was agreed on, and *London* was fixed upon for the place of treaty. The terms were soon settled. The prince of *Conde* was gratified in almost every demand he made, and placed at the head of the council. The government of *Amiens* was taken from *d'Ancre*; the protestants were promised full security for their religion and privileges; all edicts, declaring either them, or any of the party of the princes,

princes, rebels, were revoked and annulled; and a redress of public grievances was stipulated. King *James* considered himself as the father of this peace, and sent orders to *Edmonds* to insist upon his being mentioned in the preamble, and that *Edmonds* should sign it as his ambassador. The duke of *Bouillon*, who, after making his own terms, had left his party to shift for themselves, insisted upon *James* being gratified in this; but he was opposed by the secretary *Villeroy*, who carried his point, the demand being disgraceful to the crown of *France*; upon which *Edmonds* threatened to leave that court.

The peace was concluded in the beginning of *May*, 1616, A new and the treaty sent to be ratified by the parliament of *Paris*. treaty. They verified, accordingly, the open articles; but made some difficulty of passing the secret ones, which were sent them sealed up, and contained the private terms that each of the principals had made for himself. Being informed that these secret articles were perfectly conformable to those granted by the edict of *Nantes*, they acquiesced.

It must be acknowledged that the prince of *Conde*, who Altera- was confined by sickness during the treaty, sacrificed by it tions at his own interest and those of his party. It was in vain for court. the most understanding of the protestants to represent to him, that the more favourable the terms granted him were, they were so many indications of an intention to break them. He was deaf to all their remonstrances. He received, by way of gratification, a million and a half of livres; he exchanged his government of *Guienne* for that of *Berry* and *Touraine*; and he pleased himself with the thoughts of being able to controul all the affairs of government, by being at the head of the council. Upon the conclusion of the peace, the chancellor, *Sillery*, lost the seals; which were given to *William du Vair*, president of the parliament of *Aix*; but, before he was turned out, the ministers grew sensible that they were hurting themselves.

This was the æra of favourites. The king of *Spain* was *D'Ancre's* guided by the duke of *Lerma*; the duke of *Buckingham* had power an absolute ascendancy over king *James*; as *d'Ancre* had continued. over the queen-mother and her son. Of the three, the duke of *Lerma* was, by far, the ablest minister; and he persuaded *d'Ancre* and his wife, that they could have no safety against the general hatred borne them by the *French* nation, but by depending on the protection of *Spain*. They had daily proofs of this hatred; for two of their footmen were hanged by sentence of the parliament of *Paris*, for having, by the marshal's order, beaten a shoe-maker, who commanded a patrolle that refused to suffer the marshal to leave *Paris* without a passport.

Every day was now diminishing the queen-mother's power over *Lewis*, and, therefore, *d'Ancre* entered into a close intimacy with the prince of *Conde*; who, on his arrival

arrival at *Paris*, was, by the marshal's influence, placed at the head of the government. He was the dupe of his own politics; for pretending to act independently of the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Maine*, the former, who entirely guided the prince of *Conde*, persuaded him to take a formal leave of all friendship with the marshal, who immediately retired to *Normandy*. The duke of *Bouillon* was then, in fact, first minister to *Lewis*; and, though we are not certain as to the particulars of the schemes he suggested to the prince of *Conde*, yet they, undoubtedly, were dangerous; and, in reality, the discovery of them saved *d'Ancre* from ruin.

New alterations.

The duke of *Bouillon*, though he agreed with the protestants in religion, differed entirely with them in politics, and had often offered to break up their assembly at *Rouen* at the head of an army, as being composed of rebels. Both he and the prince of *Conde* had kept up a close but secret correspondence with king *James*; and the queen-mother received, or pretended to receive, undoubted information that he proposed to raise the prince of *Conde* to the throne of *France*; in which he was to be supported by the governors of the provinces, who, during their lives, were not to be removable by the crown. Whatever might have been in this intelligence, it is a well-known fact, that the prince of *Conde*, while he thought himself securely possessed of the *French* government, was suddenly arrested in the *louvre* by *Themmes*. The feeble effects made by his party for his deliverance and justification, warrant the suspicion of his black designs. He was no sooner seized than the duke of *Vendosme* (whose conduct, during the preceding dispute, had been very mysterious) the dukes of *Guise*, *Maine*, *Nevers*, *Candale* (eldest son to the duke of *Epernon*) *Rohan*, *Sully*, *la Trimouille*, and *Bouillon*, with the other heads of the prince's party, precipitately left the court. The seals were taken from *Du Vair* and given to *Mangot*, who had been secretary of state; and his place was filled by the bishop of *Laon*, afterwards the famous cardinal *Richlieu*; while *Barbin*, a domestic favourite of the queen-mother, was made comptroller of the finances. There can be no doubt that the bishop of *Lucon*, from that day, had planned his rise and the ruin of the princes and the great nobility, which he afterwards so steadily pursued. As to the duke of *Guise* and his family, they continued in a state of neutrality, inclining more towards *d'Ancre* than the prince of *Conde*.

D'Ancre was considered by the people of *Paris* as the author of the prince's imprisonment, and the amazing change of the ministry, and they pulled down his house; while the king, by his mother's advice, published a proclamation vindicating his proceedings; and sent ministers to all the courts of *Europe*, to expose the practices of the princes and their party. To give the greater weight to his reasons, he raised
three

three armies. One of them was sent into *Chambagne* under the duke of *Guise*, assisted by the marshals *Themmes* and *Praslin*; and they stripped the duke of *Nevers* of the chief places he held in that province. The marshal *de Montigni* had the like success at the head of another royal army sent into the *Nivernois*. The count *de Auvergne*, who had been just released from his long confinement in the *bastile*, and placed at the head of fourteen thousand men, besieged the duke of *Maine* in *Soissons*.

Though *Luynes* was a man of but a moderate capacity, Rise and yet his views were carried farther than the childish diversions character which had recommended him to his master's favour. *D'An-* of *Luynes*. *cre* might have maintained his footing in the government had he been possessed of common prudence; but he governed entirely by expedients; and always thought himself safe, while the ministers held their places by his recommendation. *Luynes* had proposed a match between his brother and the marshal's niece; which was set aside by the jealousy of *Galigai*, who was afraid that it might supplant her interest; and this made *Luynes* their enemy. The bishop of *Lucon* had far superior talents to the marshal and *Barbin*. They had sound sense, but were tired of being slaves to *d'Ancre's* caprice and ignorance; and the king, though no more than fifteen years of age, was soon persuaded, by *Luynes*, that all the disturbances and errors of his government was owing to the madness of his foreign favourite, and the desire the queen-mother had to render his majesty no more than a cypher in his own affairs. *Luynes* laid hold of some circumstances which operated strongly upon *Lewis*. She had made a troop of horse, which bore her own name, body-guards to the king; and *Luynes* persuaded him that he was little better than their prisoner.

The king, at first, had thoughts of placing the duke of *Maine*, who was still besieged in *Soissons*, at the head of his armies; but in that there was found both difficulty and danger. Appearances convinced the queen-mother that somewhat was in agitation to which she was a stranger, and *Galigai* prepared to return to *Italy* with all her and her husband's wealth; but he declared that he never would abandon fortune, which had hitherto courted him; and that he was resolved to see to what a height she would carry him.

After various consultations between the king and *Luynes*, *D'Ancre* the method was fixed on for dispatching *d'Ancre*; and *Vi-* murdered. *tri*, the captain of the king's guards, was pitched upon as the executioner; to which he consented. He was assigned, for his assistants, a set of the most desperate ruffians that could be procured in or about *Paris*. The twenty-fourth of *April* was fixed upon for the murder; and, about ten in the forenoon, *d'Ancre* entered the *louvre*, preceded by his ordinary guard of forty gentlemen-pensioners, and followed

by as many more, who were excluded by the sudden shutting of the gate. While the marshal was upon the bridge, *Vitri* came up, attended by his band of ruffians; and the marshal's pensioners made a lane for him, supposing that the king was at hand. *Vitri* arrested the marshal, who clapped his hand upon his sword, and he instantly received three mortal wounds, discharged by the ruffians from as many pistols. The murder was no sooner committed than the king appeared at the window of his apartment; from whence he called out, "I am now king." The queen-mother's guards were removed from those of the king, and she found herself a prisoner in her own apartment; while *d'Ancre's* son, the marquis *de Pene*, and his wife, were put under an arrest; and the latter had orders to prepare herself for her trial.

To justify an assassination, the ends of which might have been answered in a legal way, *Lewis*, on the day it happened, sent three letters to his parliament, acquainting them with *d'Ancre's* death; that it was effected by his order; and that he intended to give his murderer, *Vitri*, the baton of marshal.

The
queen-
mother
put under
an arrest.

Had not the death of *d'Ancre* been attended with the above atrocious circumstances, or had he been removed in the way of justice, the king's views might have proved salutary to his people. The duke of *Maine*, and the other princes of the blood, returned immediately to their duty. The creatures of *d'Ancre* were displaced; the seals were restored to *du Vair*; *Barbin* was arrested; but the bishop of *Lucon* was admitted to the council-board, and to pay his attendance on the queen-mother. The unfortunate *Galigai* was tried by a commission sent to the parliament, and sorcery was one of the crimes laid to her charge. Some of her judges finding nothing could be proved against her, but that she was the queen-mother's favourite, were ashamed of the proceeding; others withdrew from the trial; but one of them asked her, What were the charms she had made use of to enchant her mistress. "My only charm," replied she, with a just indignation, "is the ascendancy which a great mind has over a little one." No defence could avail her; she was condemned and burnt; and, sentence being passed upon her husband, though already dead, his estate and effects were, by the parliament, confiscated to the king's use; while the queen-mother was sent in exile to *Blois*.

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Luynes was now the favourite. He obtained from his master a gift of *d'Ancre's* immense estate; and all places of power and profit were invested in his creatures. He affected popularity, and the king sent a declaration to the parliament approving of his services. All the princes of the blood and great lords, who had leagued themselves against *d'Ancre*, now submitted to the king; and *Luynes* took care that their admission

admission to favour should have the air of its being the effect of his recommendation. The duke of *Maine*, who continued to be besieged in *Soissons*, voluntarily sent the keys of that city to his majesty; and came to court, in company with the count *d'Auvergne*, who had besieged him.

Luynes not only succeeded to the possession of *d'Ancre's* *Luynes* sole estates; but to that of all his great places; especially those favourite of first gentleman of the bed-chamber and the king's lieutenant in *Normandy*. *Hellier* and *Parfan*, the chief murderers of *d'Ancre*, under marshal *Vitri*, were preferred; the one to command the guards under *Vitri*, and the other to the government of the *bastille*. Those removals and preferments were far from giving any consistency to the administration. Many who had expected promotion were disappointed, and plots and conspiracies against the lives of the queen-mother and *Luynes* were every day talked of. One *Travail*, who had been disappointed in his expectation of the archbishopric of *Bourges*, was broken alive upon the wheel, for a design against the queen-mother's life; and one *Gignier's* head was struck off for accusing the princes of the blood of a conspiracy against the king and *Luynes*.

The *Spanish* influence at the court of *Lewis* was far from being diminished by his marriage; but old *Lefdiguieres*, who had been brought up in a thorough hatred of that crown, still continued to act for himself; for he, more than once, saved the duke of *Savoy* from ruin, notwithstanding his repeated orders from court for disbanding his forces; and which, without regarding them, he put into his pocket. He was, at this time, considered as the eldest and ablest general in *Europe*. The young nobility flocked from all quarters to learn from him the art of war; and he would have driven the *Spaniards* out of the duchy of *Milan*, had not the duke of *Savoy* persuaded him to agree to a peace, which had been procured for him from *Spain* by the court of *France*.

In *December*, 1617, *Luynes* persuaded the king to call an Assembly of his nobles at *Rouen*; where the late revolutions of the government were highly approved of; and the king rendered himself popular by his affability, and the readiness he expressed in receiving all the arrangements proposed by his nobles for the good of his people. The assembly breaking up, *Luynes* entered, with great advantage, upon his post of king's lieutenant in *Normandy*, and his other governments. Notwithstanding all his arts, the people could not help comparing the mean state from which he rose to the greatness in which they beheld him; and the preferments he heaped upon his two brothers added to his unpopularity; for they were filled, in derision, "The three kings." *Luynes* despised these invectives, which, in reality, proceeded either from disappointed malice, or the lower rank of people, and strengthened his interest by marrying the duke of

Montbazon's daughter, and thereby allying himself to the duke of *Roban*.

The prince of *Conde* was still a prisoner in the bastile, and but little regarded, on account of his inconstancy and versatility; nor was the queen-mother, notwithstanding all the dutiful assurances of her son, in a much better condition at *Blois*. She was very justly pitied by the public, who did not fail to ascribe her misfortunes to *Luynes*; and he would willingly have procured her liberty, had he thought he could have done it with safety. Her advancement of *d'Ancre* and his family was almost the only impeachment that could be brought against her regency; and it was well known, that, in many of the most weighty affairs of government, she took the advice of *Sillery*, *Jeannin*, *Villeroy*, (who was now dead) and some other of the wealthiest and ablest men in *France*.

Luynes employed the duke of *Roban* and his father-in-law to make his peace with the queen-mother; but finding this was to no purpose, he removed the bishop of *Lucon* from her person; and he was exiled; first to a little abbey in *Anjou*, and then to *Avignon*, where he employed himself in composing books of devotion. *Luynes* then bribed all the queen-mother's attendants to betray her; and won over a bishop, whom her confident, *Barbin*, had chosen to go between them, to carry all their correspondence to himself; by which he picked out matter for bringing *Barbin* to a trial; where sentence of banishment was passed upon him; which the king converted into perpetual imprisonment.

Luynes carried his dissimulation, and the precautions he made use of, to continue himself in power, to incredible lengths. He is said to have prevailed upon *Arnoux*, the king's confessor, to have exacted an oath from his majesty, that he would discover no advice that *Luynes* gave him; and he employed the same *Arnoux* to prevail with the queen-mother to take an oath, and to sign an instrument, by which she engaged not to intermeddle in any affairs of state, nor to attempt to make her escape from *Blois*. The queen signed the instrument; but her confessor, being a jesuit likewise, easily satisfied her, that, as she was under a state of confinement, both her oath and obligation were void.

She is delivered by the duke of *Epernon*. The duke of *Epernon* was then at court; and, behaving with his usual haughtiness, he quarrelled about precedence with the keeper of the seals, whose part the king took; and he retired in disgust to his government of *Metz*. The duke had likewise a quarrel with *Luynes*, because the latter had procured from the court of *Rome* the promise of a cardinal's hat for *de Gondi*, afterwards the famous cardinal *de Retz*; which the duke expected for his own son, the archbishop of *Tholouse*. The partizans of the queen-mother, by the advice of the duke of *Bouillon*, who was now old and infirm,

infirm, prevailed with her to apply to *Epernon* for her deliverance ; and, after a variety of secret transactions and correspondencies, he undertook it, though the king had sent him a positive command not to leave *Metz*.

The duke, notwithstanding he was beset by the spies of *Luynes*, and betrayed by his own servants, who carried his letters to court, conducted himself with such impenetrable art and address, that, upon the twenty-second of *February*, 1619, the queen escaped out of a high window by two ladders, which were formed into one, just as her son was preparing to send her a close prisoner to the castle of *Amboise*. She was carried by the archbishop of *Toulouse* to his father ; who received her, at *Loches*, at the head of a strong party of gentlemen on horseback, all his friends ; and from thence she removed to *Angoulesme*.

The queen-mother's escape, which happened while preparations were making for the marriage of the prince of *Piedmont* with the king's sister, the princess *Christina*, alarmed the favourite, who threatened to send an hundred thousand men against the duke of *Epernon*. *Lewis*, who, perhaps, still retained some remains of tenderness for his mother, consulted the duke of *Bouillon*, who gave him many strong and weighty reasons for an accommodation ; and a negotiation accordingly took place, notwithstanding the bloody invectives which the queen and her party, published against *Luynes* and his administration. The minister was obliged to give way ; and, by his advice, the king, with his own hand, recalled the bishop of *Lucon* from banishment ; and he was sent to *Angoulesme* to assist at the conferences. One *Ruccellay*, a worthless *Italian* ecclesiastic, who had been concerned in managing the queen-mother's escape, was jealous of being rivalled by the bishop ; and, after prevailing with the duke of *Epernon* to exclude him out of their counsels, he advised the queen-mother to make her peace, by abandoning the duke of *Epernon*. The queen rejected this advice, and discovered it to the duke ; who, after that, consulted the bishop of *Lucon* ; and the negotiation was brought to a period very favourable for the queen-mother.

She resigned the government of *Normandy* for that of *Anjou*, which was better situated for her corresponding with the duke of *Epernon* and the protestants ; and *Angiers*, with several other places, was given her for her security. It was stipulated that she should be absolute mistress of her own court and domain, and chuse her place of residence. In short, as *Voltaire* observes, *Lewis* entered into a treaty with the duke of *Epernon*, as between prince and prince ; and did not even venture to say in his declaration, that the duke had given him any cause of offence. The conclusion of this peace was a strong proof of the veneration the public retained for the queen-mother ; for few, or none of the great lords, besides the duke of *Epernon*, appeared for her ; and

who treats
with the
king upon
an equal-
lity.

it is remarkable for having laid the foundation of the bishop of *Lucon's* greatness. She gave him proofs of her favour, by making his brother governor of *Angiers*; and, upon his being killed in a duel by *de Themmes*, the captain of her guard, who expected the government, she bestowed it upon the bishop's uncle.

She distrusts the court,

Upon the conclusion of the peace, it was discovered that the minister's creatures had formed a plot for blowing up the queen in the castle of *Angoulême*, and they were punished by the king; but the bishop of *Lucon* was now considered as the queen-mother's first minister; and, by his advice, she refused to trust herself at *Paris*, where she was expected, till all the terms of the treaty were fulfilled. This being done, the duke of *Epernon* conducted her to the frontiers of his government, to meet her son at *Cousieres*; and, upon the duke's taking his leave, the queen gave him from her finger a diamond ring; the only reward he ever received for the expensive and perilous services he had performed her. The interview between the queen-mother and the king passed with seeming tenderness on both sides, and they remained together for eleven days at *Tours*; but she could not be persuaded to venture herself at *Paris*, where the power of the favourite was daily encreasing.

and renews her complaints.

He had, from a natural timidity, given way to the reconciliation between the king and his mother; but to strengthen himself, he went to the bastille in person, and set at liberty the prince of *Conde*; who thenceforth professed himself his friend, and attended him to parliament; where *Luynes* took his seat, upon his being created a duke and peer of *France*. Some oblique reflections thrown upon the queen-mother's regency, in a declaration published by the king, upon the prince of *Conde's* release, embroiled her once more with her son; and the protestants sent deputies from their assembly at *London* (which the king, however, had ordered to be dispersed) assuring her of their best respects. This rendered her more peremptory in requiring to be justified in the measures of her regency.

Her great party.

In the mean while, the king was obliged, in person, to carry to the parliament some edicts for raising new taxes, which were not registered without a strong opposition; and, in the month of *April*, 1620, the king found himself, in a manner, deserted by his great princes and lords. This was occasioned by the intimacy which now subsisted between the prince of *Conde* and *Luynes*, which had rendered the other courtiers little more than cyphers. They complained that their services were disregarded, and that the power of the favourite was pernicious to *France*. The duke of *Maine* went to his government; the countess of *Soissons*, the dukes of *Vendôme*, *Nevers*, *Trimouille*, *Roban*, *Retz*, and many other nobles, went to the queen-mother's court at *Angiers*; where they found her more exasperated than ever at the favourite.

avourite. She complained that the terms of the treaty she had made had never been complied with on her son's part; and that she would enter into no farther negotiations, unless the parliament of *France*, or some foreign power, should become guarantees for the execution of the terms.

She and her friends were deceived in the opinion they had of the king, who, in his own person, was as brave as his father. He affected to appear as his own first minister, and though he permitted his servants to negotiate with the queen, he of a sudden put himself at the head of his army, and marched to *Normandy*, where, in the beginning of *July*, he made himself master of *Rouen* and *Caen*, and drove the duke of *Longueville* to *Dieppe*. This unexpected vigour threw the queen and her party into a consternation, which was increased by the firmness which the king discovered, in bestowing all vacant posts and governments upon those whom he knew to be devoted to his service, and to be the most obnoxious to the queen-mother's party. His presence seemed to inspire his army, while the queen-mother's party, finding that he was advancing to *Pont de Ce*, the most important post they had, was thrown into disorder and despondency. She was overpersuaded by the duke of *Epernon*, to reject the duke of *Roban*'s advice to retire from *Angiers* to *Bordeaux*, where her party could have made a strong stand; and the bishop of *Lucon*, prevailed with her to set on foot a treaty. His success in this contributed to his advancement more than all that he had done before. The treaty was signed on the fifth of *August*; A peace. but not having been formally notified to the king, who loved fighting, on the eighth he attacked, and beat, part of the queen-mother's troops under the duke *de Retz*; but next day the peace was proclaimed. It contained a confirmation of the treaty of *Angoulême*, and a reinstating of the protestants in all the posts they held before the war, excepting those disposed of by the king in the intermediate time.

Though this peace promised fair, it was far from being lasting. The king and queen entertained each other at *Brissac* with tears of affection; but no sooner were they separated than they relapsed into the power of their favourites, whose interests were as incompatible with those of their principals, as they were with each other. The bishop of *Lucon*, who had all the honour of the reconciliation, was then comptroller of the queen's household, and availed himself of it effectually; for he persuaded the queen mother, to procure a private promise from the king to obtain for him a cardinal's hat. The protestants, and the discontented *Roman catholic* lords, made separate bargains with the king for themselves; but the duke of *Epernon* resigned his arms without making any demands. His go-

vernment of *Guienne*, is said to have been worth, to him, a million of livres, and he remained still independent, as indeed did almost all the other governors in *France*; so that, upon the whole, the king gained little by the late peace, but that of disjointing the confederacy for a while. This had some effect; for he checked the duke of *Maine's* power in the *Bourdelois*, and advanced to the principality of *Bearn*, where he restored the *Roman* catholic religion, and took the church lands from their protestant possessors. In this he met with no difficulty from the marquis *de la Force*; and in a few weeks an edict was published, erecting a parliament at *Pax*, and cancelling all the privileges that had been granted to the principality of *Bearn*, which was from thenceforth annexed to the crown of *France*.

An Assem-
bly at
Rochelle.

Vol. XI.
p. 144.

The assembly of protestants at *Rochelle* would have represented those proceedings as violations of the edict of *Nantes*; but they were divided among themselves. They had been ordered by the king to separate under pain of being declared rebels; and indeed, nothing but self preservation can be admitted as a plea for their conduct at this time, which tended to the erection of a republic within the monarchy. They pleaded their services to *Henry IV.* whom they had placed on the throne, and the authority of the edict of *Nantes*, which had been received as a fundamental law of the kingdom. *Luynes* was still all powerful with the king, who was a weak bigot, and he sought to strengthen himself by the vast power of the clergy, by laying schemes, which he had not the genius to execute, for the destruction of the protestants. He had but little capacity to govern otherwise than by low practices; he therefore had no foresight, and his desire to please the clergy, who, in general, were in the interest of *Spain*, made him, at this time, overlook the fairest opportunity that had ever presented for humbling the house of *Austria*, by supporting the cause of the king of *Bohemia*, in *Germany*, which was now entirely ruined. The favourite upon the return of *Lewis* to *Paris*, prevailed with him to give the marshal's staff, with the government of *Blaye*, which was purchased from the viscount *d'Aubeterre*, for three hundred thousand livres, to his brother, *de Cadenet*. The ruin of the protestants being resolved on. *Lefdiguieres*, who was the greatest soldier, and the most powerful among them, was tempted to forsake them. He had been already created marshal, duke, and peer of *France*, and he was now offered the sword of constable, if he would change his religion. *Deageant*, who had been bred up under the queen-mother's former favourite, *Barbin*, who was the most artful man in *France*, was made president of the chamber of accounts, at *Grenoble*, that he might have a pretext to be near *Lefdiguieres*, and the negotiation was committed to his management.

Deageant

Deageant acquitted himself admirably well of his commission, and disposed *Lefdiguieres* to accept of the constable's sword, as soon as it should be offered to him in form. *Roman Luynes*, upon recollection, distrusted *Deageant*, and unknown to him, sent another agent, to offer the place of camp-master-general to *Lefdiguieres*, by which, in fact, he was to command the army, provided, he would agree that the constable's sword should be given to *Luynes*. *Lefdiguieres* resented this, at first, and consulted *Deageant*, whom he trusted, how he should behave, and *Deageant*, who was afraid of the favourite, persuaded him to comply. *Luynes*, accordingly received the constable's sword on the second of April 1621, and his greatness was now at its height. His second brother having married the countess of *Chalnes*, was declared a duke, and a peer of *France*, by her title, and had been sent ambassador to *England*; his other brother took the title of duke of *Luxembourg*, by having married the heiress of that house. The king was entirely pleased with his favourite's services; and by the daily progress he made in corrupting, and dividing the protestants. The latter continued against the king's express command, to hold their assembly at *Rochelle*. They had already divided the provinces they held into eight circles, in imitation of the *German* protestants, and to each circle they had assigned a chief. They more than suspected that *Lefdiguieres*, though he had not yet formally disowned their party, had been tampered with, and they offered to make him their general in chief, with an appointment of a hundred thousand crowns a month; but *Lefdiguieres* had gone too far, and the protestants were soon sensible that they had lost him.

The truth is, that great man had been outwitted, and is outwitted. now saw himself reduced to act under *Luynes*, by the king ed. taking the field against the protestants in the beginning of May. He was attended by all the great officers of the *Roman catholic* party, *Lefdiguieres*, among other; and, according to the duke of *Roban*, the success of the favourite in dividing and corrupting the protestants, was such, that *Lewis*, when he took the field was certain of victory. The constable commanded the army; and almost all the cautionary towns before which the king's army appeared, surrendered without resistance. The strong post of *Saumer*, *St. Jean* upon the *Loire*, was delivered up by its governor *Du Plessis* *d'Angeli*, *Mornay*; but *St. Jean d'Angeli*, where *Soubise*, the duke of *Roban's* brother, commanded, shut their gates against the royal army. *Luynes*, had, in vain, endeavoured to gain over those two brothers, who had always opposed the disloyal proceedings of their party at *Rochelle*, and *Soubise* bravely defended the place for thirty-five days; but was, at last, obliged to surrender it, and its fortifications were dismantled, though the garrison was not put to the sword. The

The town of *Clerac*, which had also made a vigorous defence, was likewise taken, and the king ordered its chief magistrate and four protestant ministers to be hanged. The protestant cause in *France* seemed now to be at its last gasp. It was abandoned not only by *Lesdiguières*, but by the dukes *Trimouille*, and *Bouillon*, and by *Chatillon*, grandson to the famous *Coligni*, with many other of its heads, and to give it the finishing blow, on the seventeenth of *August*, the king invested *Montauban*.

Siege of Montauban This city was defended by *la Force*, who had been driven out of *Bearn* by the duke of *Epernon*, and wanted now to repair the oversights he had committed. He accordingly, made a brave defence; and the severities shewn to the inhabitants of *Clerac*, seemed to inspire those of *Montauban* with a resolution to be buried in the ruins of their city rather than surrender it. As the royal army was hourly diminishing before this city, such was the ridiculous weakness of *Luynes*, that he sent for one *Dominic*, a *Spanish Carmelite*, (who is said to have assisted the *Roman catholic's* in *Germany*, to defeat the protestants at the battle of *Prague*) and this friar, after distributing his trinkets to the courtiers, desired the king to fire five hundred cannon shot at the town, assuring him that it would surrender at the last shot. The experiment was made, no success followed, and the siege was raised, with the loss of half of the royal army.

Death of Larnes the constable. By the death of *du Vair*, the post of keeper of the seals was vacant, and *Lewis* gave it to his constable, who died of a fever before *Monheur*, a little town in *Guienne*, which he had persuaded his master to besiege, that he might recover the reputation he had lost at *Montauban*. He had scarcely expired, when his soldiers stripped his quarters of all they could carry off, and his body was abandoned with hardly a sheet to cover it. It is thought that death was kind in taking him out of the world, before his sovereign, who now both hated and despised him, had delivered him up to the resentment of an incensed court and people.

The war renewed. In *January* 1622, the king entered *Paris*, full, as is said, of gloom and discontent, not only for his bad success before *Montauban*, but for the blood he had been forced to shed. Upon the death of *Luynes*, he had committed the care of his army, near *Montauban*, to the duke of *Angoulême*, and the marshal *de Thieffry*; and old cardinal *de Retz*, with the count *de Schomberg*, had seized the reins of civil government; but were solicited by the prince of *Condé* to be admitted as their partner. In the winter, the protestants recovered *Clerac*; but in other parts of *Nantes*, the war was carried on greatly to their disadvantage. *Lesdiguières*, though then a *Roman catholic*, was for peace, and was joined by the queen-mother, the chancellor, and *de Puyfeux*,

Puyfieux, who had now great credit. The new ministers, the prince of *Conde*, and the duke of *Guise*, practised upon the king's bigotry and weakness; and the murder of the president *de Crosse*, by the protestants of *Montpellier*, while he was treating with the duke of *Roan*, exasperated *Lewis* so much, that he resolved once more to take the field in person against them; though the duke of *Roan* had put four of the murderers to death, who were all he could detect out of forty.

During the winter, the war was carried on with the most *Soubise* horrid circumstances of barbarity on both sides; for the beaten protestants under *Soubise*, were so indigent, that they were obliged to commit many unwarrantable acts of plunder and devastation. The king in the beginning of *April*, at the head of eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, marched against *Soubise*, who had made an irruption into *Poitou*, and forced him to retire to the little island of *Rhe*, near *Rochelle*, where he entrenched himself with about seven thousand men. *Lewis*, who was now joined by the prince of *Conde*, and other great officers, set them an example of conduct and intrepidity in his own person. He forded, with great hazard, the small arm of the sea that divides *Rochelle*, from the island of *Rhe*, attacked *Soubise*, killed, or took three thousand of his men, forced *Soubise* himself to escape by swimming, with four hundred only, while the remainder endeavouring to escape, were put to death, by the peasantry, whom they had plundered. *Tomeins* was retaken from the protestants, in the beginning of *May*, and burnt to the ground. The siege of *Rouen* cost a great deal of blood; but the duke of *Epernon*, and marshal *Vitri*, reduced the place in sixty days. To do justice to *Lewis*, he seldom or never was cruel, but when he was practised upon by bigotry or interest; and never was there a prince beset by more wicked courtiers and ministers than he was. When persuasion, money, or honours, could answer the purposes of severity, he employed them, for he gave a marshal's staff, and two hundred thousand crowns for the surrender of *St. Foix*, by the marquis *de la Force*, who had lost the government of *Bearn*.

But it was impossible to soften the enthusiasts among the The king hugonots. In the beginning of *June*, the town of *Negre-victorious. pelisse* was summoned by the prince of *Conde* to surrender, but the inhabitants would hear of no capitulation; and when it was stormed, every living person within it, was put to the sword, excepting ten persons, who being brought before the king, refused to accept of mercy, and, at their own request, were hanged upon trees, in their own gardens; after which, the town was burnt to the ground. To recount all the particulars of this campaign would far exceed our proposed bounds; it is sufficient to say, that the king, and the prince of *Conde*, reduced a great number of places; but

but were obliged to raise the siege of *Bristle*. The duke of *Sully* had so good an opinion of the king's intentions and good faith, that he laid at his feet the keys of all the places, in which he commanded, and his example was followed by other leaders of the protestants, of whom the duke of *Rohan* was now considered as the head. He was a brave, active, and honest man, but perhaps, too jealous of the intentions of *Lewis*, and his court. He had during the administration of *Luynes* been offered his own terms, if he would submit; but he kept his arms in his hand, and in the beginning of the year 1622, he was chosen the hugonots general of the *Lower Languedoc*, in an assembly of five of their provinces. He found the protestants so miserably divided among themselves, that nothing but his own invincible principle of conscience, could have continued him in their party. In the mean while, *Montpellier* was besieged, and the protestants within it, made so obstinate a defence, and such slaughter among the royal army, that the duke of *Lesdiguières*, who was now made constable of *France*, proposed a meeting with the duke of *Rohan*, who carried in to the inhabitants, the terms of a capitulation, which were at first rejected. The king's army encreasing every day, and the siege, though badly managed by the prince of *Conde*, who had the direction of it, was so warmly pressed that the besieged at last listened to a capitulation, which was proposed by the duke of *Rohan*, and was followed by a general peace between the king, and his hugonot subjects. This peace was so much to the advantage of the latter, that it does vast credit to the moderation of *Lewis*. By it, the edict of *Nantes* was confirmed; the privileges of the protestants were restored, and a general amnesty was passed, while the duke of *Rohan* had a large pecuniary consideration for his losses during the war.

A new
peace.

Intrigues
at court.

The prince of *Conde* was so much disgusted by the peace of *Montpellier*, that he first left the court, and upon the death of his friend, the cardinal *de Retz*, the kingdom. The count of *Schomberg* still kept his ground, at the head of the finances; but was strongly opposed by the chancellor, *Sillery*, and his son, *Physieux*, who had in a manner forced themselves into the chief management of affairs. Towards the end of the year, *Lewis*, after making a triumphal tour through several of his provinces, returned to *Paris*, where he found his ministry divided. The chancellor, and his son, sought to strengthen their interest by favouring the courts of *Rome* and *Madrid*, and did all they could to set aside the treaty of *Montpellier*, by sending private orders to the king's officers to disregard its terms. The duke of *Rohan* endeavoured to establish the observance of the treaty, and had received encouragement from the king for that purpose; but upon his return to *Montpellier* he was put under arrest by *Valence*, the commandant there, who

who was brother-in-law to *Puyfieux*. *Lewis*, however, no sooner heard of the duke's confinement, than he disapproved of it, and ordered him to be set at liberty. This contrariety of sentiments between the king and his ministers, made way for the queen-mother's admission into the council, and opened a fair prospect to the ambition of the bishop of *Lucon*, now cardinal *Richelieu*. He had, by the queen-mother's *Italian* interest, obtained his hat from the pope, with whom, *Lewis* privately, opposed his own commendation. After receiving this honour, *Lewis* disliked him so much, that he made an express bargain with his mother that he should not be admitted to the council board. He had the art to represent this to his dependents and correspondents, as a particular mark of the royal favour, in thereby exempting him from the fatigue of business; and he foresaw what soon after happened, that the dissensions among the ministers must raise him to the direction of affairs.

The marquis *de Vieuville* had succeeded *Schomberg* in the administration of the finances; and consequently was considered as an associate with *Sillery*, and his son, in the ministry. He ingratiated himself with the king, by working upon his natural distrust and jealousy. He represented the chancellor, as being incapable of business, and his son, as being so overbearing as to forget the decency due to the royal authority. *Vieuville* had contributed to raise *Richelieu*; the queen seconded his suggestions, and the seals were given in the beginning of the year 1624, to *Aligre*. In a few days after *Puyfieux* received his dismissal, and the father, and son, were by a message from the king, ordered to retire from court. *Vieuville*, then presided over a new cabinet council, which was composed of the cardinal *de la Rochefoucault*, the constable *Lefdiguieres*, and *Aligre*, with *Moni. de Bouillon*. The queen-mother had made the fortune of *Vieuville*, who in gratitude could not reject her earnest instances, that *Richelieu* should be admitted into the cabinet, which he was, notwithstanding the reluctance of the king, who declared that he was not to be considered as a minister of state. *Richelieu* publicly pretended that this honour was in a manner forced upon him, but that his majesty was graciously pleased to continue his favour, by excusing him from the fatigues of ministerial business. About this time, the impolitic match, which king *James* had so long solicited at the court of *Spain*, was broken off; and the lord *Kensington* had been sent to *France* to treat of a marriage between the prince of *Wales*, and the king's sister, the princess *Henrietta Maria*. His lordship was favourably received, and found *Lewis* well inclined to the marriage; though his violent *Roman* catholic subjects opposed it. The queen-mother, very reasonably, insisted upon her having a voice in the disposal of her daughter, and

and prevailed so far, that when the lord *Kensington*, and the earl of *Carlisle*, were sent from *England* to conclude the treaty of marriage, that cardinal *Richelieu* managed the conferences, at the head of a committee of the council. He behaved, on this occasion, with infinite address; for he blamed *Vieuville*, for having granted too favourable terms to the court of *England*, and thereby got the negotiation entirely into his own hands. It is certain, that he would have concluded the match upon worse terms than those for which he blamed *Vieuville*, whose ruin he soon effected; and the conclusion of the marriage treaty, was, perhaps, the first step which he took as a minister, for bringing about his great design of humbling the house of *Austria*, both in *Spain* and *Germany*. It was agreed that the princess should have eight hundred thousand crowns for her portion; but *Richelieu* desisted from the demands which had been made when the *Spanish* match was in agitation, of a toleration for the *Roman* catholics in *England*, and the erection of a popish chapel in *London*. *Lewis*, however, employed the archbishop of *Ambrun*, to go to *England* in disguise, where he privately obtained many favours for those of his religion, who were, at that time, under a general persecution.

Character
of *Richelieu*.

We are now to consider *Richelieu* as being the first, as he was soon after, the sole, minister of *France*. Nature seldom combines so opposite qualities in one constitution, as entered into his. He was a mere smatterer in learning, and a shallow pretender to wit, but he affected both characters so much, that he bore an implacable hatred to all who offered to dispute the one, or to ridicule the other. Though he had spent all the time he could spare from business in writing books of devotion, yet he had a passion to be the man of pleasure, and courted his mistresses, the chief of whom was one *Marion del Orme*, in the cavalier dress of those days, equipped with a hat, a sword and a feather. His vanity was such, that he made love to the queen consort, *Anne* of *Austria*, who both detested and despised him; yet such was the ascendancy he had over the genius of *Lewis*, that his presumption, though discovered, did him no harm. In conversation, he was an intolerable pedant, and his private life would have furnished out matter for a sarcastic comedy. With all those weaknesses, his judgment was sound, his courage intrepid, and in matters of government, his views were more just and comprehensive than those of any minister, that lived in that age. Next to the suppression of the power of *Austria*, he had at heart that of the *French* hugonots, and next to that, the crushing the overgrown power of the great *French* lords; schemes that to any other man at that time, must have appeared impracticable. His vanity rendered him a generous patron of learning,

learning, and he offered to purchase from *Corneille*, at a vast rate, the reputation of being the author of the *Cid*.

This new minister made it a maxim of his conduct never to do things by halves; and, to rid himself of all restraint, he persuaded the king to send *Vieuville* a prisoner to the castle of *Amboise*. To quell the clamour of the *Spanish* and popish faction, he obtained from *Charles*, who succeeded his father in the throne of *England*, unusual indulgences for the *Roman* catholics, and they were most ungenerously printed and published in *France*. *Richelieu* had the good fortune to find that the *English* minister, *Buckingham*, fell in with his views, as to humbling the house of *Austria*; but he was a little disconcerted when he found that *Buckingham* wanted to have the direction of that measure. Upon the accession of *Charles*, *Buckingham* went to *France* to bring over the young queen, whose marriage had been concluded by the lord *Kensington*, now earl of *Holland*, and the earl of *Carlisle*, and she had been espoused by the duke of *Chevreuse*, as proxy for *Charles*. The court of *France* had never seen any thing equal to the splendor and richness of *Buckingham's* dress and equipages, or to the beauty and gaiety of his person. He touched the heart of the queen consort, and, *Buckingham* perceiving it, became amorous of her in his turn. He was beset with *Richelieu's* spies, who gave him information of all that passed, and it is more than probable, that he informed *Lewis* of the intrigue. *Buckingham* saw that he was watched, and from thenceforth conceived an implacable hatred to *Richelieu*; but that did not cure his passion for the queen. He was as much above dissimulation as *Richelieu* was, and at very little pains to hide his resentment, which induced *Richelieu* to conceive a mutual hatred for him. The court conducted the new married queen as far as *Amiens*, in her way to *England*, and she proceeded to *Boulogne*, from whence *Buckingham* returned to *Amiens*, where he had a private interview with the queen, in which he was interrupted, and it is said, he was in danger of being assassinated; but we now return to the internal affairs of *France*.

Upon the removal of *Vieuville*, *Marillac* was placed at the head of the finances, to which *Richelieu* paid the greatest attention. He then proceeded in his great plan; for he sent the marquis *de Cœuvres*, as the *French* ambassador extraordinary to the *Grisons*, and he expelled from the *Val-teline*, the pope's troops, who had held it for some time, by way of deposit. The *Spaniards*, as well as the court of *Rome*, complained bitterly of this proceeding; but *Richelieu* despised the menaces of both, and proceeded in the execution of his plan, and the advancement of his own power, to which the state of the *French* court was very favourable. *Lewis* was naturally peevish, and neither loved nor esteemed his queen. He was dissatisfied with his brother,

His conduct.

Remarks on the conduct of Buckingham.

Vol. X. p. 312.

ther, the duke of *Orleans*, who had a strong party at court; and their dissensions made way for the greatness of the cardinal, who was courted on all hands.

Dissen-
tions a-
mongst
the hugo-
nots.

The ruin of the protestants being resolved upon by *Richelieu*, a garrison was placed in *Montpellier*, and fort *Lewis* was erected to bridle *Rochelle*, both against the terms of the late treaty. The cardinal, not contented with this, ordered a squadron of ships to be equipped, at *Blivet*, to block up *Rochelle*. This squadron was seized by *Soubise*, and carried off, all but two ships, which foundered. The *French* historians pretend that he did this even without the concurrence of his party; but the sequel shewed him to be well founded in his suspicion. It is certain, from the duke of *Rohan's* own memoirs, that while *Soubise* was employed in this dangerous and difficult service, and when by some reports it was thought that he had miscarried in it, his undertaking was disowned by the general body of the *French* hugonots; nor does it clearly appear by the duke of *Rohan's* account, that he had sufficient grounds for again resuming his arms, which he did with great vigour.

The En-
glish assist
the French.

The war with the protestants being renewed, *Richelieu* demanded the assistance of the *English* squadron, which was then at sea, under vice admiral *Pennington*, to reduce *Rochelle*; and *Charles* was weak enough to order *Pennington* to deliver up his ships to the duke of *Montmorenci*, who was to command the siege. *Pennington*, with great reluctance complied, and he and all the *English* returned home, leaving their ships in the hands of the *French*, rather than serve against the protestants. This was one of the blackest steps of the reign of *Charles*, and so unpopular, that even *Buckingham* thought fit to disown it, and to commend *Pennington's* spirit. All that can be said in excuse for *Charles*, is, that the *Dutch* lent *Montmorenci* their ships, at the same time, and by their assistance he reduced the island of *Rhe*, and *Oleron*, and beat the fleet of *Rochelle*, which he blocked up. The murmurs of the *English* nation, at this proceeding gave a new turn to the politics of *Charles*, and his minister, which was forwarded by the infidelity of the *French* court, who postponed all their engagements with *England*, to *Richelieu's* plan of reducing *Rochelle*. *Charles* met with some difficulty when he reclaimed his ships, which provoked him so much, that he insisted by his ambassadors, the earl of *Holland*, and Sir *Dudley Carleton*, upon *Lewis* giving satisfaction to his reformed subjects, which he accordingly did, by granting them a new peace, of which the king of *England* was the guarantee; and by it the protestants, obtained the demolition of fort *Lewis*.

War in
Italy.

The duke of *Savoy* was the principal of the war carried on seemingly, against the *Genoese* in *Italy*; but the *French* and *Spaniards* had the greatest interest in its success. The former acted as auxiliaries to the duke, and the latter to
the

the *Genoese*. The constable, and his son, the marshal *de Crequi*, beat the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, and raised the siege of *Verrue*; and, at last each court ordered the ships and effects of the subjects of the other to be seized in its dominions. A treaty was set on foot at *Moncon*, under the pope's mediation, and the *Spaniards* were excluded from the *Valteline*, which was restored to the *Grisons*. *Richelieu* disregarded all the cutting reflections that were thrown out by the allies of *France* against this peace; but he obtained a marshal's baton for the count of *Schomberg*, one of the ablest and worthiest men in *France*.

Great pains had been taken by *Lewis*, and his ministers, History of to spoil the education of his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, the duke who is said to have been naturally of a generous and ami- of *Orleans* able disposition. He fell, at last, into the hands of *Ornano*, who improved him in all the bad habits he had acquired under his former governors. He prevailed with his pupil; when but sixteen years of age, to demand a seat at the council-board, for which *Vieuville* had sent *Ornano* to the Bastile; but he was delivered by *Richelieu*. *Ornano* knew the importance of a king's only brother in the *French* government; and he persuaded him to put himself at the head of a party against *Richelieu*. The dutchess of *Montpensier*, the richest heiress in *France*, had long been destined to the duke of *Orleans* in marriage; but the match was opposed by the queen-consort, and the abbot *Scaglia*, ambassador from the duke of *Savoy*, who was disgusted with the peace of *Moncon*, and offered the duke the princess of *Mantua*, his grand-daughter, in marriage. *Lewis*, at that time, had a private favourite, one *Barradas*, who persuaded him that a scheme had been formed for shaving him, and shutting him up in a convent, and for obtaining from the pope a dispensation for his brother to marry the queen. This made such an impression upon *Lewis*, that he gave *Ornano* a marshal's baton, upon his engaging to dispose the duke to marry the princess of *Montpensier*. The baton did not prevent *Ornano*, together with the abbot *Scaglia*, from forming very dangerous designs against *Richelieu*; and it is said, they drew the king's master of the robes, the count *de Chalais*, into a plot, to murder him, while he was hunting. It is uncertain, whether this plot was real or invented by the cardinal to ruin *Chalais*, who lost his head, and *Ornano*, who died in the Bastile. There is strong reason for believing that the whole was a fiction, for *Chalais* was tried by the extraordinary commission, the members of which were named by *Richelieu*, who had guards assigned him, to preserve him from the like attempts for the future.

The cardinal was in love with the dutchess of *Chevreuse*, the widow of *Luynes*, but she retired to *Lorraine*, where she joined with the *Spanish* faction, in all their intrigues. *Scaglia* went over to *England*, and was so successful with

The offices
of constable
and
admiral
suppressed.

Buckingham, that *Charles* dismissed all his queen's servants who had been put about her, either by the cardinal, or the queen-mother, and declared, that, as guarantee of the treaty of *Montpellier*, he was resolved to see justice done to the *French* hugonots. The latter, this year, lost a friend by the death of the constable, *Lefdiguieres*; for though he had forsaken their communion, yet he still continued to be a warm advocate for moderation, and did them very important services at court. Upon his death, *Richelieu* prevailed with the king to suppress, by an edict, the office of constable, and to buy from *Montmorenci*, that of admiral, as being posts that gave too much power to a subject. As there was a necessity, however, for reviving the maritime power of *France*, in order to reduce *Rochelle*, *Richelieu* was declared superintendant of the marine, an office, that, without the title, gave him all the power, of admiral. Nothing could now withstand his credit with *Lewis*. He procured the disgrace even of the king's favourite *Barradas*, who was succeeded by one *St. Simon*, a creature of his own. He then struck into a kind of mean between the *Spanish* and the hugonot interest, and flattered each with the hope of crushing the other. He softened the duke of *Savoy's* resentment against *Spain*; and the hugonots seeing that he encouraged the *German* protestants, were so much persuaded that he meant them well, that they suffered him to fortify the isle of *Oleron*, near *Rochelle*, and to bridle *Montpensier* with a citadel.

The ruin
of *Rochelle*
resolved
on.

Soubise, after his defeat at the isle of *Rhe*, had taken refuge in *England*, where he met with a warm friend in the minister, whom for obvious reasons, *Lewis* had refused to receive as an ambassador from *Charles*. *Soubise* corresponded with his brother, the duke of *Roban*; and the violent aversion which *Buckingham* had now conceived against *Richelieu*, led him to promise, that three descents should be made upon *France*, one upon the isle of *Rhe*, another upon *Gascony*, and the third in *Normandy*, while the *English* fleet was to block up the *Loire*, the *Seine*, and the *Garonne*. No fewer than thirty thousand men were destined to be sent upon this expedition; and upon their landing in *France*, the duke of *Roban* was to have joined them at the head of the protestants. That duke, however, had too good intelligence of what was passing in *England* to believe that this plan was practicable; but he saw that there was a deep laid design formed by the cardinal to ruin *Rochelle*. In this *Richelieu* was so firm, that he even concluded a peace with *Spain* against *England*, and *Buckingham* laid hold of that circumstance to attempt to become popular in his own country, by forming closer connections than ever with the heads of the *French* hugonots.

Marriage
of the
duke of
Orleans.

Lewis had carried his point in bringing about a marriage between his brother and the princess of *Montpensier*; a lady so well disposed and prudent, that, during her life-time, a perfect harmony reigned in the royal family; but dying in child-bed,

child-bed, of a daughter, fresh intrigues ensued. The *Spanish* faction knew from *Richelieu's* connections with the *Dutch*, that the peace he had made with his *Catholic* majesty, was merely a measure of conveniency, and they joined with a great party in the *French* court, who were enemies to the cardinal, to dispose the duke of *Orleans* to renew his intrigues. Had the court of *England* been upon better terms with the people than it was at this time, the consequence might have been fatal to *France*; for a declaration of war was published at *London*, against *France*, because its court was under the influence of the house of *Austria*, and because *Lewis* had not only violated his treaty with the protestants, of which *Charles* was guarantee; but had seized an hundred and twenty *English* ships, with their cargoes and artillery. The *French* court pleaded the infraction of the treaty of marriage between *Charles* and his queen, and the haughtiness and aversion of *Buckingham*, to give their ambassador, *Bassompierre*, any satisfaction on that, and many other complaints. It must be owned, that those were frivolous pretexts on the part of *France*; and it is amazing that *Buckingham*, notwithstanding his unpopularity, could fit out a fleet of ninety ships of war, besides transports, of which he was declared admiral, for the relief of *Rochelle*, which was now threatened to be besieged, by sea and land.

The conduct of the duke of *Rohan*, and his brother, the *Buckingham* duke of *Soubise*, upon this occasion, seems to have been somewhat irregular. They had entered into engagements with *Buckingham* in the name of all the *French* hugonots; but it soon appeared that two factions existed in *Rochelle* itself, one in favour of the *French* court, who pretended, that the *English*, if admitted into *Rochelle*, would keep it for themselves; the other party was headed by the duke of *Rohan's* mother and wife, who had taken refuge there; but we do not find, though *Charles* was guarantee of the late treaty between *Lewis* and his protestant subjects, that any regular application was made to him by the body of the latter. Be that as it will, it is certain, that *Buckingham* appeared with the *English* fleet before *Rochelle*, on the twentieth of *July* 1627; but the gates of the town were shut upon him, through the prevalency of the court party. The mayor was in that interest, and it was with the utmost difficulty that *Soubise*, and Sir *William Beecher*, *Buckingham's* confident, gained admittance into the place. They harangued the *Rochellers*, and exhorted them to stand on their own defence, as the king of *England* was resolved to defend them. All the answer they obtained was, that they could do nothing without the concurrence of the other *French* protestants. This unexpected conduct exasperated the *English*, and the duke of *Buckingham*, who, contrary to his agreement with *Soubise*, had made a descent upon the

isle of *Rhe*, where they beat the *French* general, *Thoiras*, but unaccountably neglected to pursue their advantage. *Richelieu* did not fail to improve this invasion of the *English*. All former animosities among the courtiers were forgot, and their preparations to march against their enemies were so general, that *Lewis* was heard to say, "Am I then to be left alone?" Never was an expedition worse conducted than this was, on the part of the *English*. Their being denied admittance into *Rochelle*, soured them even to inactivity. They considered the hugonots as equally their enemies with the catholics; and though *Buckingham* at last besieged fort *Martin*, where *Thoiras* commanded, yet he neglected all precautions for preventing supplies being thrown into the place, and suffered himself to be amused by negotiation.

Cardinal *Richelieu*, in the mean while, ordered quarters to be marked out in the neighbourhood of *Rochelle*, for twenty-five thousand men; and in *October*, the *French* king, with the prime of his nobility, and a royal army, formed the siege of *Rochelle*. The duke of *Roban* was again declared a traitor by the parliament, and condemned to be torn in pieces by horses; but he continued his operations with great spirit, in *Guienne*, till he understood from *England*, that no descent was to be made on that part of *France*. *Buckingham* carried on the siege of fort *Martin*, more from obstinacy, because he had begun it, than from any other principle, but was unfortunate in every motion he made, though *Soubise* had now prevailed with the *Rochellers* to declare themselves in favour of *England*. Supplies were daily thrown into the fort, and the *English* were insulted by their enemies holding up, by way of bravade, upon the points of their pikes, fowl, mutton, bread, and other provisions, as signals of their being relieved. *Buckingham* pretended his army was on the point of a mutiny, and after meeting with frequent repulses from the fort, notwithstanding his being reinforced, he called a council of war, in which it was resolved that his fleet and army should return to *England*. *Soubise* prevailed upon him to postpone this resolution for a few days, because the earl of *Holland* was daily expected with a fresh reinforcement; but, in the mean while, marshal *Schomberg*, arrived in the island, with an army superior to that of the *English*. *Buckingham* proposed to fight him; but the *English* officers and folders were so damped by his blundering conduct, that when they began their march, their advanced guards were beaten, and they were obliged to recover their trenches. The same fate attended a final, but an obstinate, attempt which he made to storm the fort, where he was repulsed with the loss of six hundred and fifty men. On the eighth of *November*, *Buckingham* began his march towards his own ships, but lost above a thousand of his men by the attacks of the *French*
under

under *Schomberg*; notwithstanding the natural intrepidity of his troops. The whole loss of the *English* in this expedition, amounted to above four thousand men. The *Rochellers* sent deputies to complain to *Charles* of *Buckingham's* conduct, which had encreased their miseries; but they could obtain no redress, through the prevailing interest of the favourite.

Richelieu, now staked not only his administration, but his head, upon the reduction of *Rochelle*. Though the winter was far advanced, he prevailed with the king, notwithstanding the delicacy of his constitution, and his being but lately recovered from a dangerous illness, to remain in the camp, which induced almost all the nobility, and general officers, in *France*, to attend him. *Guillon* was then mayor of *Rochelle*, and at the head of a brave, determined people, but under excessive discouragements. Not only the court, but the *French* nation in general were exasperated against them, for their connections with the *English*, who, they said, wanted to reconquer *France*. Even the protestant powers upon the continent beheld them with an unfavourable eye, because it was known that they were supported by the *Spaniards*, as well as the *English*. The duke of *Rohan* was then carrying on a war in *Languedoc* against the prince of *Conde*, and the duke of *Montmorenci*, so that the *Rochellers* had only their own courage, and *England*, to depend upon; because *Richelieu* had employed the argument of religion to so much advantage, and had so artfully improved the differences between *Spain* and *England*, that they were entirely abandoned by his *Catholic* majesty.

We have, in the course of this work, more than once mentioned, the determined spirit which the ancestors of the *Rochellers* had often manifested in defending their privileges, and it seemed now to be drawn into one point in their posterity. *Guillon*, before he undertook his office, holding up a poniard in his hand, "I accept (said he to his fellow citizens) my office, with this declaration, that I am resolved to strike this dagger into the heart of the first man who shall advise a surrender; and may I be served in the same manner, if ever I admit of a capitulation." It is incredible to what a pitch of power the *Rochellers*, at this time, had raised themselves. Their city was strong, their marine very considerable, and they proposed the republic of *Holland* as the model of their government; but under the protection of the *French* king. When the siege was first formed, the duke of *Orleans* had the command of the army, but he quitted it, upon the king's arrival in the camp, and the cardinal, in fact, was general; the duke of *Angoulesme*, and the marshals *Bassompierre*, and *Schomberg*, acting under him. A fleet of *Spanish* ships arrived before the port, under don *Frederic de Toledo*; but, according to

Voltaire, he returned with his ships, without entering upon any operation, because *Lewis* would not suffer him to be covered in his presence. The same author seems inclinable to believe, that the cardinal privately prevailed on the *French* queen-consort to write a letter to *Buckingham*, which delayed his preparations.

It is certain, that, in *May* 1628, the earl of *Denbigh* was sent from *England* with a fleet of ten ships of the line, and sixty smaller ships, which appeared before *Rochelle*; but all the entreaties of the duke of *Soubise*, and the deputies from that city, could not prevail upon him to act offensively; and he returned with great disgrace to *Portsmouth*. Some historians have insinuated, that *Charles* was not in earnest; but nothing can be worse grounded than such a surmise. He was so sincere in his intentions to relieve the *Rochellers*, that he interlined, with his own hand, the only clause in *Denbigh's* instructions, authorizing him to act offensively; and upon the return of his fleet, he wrote the two following letters to the *Rochellers*;

“ GENTLEMEN,

Letters
of king
Charles to
them.

“ BE not discomfited though my fleet be returned; hold out to the last; for I am resolved, that all my fleet shall perish, rather than you shall not be relieved; and to this end I have countermanded it; and have sent ships to make them change their design, that they had taken to come back. I shall shortly send you some number of ships to reinforce it; and with the help of God, the success will be happy for your deliverance.

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.”

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I have been troubled to hear, that my fleet was upon the point of returning without answering my commands, which were to force the entry of your provisions whatever came of it; and have given it new orders to return into your road; and not stir till it has relieved you with victuals, or that I have sent them an additional strength, for which I have caused men to work with all diligence. Be assured, that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the force of my kingdom for your deliverance, until it please God to bless me with giving you an assured peace.

Gentlemen,

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.”

To make his promises good an order was sent to the earl of *Denbigh* to return to the relief of *Rochelle*; but the duke of *Buckingham* reserved that honour to himself, because it was

was the readiest way, if successful, to retrieve his popularity in *England*. As he was about to embark, he was stabbed by *Felton*; but the particulars of his murder do not belong to this part of our history.

Richelieu, in reducing *Rochelle*, discovered a genius equal Progress to that of an *Alexander*, and a *Julius Cæsar*. He had read of the of the vast works raised by the one against *Tyre*, the situa- siege. tion of which was pretty similar to that of *Rochelle*, and of the other at *Durazzo*. He obtained a general's commission from *Lewis*, and when vested with a military command, he resolved to rival the fame of those heroes, by erecting a mole of seven thousand and four hundred feet in length, into the sea. The waves demolished it, as well as a barricade, which had been invented by *Pompeio Targoni*, an *Italian* engineer. *Richelieu* was superior to all misfortunes that perseverance could conquer; and two *Frenchmen*, *Lewis Metezeau*, and *John Tiriot*, undertook to construct the dyke that was to block up the harbour of *Rochelle*. This was complicated by most amazing labour. A strong fort was erected at each extremity of this dyke; the construction of which lasted between the second of *December*, and the *May* following. The king returned to *Paris*; and all the officers of the army had orders from him to obey the cardinal, as if his majesty was present in person. He could not have employed a better general, for *Richelieu* pawned even his own jewels to pay the troops; who were so well fed and lodged that they scarcely felt the inconveniencies of a winter campaign. Not contented with that, he raised a considerable fleet, though the marine of *France* was then in the most despicable condition. The murder of the duke of *Buckingham* did not damp the zeal of *Charles*, which was fervent and sincere for the relief of *Rochelle*, and the maritime preparations went on more briskly than they had done during the life-time of that favourite. The earl of *Lindsey* was appointed to command the fleet; but by this time, the *Rochellers* had lost ten thousand of their best men. When *Charles* took leave of the earl, he desired him to be guided in all his undertakings by the duke of *Soubise*, who was then in *England*.

On the eighteenth of *September* the fleet sailed, and a furious cannonading commenced between it and that of the *French*, but without great detriment on either side. This proved fatal to the *Rochellers*; for most of the *English* sea officers having been appointed by *Buckingham*, upon parliamentary, or court interest, they were void of all experience and knowledge of their business. They rejected, in a council of war, all proposals made by *Soubise* for forcing the dyke. Another proposal made by count *Laval* for demolishing it by an artificial mine, met with the same fate; and *Soubise* had certain intelligence that the place, if not

Rochelle
surrenders

relieved, was on the point of surrendering, through the extreme famine which the inhabitants suffered. Accordingly, on the last day of *October*, *Rochelle* was given up to the king, and his cardinal general. The inhabitants were permitted to enjoy the exercise of their religion, and they were secured in their estates; but their privileges, which had been so long formidable to the crown, were abolished. Not above four thousand of twenty thousand inhabitants, which the town contained, when the siege was formed, were left alive, and those were so emaciated, that they appeared like spectres, not a hundred of them having strength to do duty. Next day, after the surrender, the king made his triumphal entry, and that same, and a few following days, most of the dyke was demolished by the winds and the waves. This siege cost about forty millions of livres; but the place was taken without much effusion of blood, on the part of the besiegers.

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P. 324.
The af-
fairs of
Italy.

We have already mentioned the disputes that arose concerning the succession to *Mantua* at this period. It is certain, that *Richelieu* encouraged *Lewis* to support the duke of *Nevers* in his claim upon that dutchy, and the rather, because the duke being a native of *France*, had been objected to on that account by the emperor, who had given the investiture of it to the duke of *Guaftalla*. A strong party was made at court against *Lewis* concerning himself in this affair; but as it related to the humbling of the house of *Austria*, the cardinal carried all before him. *Lewis*, accordingly, in the middle of *February*, set out at the head of his army, passed the *Alps*, in the midst of frost and snow. took the town and castle of *Susa*, and daunted the duke of *Savoy*; so that he consented to grant the *French* troops a passage through his dominions, and to prevail upon the *Spaniards* to raise the siege of *Casal*. This accommodation was followed by a treaty for preserving the peace of *Italy*; in which *Lewis*, the republic of *Venice*, and the duke of *Savoy*, were parties. The *Venetians*, at the same time, negotiated and concluded another treaty between *Lewis* and *Charles I.* of *England*. This was a most amazing expedition, for the cardinal fought and treated at the same time, with equal vigour; and *Lewis* returned triumphantly to his capital. The court of *Spain* endeavoured to ballance the progress of his, or rather his cardinal's, arms, by liberally supporting the duke of *Rohan*, who was still at the head of a strong party, and in possession of many important places. Though his catholic majesty was still at peace with *France*, yet he consented to pay the duke an annual subsidy of three hundred thousand dollars, for keeping up his troops, and for enabling him to form an independent state, or republic, of protestants within *France*, with a toleration, however, of the *Roman* catholic religion in

in the protestant towns and countries. In *May*, the king besieged *Privas*, which was in the hands of the protestants, and took it, after a strong resistance; but ordered the garrison to be hanged before his eyes. This severity struck such a terror into the people of *Aletz*, that they surrendered, notwithstanding all that the duke of *Roan* could do, to encourage them to defend themselves, and obtained a good capitulation; which was inviolably preserved, through the mediation of the cardinal, who apologized for the cruelties at *Privas*, because he was sick in bed when they were committed. The cardinal, by this time, had given unquestionable proofs of his military capacity; and he behaved with a frankness towards the protestants, that encouraged the dukes of *Roan*, and *Soubise*, to treat with him.

The former found that his treaty with the crown of *Spain* was delusive and ineffectual; and the cardinal fairly told him, that, if he omitted the opportunity of making his peace after the reduction of *Aletz*, he and his whole party were to expect no terms. The duke resolved to listen to his admonition; and though he had been declared a rebel, he treated with his sovereign as an independent prince. He obtained for his party the continuance and confirmation of their privileges; but they gave up all their cautionary towns; which indeed must have been the sources of perpetual war. The two dukes preserved their estates and honours, and the duke of *Roan* received a hundred thousand crowns, on condition of his retiring to *Venice* for a certain time, to humour *Lewis*, who insisted on that condition. The king was now returned to *Paris*; but *Richelieu* went to *Montauban*, where he behaved with great frankness and politeness to the protestants; and he paid them for demolishing their own fortifications. Thus *Richelieu*, being determined to carry war into the neighbouring states, re-established peace at home, to make the success of his arms more effectual.

The queen-mother had opposed the *Italian* expedition in favour of the duke of *Mantua*, because she intended a marriage between a princess of the house of *Medici* and her son the duke of *Orleans*, who was desperately in love with the duke of *Nevers's* daughter. The duke of *Nevers*, whom we now call duke of *Mantua*, had orders to withdraw his daughter out of *France*; but this was so violently opposed by her lover, that the queen-mother, who was regent during her son's absence in *Italy*, had put the princess, and her aunt, the dutchess of *Longueville*, under a very rough arrest. The duke of *Orleans* retired, upon this, in a sullen fit, to *Joinville*; and the king, upon his return from *Italy*, treated his discontent with vast disregard; though, at the same time, he disapproved of the indelicacy of his mother with regard to the princess *Gonzagua*. This split the court into parties,

parties, which ran high at the time of *Richelieu's* return from *Mantua* to *Paris*. The queen-mother had not the least idea of his daring to differ with her; but, when she found that he approved of the king's resentment, she publicly treated him as an ungrateful wretch, and the creature of her own power, threatening to humble him, as she had raised him. The cardinal was, at the same time, attacked by a manifesto from the duke of *Orleans*, who was then at *Nijmes*, and who loaded him with the most opprobrious and injurious accusations. *Richelieu* offered to resign his places; but *Lewis*, instead of accepting them, declared him, by patents, first his prime-minister, and then generalissimo of his armies; which, at that time, were preparing to march once more against the duke of *Savoy*.

Great
promo-
tion of
Richelieu.

That prince, depending upon the treaty between the protestants and the court of *Madrid*, had joined the *Spaniards*, and renewed the siege of *Casal*, with an intention to crush the duke of *Mantua*, while the arms of *Lewis* were employed against his protestant subjects. *Richelieu* was now in the zenith of his power: by his letters patent, which were written by the king's own hand, he could treat with ambassadors, and conclude alliances, without his master's participation; and, in his military capacity, the marshals *Crequi*, *de la Force*, *Bassompierre*, and *Schomberg*, served under him, at the head of an army of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse. He had the privilege of being attended by body-guards, and his exterior appearance was rather more magnificent than that of the king. His progress was rapid; for, in the month of *February*, after disregarding all invitations to an interview with the prince of *Piedmont*, he marched to *Susa*, and had almost surprised the person of the duke of *Savoy* at *Rivoli*. The duke escaped to *Turin*, which the cardinal made a feint of investing; but, all of a sudden, he besieged and took *Pignerole*; which completed the cardinal's scheme of opening a passage for the *French* from *Dauphiny* into *Italy*, and dashed in pieces all the precautions and intrigues of his enemies, both foreign and domestic. By taking *Pignerole*, he became, in a manner, master of the dukedom of *Savoy*; *Chamberri* being reduced much about the same time. *Lewis* and his court set out for *Savoy*, which, all but the fortress of *Montmelian*, was entirely reduced. *Casal*, likewise, still held out; and the duke of *Mantua* was prisoner in the hands of the imperialists.

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His alli-
ance with
Gustavus
Adolphus.

Richelieu's enemies laid hold of those circumstances to attempt to shake his credit with his master; but they were ignorant of the depth of his policy. He had supported the king of *Denmark* with money, and had formed secret connections with the duke of *Bavaria*, the elector of *Triers*, and other great members of the diet of *Ratisbon*; and, by this time, he had engaged the famous *Gustavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, in the vast designs which he afterwards carried into execution against the house of *Austria*. *Casal* continued still

still besieged, and the relieving it was found to be next to impracticable, when the pope sent his nephew, cardinal *Barberini*, and *Mazarine*, afterwards the famous cardinal of that name, to negotiate with *Richelieu* at *Pignerole*. A number of fortunate events for *Richelieu* now happened, which delivered him from his perplexities.

His party was so strong at the diet of *Ratisbon*, that the emperor was, in a manner, forced to promise the investiture of *Mantua* to the French duke. The duke of *Montmorenci* beat the conjoined armies of imperialists, *Spaniards*, and *Savoyards*, at *Vegliana*. The duke of *Savoy* died, by which the *Spaniards* lost their firmest ally. Diffensions arose between the *Germans* and the *Spaniards*; and the marshals *de la Force*, *Schomberg*, and *Marillac*, undertook the relief of *Casal*; while *Richelieu* attended the king, who was dangerously ill, to *Lyons*, to watch the motions of his enemies at court. The siege of *Casal* had been so vigorously pressed, that, by the agency of *Mazarine*, a suspension of arms was agreed on; but *Casal* was to be surrendered to the *Spaniards* if not relieved by the middle of *October*. The *Spaniards* insisted upon the latter condition being complied with, notwithstanding the stipulations of the treaty of *Ratisbon*; and it was owing to the indefatigable interposition of *Mazarine* (who, in mediating between the two armies, exposed himself to the shot of both) that an accommodation took place; by which *Casal* remained with the *French*; and *Thoiras*, who had so bravely defended it, obtained a marshal's baton.

Lewis, by this time, was given over by his physicians at *Danger-Lyons*. The cardinal found the party of his enemies, at this illness the head of which were the two queens, every day gaining of *Lewis*, strength; and that measures were taken to cut off his flight and his to *Brouage*, of which he was governor, when the king re- friendship covered. He had, during his illness, which was an impost- for *Richelieu* friendship for *Richelieu*, and had engaged the duke of *Montmorenci* to protect him. Even the recovery of *Lewis* seemed to be ineffectual for that purpose, so powerful was the faction against him, many of its members being composed of persons who owed their advancement to himself, and the marshal *Marillac* among others. *Richelieu* was determined to spare none of his enemies whom his vengeance could reach; but the two queens, the duke of *Orleans*, and the *Spanish* ambassador, were above it; and they represented the cardinal's haughtiness and ambition in such terms as, sometimes, seemed to affect the king's friendship for him; but no sooner did he obtain an audience, than he regained it by enlarging upon the ruinous connections between the queen-mother and the *Spanish* faction, and the evident insufficiency of all her party for the support of government; which, if left to them,

them, must fall so heavy upon the king as inevitably to crush him.

whom he
sacrifices
to his mo-
ther's
tears ;

Jealousy, and a distrust of himself, operated on *Lewis*, equally against the cardinal as against his mother ; but his natural inconstancy was, at last, fixed by *Richelieu's* arts. Haughty as he was, upon the king's return to *Paris*, he consented to ask the queen-mother's pardon on his knees ; and, that his favourite niece, madam *de Combalet*, who was particularly obnoxious to her majesty, should do the same. It is even said, with the greatest appearance of probability, that *Lewis* agreed to sacrifice *Richelieu* to the tears of his mother ; and that he turned his back upon that minister when he entered the room where they were consulting. His submissions, and those of his niece, to the queen-mother, served only to render her more intractable and vindictive towards both ; and the cardinal was preparing to surrender all his power and places, when the king suddenly retired to *Versailles*, then a small hunting seat ; leaving his mother, who resided at the palace of *Luxembourg*, to all appearance, in possession of the government.

Her vanity in receiving the compliments of the courtiers on this happy turn of her affairs, instead of accompanying her son to his retirement, undid her. Though a woman of strong passions, and of a generous disposition, she was no better than the dupe of her favourites ; at the head of whom were her physician, *Vautier* ; the keeper of the seals ; and his brother, the marshal *Marillac* ; with some ladies of high distinction and great intrigue. The countess of *Fargis*, one of the most beautiful, as she was the most artful, woman in *France*, directed her conduct ; and the duke of *Orleans* was governed by those who could best flatter his resentments and passions. The resolutions of a party composed of so many different members, could not be long a secret ; and, when they had resolved upon the part which each was to act in the ruin of the cardinal, and their several shares in the distribution of his spoils, the whole was carried to St. *Simon*, the king's private favourite ; who laid them before his master, and did not fail to enforce the discovery with arguments drawn from the queen-mother's growing partiality for her second son, and her vindictive temper, which had not yet suffered her to forget the assassination of *d'Ancre*.

but he is
saved.

All the natural diffidence and suspicion of *Lewis* now took a different turn. He heard, with horror, what was, perhaps, but too true ; that his mother had consulted with astrologers to know the duration of his life, which was the only bar to her favourite son's mounting the throne. He sent for *Richelieu*, restored him to a double share of his favour and protection, and sealed the ruin of his enemies ; while the queen-mother was receiving the compliments of the nobility and her dependents upon the disgrace of the
cardinal

cardinal and his party. She was undeceived by the sudden desertion of all the votaries to her recovered greatness. *Vautier*, her favourite physician, was, that very day, sent to the bastile. The marshal *Marillac* was put under arrest by the marshals *de la Force* and *Schomberg*, at the head of that very army which he expected to command. His brother, the keeper of the seals, was sent prisoner to *Chateaudun*, where he died of grief. The countess *de Fargis* was forbid the court in a very coarse manner ; nor was there one of that cabal who, but a few hours before, had promised to themselves the spoils of the *French* government, that did not suffer either disgrace or imprisonment.

But, though this revolution in the *French* administration Defence appears, at first, to have been brought about by private and of *Lewis* personal motives, yet it was, perhaps, a wise and a solid one that re-measure in *Lewis*, with regard to that dignity of his crown revolution. which he wanted to establish. He was naturally an enthusiast for the greatness of *France*, which had been planned by *Richelieu* with wonderful art and address; but he alone could carry it into execution. He had formed connections for reducing the *Austrian* power in *Italy* and the *Low Countries* ; and he had a prospect of reducing it in *Germany* by means of *Gustavus Adolphus*, and the protestant princes there, to its original state under a count of *Hapsburg*. Luckily for him, *Gustavus Adolphus* had many quarrels with the emperor of *Germany*, independent of his alliance with *France* ; so that *Richelieu* did little more than enable him, by an annual subsidy of four hundred thousand crowns, to re-establish the liberties of the *Germanic* body and the interests of the protestant religion, which were on the point of expiring under *Austrian* tyranny and bigotry. In *Italy*, *Richelieu*, by the agency of *Mazarine*, made a private treaty with the duke of *Savoy*, who yielded up to *France* *Pignerole*, for ever, on his being promised an indemnification out of the duke of *Mantua*'s estates.

In the middle of *April*, the public treaty of *Querasque* was made between the *Spaniards* and the duke of *Savoy*, who obtained by it no more than had been already stipulated for him by the private treaty. In short, *Richelieu*, by his intrepidity, and *Mazarine*, by his intrigues, broke the *Spanish* power in *Italy*, and formed a strong barrier to the independency of her princes. It would be absurd to suppose that *Lewis* was insensible of the cardinal's merits, in those mighty works ; and that even motives of ambition might have effected the sudden reverse, which now took place in his government. We are not, however, to dissemble that every thing was managed about his court upon the meanest and most interested principles ; and that it is probable the revolution never would have taken place, if *Lewis* had suffered himself to continue longer under the influence of the two queens and their favourites.

Richelieu,

Conduct
of the
queen-
mother,

Richelieu, though the most bloody politician alive, did not chuse immediately to involve the queen-mother in the ruin of her creatures. He suffered her, upon her curbing her resentment with some appearance of decency, and even submission, to remain at *Paris*; but she soon closed in with the violence of the duke of *Orleans*, who was likewise too great for the cardinal to ruin; though it is said that the duke intended to have assassinated him in his own palace. The queen-mother became equally outrageous, and the king sent for her to *Compeigne*; where finding her inexorable to any reconciliation with the minister, he left her a prisoner; but she again made her escape, and went to *Brussels*; while the duke of *Orleans* took refuge in *Lorraine*, and entered into a contract of marriage with the princess *Margaret*, that duke's sister. This was a delicate point; and, though *Lewis* did not pretend to question the validity of the marriage, yet, even after it was consummated, he insisted upon its being dissolved, because the apparent heir of his crown could not, as he alledged, by the laws and constitution of *France*, contract or consummate a marriage without his knowledge or consent.

whose fa-
vourites
are |dis-
graced,

Finding that this had no effect on the duke of *Lorraine*, an extraordinary court of justice was erected, who proceeded in a very severe manner against the cardinal's enemies. Marshal *Bassompierre* was sent prisoner to the *bastille*, only because he had more wit than the cardinal, and because he was an admirer of the princess of *Conti*, who was sent into exile, together with the dutchesses of *Elbeuf* and *Lefdiguières*, madam de *Ornans*, and others of the same party. This had no effect upon the duke of *Orleans*, who always sacrificed his friends to his own caprice and safety; and he sent a new manifesto to the parliament of *Paris*, accusing *Richelieu* of being the instrument of his, and the nation's, ruin; and exhibiting himself, as it were, before that body, as his accuser.

The new court of justice continued its proceedings; and the duke of *Rouannes*, the countess of *Fargis*, and other persons of great distinction of both sexes, were executed in effigy, because they were not within their reach to put them to death. The queen-mother, in her turn, applied to the parliament for justice against the cardinal; which she did in an injudicious manner, by making his crimes too personal towards her, and mingling falsehood with truth. All those shafts aimed at the cardinal served only to raise him in his master's esteem; for he now erected the lordship of *Richelieu*, with many other noble estates, into a duchy; which, after the cardinal's death, was to descend to his heirs general, either male or female.

and pu-
nished.

The reception of the duke of *Orleans* by the duke of *Lorraine*, continued to give so much uneasiness to *Lewis*, that he advanced towards that country with an army, and forced the

the duke at *St. Vie*, to agree to send his brother, and all the discontented *Frenchmen*, out of his dominions. No sooner was *Lewis* on his return from *Lorraine*, than that duke entered into intrigues with some *German* princes for an invasion of *France*; but this was prevented by the king and his minister threatening to invest *Nanci*; which forced the duke again to buy his peace by the perpetual surrender of *Clermont* to *France*, and that of *Stenai* and *Janets* for four years. The cardinal was now at such a pitch of greatness, by having lately obtained the government of *Bretagne*, that the queen-mother and her party charged him with designs upon the crown itself. To shew how little he regarded their enmity, he carried on a process against marshal *Marillac* with a degree of rancour and injustice till then unknown in *France*. He appointed a commission of his own creatures to try him; but they, obsequious as they were to his will, could not find him guilty, till *Richelieu*, with all the circumstances of barbarity, carried him to his own country-house; where his enemy, *Chateauneuf*, who had succeeded *Marillac*'s brother as keeper of the seals, sat as president of the court; which, against all kind of evidence, condemned him to death; and he suffered the sentence, after discharging forty years service to that crown.

The duke of *Orleans*, in consequence of the late treaty The duke with the duke of *Lorraine*, was now a vagabond; and his of *Orleans* cause was given up as desperate by all persons of great distinction, excepting the marshal-duke of *Montmorenci*, who *Burgundy* had unadvisedly, but generously, promised to support him against the cardinal. The prince had put himself at the head of about fifteen hundred, or two thousand, horse and foot he had collected in *France* and the neighbouring states; but most miserably provided in arms and necessaries. With them he made an irruption into *Burgundy*, where he proclaimed cardinal *Richelieu* a traitor to the king and the public.

Richelieu was under great difficulties on this occasion, Character especially after he found that the duke had penetrated into of father *Languedoc*, *Montmorenci*'s government, and was received by *Joseph*. him at the head of about eight thousand men. The marshals *de la Force* and *Schomberg* were appointed to act against the rebels; but both they and the other generals expressed a visible reluctance to take upon them the command against the apparent heir of the crown. *Richelieu* applied, on this occasion, to his trusty friend and confidant, one father *Joseph*, a capuchin; who, under the most mortifying appearances, united the most dextrous management of business to the wildest flights of enthusiasm. Though he made no public figure at court, and though his name is hardly mentioned in the general histories of those times, yet it is certain that he assisted the cardinal's head, and influenced his master's conscience. *Richelieu* esteemed and consulted him, and always

ways gave him hopes of procuring for him a cardinal's hat; which he might easily have obtained, had he not been jealous of the capuchin's abilities, and afraid of losing his services. It was this father *Joseph* who, when *Richelieu* thought it indecent for him to give his advice on so tender a point, had determined *Lewis* to put his mother under an arrest at *Compeigne*. He was trusted by, and personally known to almost all, the great potentates and ministers in *Europe*, whom he had occasionally visited in disguise; and was a particular favourite with pope *Urban* by whose recommendation he had introduced *Mazarine* to *Lewis* and *Richelieu*.

The duke of *Montmorenci* Such was the man whom the cardinal employed to persuade his master not to trust any of his subjects with the command against his brother, and he succeeded. Both defeated, *Lewis* and his queen joined the army, attended by the cardinal and his trusty capuchin. *Montmorenci* having intelligence of his march, and knowing that marshal *Schomberg* lay at a small distance, with an army of observation of about four thousand men, in a strong camp at *Castelnaudari*, he resolved to surprize him. He accordingly attacked *Schomberg's* entrenchments, but in a very unsoldier-like manner, with his cavalry, without waiting for his infantry. At first, he bore down all before him; but, impelled either by liquor, resentment, or despair, or, perhaps, by all, he leaped a ditch, where he could be followed by not above a dozen of his attendants; and, after being wounded and beaten from his horse, he was made prisoner. This catastrophe happened in the sight of the duke of *Orleans*, and that part of *Montmorenci's* army which was not engaged. The infantry, upon seeing his fate, disbanded themselves; and the duke, with a body of horse, fled to *Beziers*.

The news of *Montmorenci's* defeat and captivity coming to court, various consultations were held about the future disposal of the duke, and the punishment of *Montmorenci*. The former, as usual, had written the most abject letters to *Lewis*; offering to regard *Richelieu* as his friend, but earnestly interceding for *Montmorenci's* pardon; which *Bouillon*, one of *Richelieu's* creatures, who was sent to treat with him, gave him hopes of obtaining from *Lewis*; but the cardinal and the capuchin painted *Montmorenci's* crimes in such colours, that *Lewis* was persuaded the greatest act of beneficence he could show for his people, and the tranquillity of the state, would be to punish his illustrious prisoner with death. His trial was accordingly ordered, and he was beheaded, at *Tholouse*, on the thirtieth of *October*, 1632.

His character.

He was the last of the *Montmorenci* family, which boasted of being the eldest race of nobles in *France* or *Europe*. He did honour to his ancestors by his virtues, and every accomplishment of mind and person; but he seems to have had a tincture of their romantic spirit. This appeared by his attacking *Schomberg's* entrenchments, not as a general, but a knight-

knight-errant ; by his wearing in a bracelet a miniature picture of the queen-mother, with whom he was in love ; and by his bequeathing, at the time of his death, a fine picture of *Carraccio* to his capital enemy *Richelieu*. He behaved with as much manly firmness and resignation at his death, as he did with a noble gallantry and generosity in his life.

If the sentence executed upon *Montmorenci* is examined Farther by the maxims of strict justice, or sound policy, it will not, deliver- perhaps, be found irreconcilable to either ; as *Montmoren-*ance of *ci*'s was an unprovoked rebellion, and must have given a *Richelieu* most dangerous precedent, had he been pardoned, to other great lords. *Lewis*, to shew he had not punished him from any personal motives, gave the forfeiture of his great estate to the prince of *Conde*, who, till then, had always been necessitous. While the court resided in *Languedoc*, the duke of *Orleans* obtained pardon for himself and his favourite the duke of *Elbeuf*, upon his engaging to look upon *Richelieu*, ever after, as his friend, and not to depart above a mile from the place of residence which should be assigned him.

The queen-mother, during this negotiation, made an attempt, by means of some ruffians in her service, to carry off madam *de Combalet*, the cardinal's niece, from *Paris* ; but it was discovered ; and the king, to express his high sense of the cardinal's merits, said, in a letter to the lady, " that, had she been carried into *Flanders*, he would have reclaimed her at the head of fifty thousand men."

Among the other articles stipulated by the duke of *Orleans*, whose restraint was soon taken off, he had agreed never to see his mother ; which offended her so much that she retired from *Brussels*, on hearing that the duke had leave to pay her a visit. About this time, *Richelieu* fell ill ; and some of the courtiers, at the head of whom was *Chateauneuf*, the keeper of the seals, caballed to succeed him. The cardinal recovered ; and, being informed that *Chateauneuf* had behaved with an indecent levity during his illness, he took from him the seals, which he gave to *Puiseguir*, president of the parliament, and sent *Chateauneuf* prisoner to *Angoulesme*.

The death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, which happened about Vol. IX. this time at the battle of *Lutzen*, would have disconcerted, p. 163. and perhaps ruined, any minister of less firmness and address Affair of than *Richelieu* ; but he immediately sent the marquis *de Feu-* the Swedes *quieres* to negotiate a new treaty with the *Swedish* chancellor in Germa- *Oxenstiern* ; and it was agreed, that *France* should continue ny. her subsidy, while the *Swedes* continued to make war in *Germany*. The dreadful consequences of this agreement, with regard to the house of *Austria*, has been explained in other parts of this work. *Richelieu* was equally fortunate on the side of the *Low Countries*, where the family of *Orange*, supported by *French* money, had greatly weakened the *Au-* *strian*

Strian power ; but no sooner did he apprehend that the credit of the prince of *Orange* became too powerful for his own, among the *States General*, than he endeavoured to supplant him and strip his family of the city of *Orange*. He failed in both, but he knew that the prince durst not resent the injury he intended him. Even the court of *Rome* did not dare to dispute *Richelieu's* commands, and appointed a commission for trying such of the *French* bishops as were accused of favouring *Montmorenci's* rebellion ; of whom three were acquitted and three deposed.

Breach between the queen-mother and Lewis. *Richelieu's* next step was to prevail with his master to break off all correspondence with the queen-mother, who now, more warmly than ever, solicited her return to court. His pretext was, that she had favoured her son's late irruption into *Languedoc* (which she denied) and that she kept his, meaning *Richelieu's*, enemies about her person. The parliament of *Paris* had made some difficulty in verifying the edicts against the friends of the queen-mother and the duke of *Orleans*. This had drawn upon them the indignation of the cardinal, and he reduced their deputies to ask pardon on their knees. There seemed to be no end of his resentments. After *Chateaufort* had been sent prisoner to *Angoulesme*, his friend, the commander *de Jars*, was committed to the *bastille*, with several other persons of distinction, for no other reason but because of their being *Chateaufort's* friends, and supposed to hold a correspondence with the queen-mother. *Richelieu*, ever terrible in his revenge, ordered the judges, though there was little or no evidence against them, to condemn the commander, who received a pardon when he came to the scaffold where he was to suffer. *Richelieu*, notwithstanding all his power and good fortune, found fresh matter of disquiet in every occurrence and in every corner. His nauseous, awkward, courtships, and his natural infirmities now growing upon him, exposed him to the ridicule of the public, his mistresses being generally of the queen-mother's party ; and the intrigues of the house of *Lorraine*, animated by the duke of *Orleans*, gave him farther uneasiness.

The duke of Rohan receives a command. Business alone gave him relief. He persuaded the king to establish a parliament at *Metz* ; by which he broke the dependence of the *French* subjects in *Alsace* upon the imperial chamber at *Spire*. He dashed in pieces the negotiations between the *States General* and the court of *Brussels* in the *Low Countries* ; and he appointed the duke of *Rohan*, though little better than an exile, to represent the person of *Lewis* among the *Grisons*, and to take the command of the *French* troops in the *Valtelline*, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *Spaniards* against that step, and against the operations of the *French* troops, who, under pretence of assisting the bishop of *Treves*, were carrying on war in the heart of the empire. The cardinal made slight of all their complaints ;
and,

and, to conceal the private treaty already made with the duke of *Savoy*, he pretended that he purchased from that prince the town of *Pignerole*, which the *Spaniards* claimed upon the faith of the treaty of *Querasque*.

Lewis, in 1633, invaded *Lorraine*, to oblige that prince to *Lewis* stand by his treaties; to desist from giving assistance to the invades *Austrian* party; and to put into his hands the princess *Lorraine*. *Margaret*, wife to the duke of *Orleans*. The duke of *Lorraine* was unable to resist a *French* army, headed by its king; and sent his brother, the cardinal, to treat with *Richelieu*; but, in the mean time, the princess escaped to her husband in *Flanders*. Upon this, *Lewis*, who had, before the conferences, taken possession of *St. Michael* and *Luneville*, invested *Nanci*, which the duke was forced to deliver up; and thus *Lewis* became, in fact, master of all *Lorraine*. The duke, who was *Charles IV.* could not bear the chagrin which the performance of this treaty gave him, and resigned his dominions to his brother, the cardinal, who married his sister-in-law, though he had been engaged with *Richelieu's* niece. The new-married couple were put under arrest, and carried to *Nanci*; from whence they made their escape in disguise.

The great defeat of the *Swedes* at the battle of *Nordlingen*, *ibid.* and the assassination of *Wallenstein*, had almost destroyed the p. 167. cardinal's long laboured plan of humbling the house of *Austria*, which had been before shaken by a growing misunderstanding between the *Swedes* and the *German* protestants. He repaired all, for some time at least, by renewing his engagements with *Oxensteirn*; by advancing sums to the *German* protestants, whose armies were still in the field; and by ordering the marshal *de la Force* to advance to the relief of the *Swedes*.

It was farther agreed, that *Phillipsbourg* should be put into Affairs of the hands of the *French*; and, that, if *Lewis* should consent Germany. to declare war against the *Austrians*, to which he was much pressed by the protestants, he should receive *Alsace* as a deposit. Though it was the first of *November* before this treaty was concluded at *Paris*, yet *de la Force*, before the end of the year, drove the imperialists from before the castle of *Heidelberg*, and recovered the town. Thus, upon the whole, the defeat of the *Swedes* at the battle of *Nordlingen*, contributed to the greatness of *France*, as it forced them to be more dependent than ever upon that court.

The duke of *Orleans* still continued in the *Spanish Low* Reconcili- Countries; and the court of *Madrid* thought him so valuable ation be- an acquisition, that it actually engaged itself, by a treaty tween with him, to furnish that prince with fifteen thousand men, *Lewis* and to make an irruption into *France*, provided he kept himself his bro- wholly disengaged from his brother for two years and a ther. half. *Richelieu*, by accident, obtained a copy (most pro- bably

bably the original) of this treaty; and he proposed such terms to the duke, that, without the knowledge of his wife or mother, he repaired to the *French* court; where he was loaded with caresses, though the parliament and clergy of *France* had, some time before, declared, that the two dukes of *Lorraine*, having committed a rape upon his person, and forced him to marry their sister, the marriage was illegal and void. One of the conditions, however, of the reconciliation between the two brothers, was, that the marriage should be re-established; which it accordingly was.

The
French
losers in
Germany,

In the beginning of the year 1634, the affairs of *France* in *Germany* had a very gloomy aspect. She lost *Philipsbourg* to the imperialists, which was attended by a train of other misfortunes to their allies the *Swedes*. The cardinal *de la Valette*, whose military turn had given him a high rank in the *French* armies, stepped in to *Richelieu's* assistance at this time. He undertook the direction of warlike affairs, as father *Joseph* did that of the finances; but it was now found necessary for *Lewis* to strike into the plan of measures which had been lately adopted, by becoming a principal in the war; and therefore a formal denunciation of it was made by a herald at arms sent to *Brussels*; and a league was concluded between *Lewis* and the *Dutch* for a partition of the *Spanish* provinces in the *Low Countries*, if the inhabitants did not immediately shake off their dependence upon the catholic king.

From the æra of this treaty, the apprehensions of *Europe* from the power of the house of *Bourbon* may be dated. Scarcely was it made, when the house of *Orange* and many of the *Dutch* patriots, repented of it, and courted *Charles I.* of *England* to interpose with his fleet, in case of necessity, if the partition should take place, which would give their republic too powerful a neighbour. To counterballance this treaty, which obliged *Lewis* to assist the *Dutch* with thirty thousand men, the imperialists seized *Treves*, and sent its elector prisoner to *Brussels*. *Richelieu* was now determined to push the war, which was likewise declared on the part of *Spain*; and, least a tenderness of *Charles* for his nephew, the exiled prince-palatine, should bias him towards the house of *Austria*, he fomented those factions, both in *Scotland* and *England*, which soon after cost that monarch his head.

but defeat
the *Spaniards*.

The marshals *Chatillon* and *Breze* commanded the *French* army that was to co-operate with the *Dutch*; and, on the twentieth of *May*, they defeated the *Spaniards*, under prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, at the battle of *Avein*. Four thousand of the *Spaniards* were killed; but, by this time, the *Dutch* were heartily tired of their new allies; whose insolence, cruelty, and rapaciousness, were intolerable. When the *French* generals, after the battle of *Avein*, joined the prince of *Orange*, who

who was then to take the command of the whole army, they were terribly disappointed in the congratulations they expected upon the signal victory they had obtained.

We have already hinted at the reasons of disgust which Vol. IX. *Richelieu* had given to the prince of *Orange*, who had brought p. 538. *Charles* to look upon the late alliance of his country with *France*, to be dangerous to the liberties, not only of *Holland* but of *Europe*. He was obliged to smother his discontent; but, though he was forced to make use of the *French* against the *Spaniards*, he took care to make *Richelieu* sensible of his resentment. The combined army stormed *Tillemont*, where the most horrid cruelties were committed, which, possibly, were winked at by the prince of *Orange* to render his new alliance more odious. The *French*, however, reduced *Diest*; and *Louvain* itself was invested by the confederate army; but the brave defence made by the garrison, and the growing dissensions among the allies, obliged the latter to raise the siege, and to march into winter-quarters. Those assigned to the *French* were at *Ruremonde*, and so wretched that six thousand of them were cut off by diseases. Their generals, finding this mortality more and more prevailing, and that the hatred of the *Dutch* towards their troops was implacable, set out for *France* in the midst of the winter; but they were unable to carry back above one third of their army; and those, naked, tattered, armless, and more like spectres than men: a damping presage to *Richelieu*, who had formed the most flattering expectations from the campaign.

Cardinal *de la Vallette* commanded the *French* army jointly *ibid.* with the duke of *Saxe Weimar* on the side of *Germany*. p. 169. We have already given a full account of the state of affairs Treaty and the war in the empire. *Richelieu* resolved to make *Wei-* between *mar* his friend; and not only declared him general of the *France* and *French* forces on the *Rhine*, with a subsidy of four millions the duke of livres, but prevailed with *Lewis* to resign to him all his of *Saxe* pretensions upon *Alsace*; which was to be erected for him *Weimar*. into an independent sovereignty. Many of the protestant princes of the empire, disliking the growing connections between the *French*, the duke, and the *Swedes*, formed an alliance with the emperor at *Prague*, for the defence of the house of *Austria* and the *Germanic* liberties; and, in the mean while, *Lewis* took the field in person; made the count of *Soissons* his general; and invaded *Lorraine*, where he took the town of *St. Michael*; but was persuaded to return to *Paris*, because his person was in danger of being carried off by the duke of *Lorraine*. To disguise the disgrace of this retreat, the count *de Carmineil*, who had advised it, was put under an arrest, and the count *de Soissons* lost his command.

The marshal *de Crequi* commanded the *French* army of War in sixteen thousand men in *Italy*, where *Richelieu* had formed *Italy*.

a new alliance with the dukes of *Savoy*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*. This was as unnatural an alliance as that with the *Dutch*. The duke of *Savoy* hated the *French*, but loved the *Spaniards*, and prevented *Crequi* from cutting in pieces the *Spanish* army, as it was advancing to the relief of *Valence*, which he had besieged. *Crequi* complained of treachery; but the duke of *Roban*, who still commanded the *French* in the *Valteline*, gave the *Spaniards*, this year, two defeats. Upon the whole, the campaign was unfortunate for *Richelieu* in *Italy*, as well as the *Low Countries*; because he had made extraordinary efforts for becoming, that very year, master of the *Milanese*. The truth is, the ambition of *Richelieu* was sometimes too headstrong for his policy; for he contracted alliances with states who had only a present turn to serve, and whose real views were incompatible with his. His state jealousies were likewise of prejudice to his administration; for he this year disgraced the best general that *France* had, the marshal *Theiras*, from a suspicion of his favouring the *Spaniards*, though he had served against them with the greatest glory.

Fresh
broils at
the *French*
court.

The ill successes of the preceding campaign, the vast expence that attended the management of a war in so many different quarters, and the murmurs of the people under the pressure of their taxes, rendered *Richelieu* more jealous and suspicious than ever. His difficulties were every day encreasing at court, and *Lewis* was now governed by him from no principle but that of fear. He had punctually performed his engagements with the duke of *Orleans*; and that prince's favourite had been created a duke and peer of *France*, and furnished with money to purchase the noble dukedom of *Aguillon*. The cardinal, to please the king, insisted upon the new duke persuading his master to consent to his marriage being annulled; but, in that respect alone, the duke of *Orleans* behaved with such constancy, though his wife was still in the hands of her friends, that the duke of *Aguillon* was sent prisoner to the castle of *Vincennes*, where he died soon after, as was thought, of poison. His death renewed the disputes between the cardinal and the duke of *Orleans*, which had almost proved fatal to the former.

ibid.
p. 170.

The reader, in the preceding part of this work, will see the operations of the campaign of 1636, on the side of *Germany*; and which were so unfavourable for the *French* by their losing *Metz*, and an irruption which the imperialists made into *Burgundy*, that the cardinal was obliged to enter into fresh engagements with the young queen of *Sweden*, and to pay the landgrave of *Hesse* a large subsidy to detach him from his connections with the emperor. Towards the frontiers of *France*, the *Spaniards* took and demolished *St. Jean de Luz*; but the duke de la *Valette* obliged them to raise the siege of *Bayonne* when it was upon the point of falling into their hands. The *French* fleet, however,

ever, under the archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, was beaten by the *Spaniards* on the coast of *Provence*. The *Spaniards* in *Italy* were generally victorious, through the backwardness of the duke of *Savoy* to improve the advantages he obtained, and by the death of the great marshal *Thoiras*, who was killed before a petty place. The duke of *Parma*, one of the allies of *France*, was driven from his dominions; and the *French* were unsuccessful in the country of the *Valteline*, where the duke of *Rohan* still continued to command.

The troops required to supply so many operations, were The *Spaniards* so numerous, that the *Spaniards*, under prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, *Picolomini*, and *John de Werth*, entered *Picardy*; take *Corbie* where they took *la Capelle*, *la Catelet*, and *Corbie*, after beating the count *de Soissons* in passing the *Somme*. The officers who commanded in the two first places were condemned to death; and *Lewis* was obliged by the cardinal to disgrace even the duke of *St. Simon*, for interceding in behalf of *St. Leger*, who was governor of *la Catelet*.

Had it not been for father *Joseph* and *Bullion*, who was at Distress of the head of the finances, *Richelieu* would have sunk under *Richelieu*, those disasters. They advised him to throw off all appearances of jealousy towards the common people of *Paris*, who were loading him with execrations, because *John de Werth*, whose name was proverbial for his activity and enterprising spirit, was within two days march of their capital. *Richelieu* took their advice, dismissed his guard, and was followed with acclamations through the very streets where he had been execrated the day before; while the vigour of the measures he took for recruiting the army, raised it, once more, to fifty thousand men, who checked the progress of the enemy.

It was owing to this success that *Lewis* kept any measures who with *Richelieu*, towards whom he had observed a sullen escapes silence for some days. *Richelieu* had intended to have com- being as- manded the army himself; but the count *de Soissons* refusing assassinated, to serve under him, the duke of *Orleans* was put at its head; and, contrary to what the cardinal hoped and expected, the hatred that each of those princes had towards him, cemented a stronger friendship between them than had ever subsisted before. They agreed to take off the cardinal by assassination at *Amiens*; and four of their domestics were engaged to dispatch him as soon as the duke of *Orleans* should give them the signal by moving his hat. His heart failed him, and the cardinal escaped because he was a priest and a bishop; nor did he know of his danger till, after it was over, he was informed of it by the duke *de la Valette*, who was in the secret. The cardinal did not fail to improve the discovery for his own purposes. He knew *Lewis* to be excessively jealous of his brother, especially after being raised to the head of the army; and that the duke was equally distrustful of the king. The duke and the count, in the mean while, forced

the *Spaniards* to repass the *Somme*; and, on the tenth of *November*, *Corbie* was retaken, and the two *French* generals returned to the capital. *Richelieu* raised a report that *Lewis* intended to put both the duke and the count of *Soissons* under an arrest, and both of them left *Paris* on the twentieth; the duke flying to *Blois*, and the count to *Sedan*. *Lewis*, who had never been easy while the duke was at the head of the army, was inclined to have proceeded with great severity against both; but the cardinal, who had trepanned them into their flight, made a merit, both with them and the public, of pursuing conciliatory measures; and the king pardoned his brother, upon the latter giving him a promise, under his hand, that he would not disturb the public tranquillity.

ibid. *Richelieu*, likewise, this year, dropped many of his
p. 371. haughty views towards the house of *Orange*, who had
Various treated him with great freedom. This was attended with
fortune of advantages to the *French* as well as the prince of *Orange*;
the war. for the former reduced *Landrecy* and *Hanau*, and the latter recovered his patrimonial estate of *Breda*. The war in *Germany* went on with various fortune; for the *French* court protested against the election of *Ferdinand*, afterwards emperor, as king of the *Romans*, because the elector of *Treves* was a prisoner, and the elector-palatine an exile.

Vol. X. Duke *Weimar* beat the imperialists and *Lorrainers*, and the
p. 329, duke of *Parma* was obliged to receive the law from *Spain*;
E. 29. the necessities of the state having disabled the cardinal from supporting the *Italian* league. This was followed by the evacuation of the *Valteline* to the *Spaniards* by the duke of *Rohan*, who could no longer pay the *Grisons*; but the *French* fleet, under the count of *Harcourt*, and the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, obtained some advantages in *Sardinia*. The *Spaniards* invaded *Guienne*, which was defended by the duke *de la Valette*, though he was under a cloud at court; and the duke of *Halvin* (afterwards marshal *Schomberg*) gave a considerable defeat to the *Spaniards* before *Leucat*.

Danger of *Richelieu*, On the side of the *Low Countries*, the cardinal *de la Valette*, the marshal *de la Chatillon*, and the duke of *Longueville*, in *Franche Comte*, were successful. The cardinal recovered the important town of *la Chapelle*, where *Lewis* had been very desirous of commanding in person; but *Richelieu* had his own ends in amusing him, by making tours through his dominions, attended by his *French* guards. This was the more necessary, as the duke of *Orleans* was again renewing his practices and intrigues with the *Spaniards*; but the king's sudden march to *Orleans* disconcerted him so, that he was obliged to accept of the terms prescribed by the cardinal, who agreed to the release of some of his favourites that had been put under arrest. *Richelieu*, however, at this time, found himself in danger from a quarter he had little foreseen.

Lewis

Lewis, though not amourosly inclined, had generally a from the female favourite, who happened at this time, to be one king's mademoiselle *de la Fayette*; and, by pretending that the confessor. passion he had for her was purely platonic, and an intercourse of souls, it was winked at by *Caussin*, the king's confessor, an enthusiastic, fiery, jesuit, entirely devoted to the queen-mother. This indulgence gave *Caussin* so great an ascendancy over *Lewis*, that it brought the cardinal once more to the brink of ruin. *Caussin* represented him as the usurper of the royal authority; the betrayer and persecutor of the queen-mother; the friend and protector of heretics; and the tyrant and oppressor of the *French* nation, by the immense taxes the people groaned under to support foreign wars and heretical allies. Those matters sunk deep into the king's mind, especially as they were pressed so vehemently by *Caussin*, that he undertook to maintain them in *Richelieu's* face. *Lewis* seemed to have little difficulty in parting with *Richelieu*, provided he could get another minister of equal abilities; and *Caussin* opened himself to the duke of *Angoulesme*, whom he had pitched upon for the cardinal's successor. He could not have made a more unfortunate choice, for the duke discovered all to *Richelieu*; and the king not having resolution enough to support his confessor, he was arrested, and sent prisoner to *Quimpercorentin*, in *Bretagne*. The dutchess of *Savoy's* confessor was put under arrest, and the cardinal made a public display of having recovered his power over the king, by insulting even the queen-confort for keeping a correspondence with the dutchess of *Chevreuse*. He ordered her majesty's papers to be seized, and she herself was obliged to submit to be examined by the chancellor *la Sequier*. Not contented with those examples of his vengeance in *France*, he continued to foment the troubles of *England*, where the queen-mother had found an asylum. *Richelieu*, to make some attonement for so many outrages committed by him against his master's family and his friends, this year instituted the *French* academy, which, at first, consisted only of forty members.

The year 1638 was glorious to the duke of *Weimar*, who War in almost reduced the landgraviate of *Alsace*, that had been *Germany*, guarantied to him by *France*. He had prevailed with the *Italy*, duke of *Rohan*, after the evacuation of the *Valteline*, to assist him in besieging *Rhinfeld*, and the imperialists, under *de Werth* and *Savelli*, made several strong attempts to raise the siege; but their army was at last totally defeated, and themselves taken prisoners, and sent to *Paris*. This defeat was followed by the reduction of *Rhinfeld*, *Friburg*, and of *Brisac*. The last was so important a conquest, that *Richelieu* ordered the marshal *Guebriant* to offer the duke his own terms if he would resign it; but the duke rejected the proposition as an insult upon his honour. The defeat of the imperialists,

imperialists, however, cost the great duke of *Roban* his life; for he was wounded in the battle, and died next day, to the secret joy of *Richelieu*. So many successes served only to strengthen that minister's authority, which he continued to use in the most despotic manner. He exercised power and jurisdiction within the dutchy of *Savoy*, and obliged the regent dutchess to conclude with him an alliance offensive and defensive.

and Spain. Upon the death of marshal *Crequi*, who was killed as he was reconnoitring the *Spanish* lines before *Brenca*, the cardinal *de la Valette* took his command, but lost *Verceil*, and the *Spaniards* remained superior in that quarter. *Richelieu*, to keep up the reputation of the *French* arms against the *Spaniards*, who he thought were favoured by the old duke of *Epernon* and his son, the duke *de la Valette*, gave the command of a fine army to the prince of *Conde*, who after making a considerable progress in *Navarre*, besieged *Fontarabia*. The *Spaniards* sent a fleet to relieve the place; but it was totally defeated and destroyed by that of *France*, under the archbishop of *Bordeaux*. Five thousand of the best troops in *Spain* were lost on this occasion; but the prince of *Conde* unaccountably abandoned *Port Passage*. The admiral of *Castile* took advantage of his oversight, and advanced to the relief of the place at the head of twelve hundred *Spanish* horse, and fifteen thousand foot. The *French* lines were forced, though defended by nineteen thousand veteran troops. The prince, and the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, retired to the fleet with what troops they could carry off with them; and though the utter ruin of the army was prevented by the duke *de la Valette*, who was still in disgrace, yet the haughty cardinal thought it concerned his own glory to have him tried, and condemned to lose his head, which he did in effigy, for misbehaviour; but he himself escaped to *England*.

Negotiations with *Richelieu* had made inexpressible efforts to raise the *French* marine; and his nephew, *Pont-Courlai*, with fifteen gallies, *England.* had entirely beaten the *Spanish* fleet in the bay of *Genoa*. *Richelieu* looked upon the naval power of *England* as the only obstacle of the *French* greatness. He employed *d'Estrades*, his ablest negotiator, to go to *England* as the *French* ambassador extraordinary, and to prevail with *Charles* to agree to a neutrality, while the *French* and the prince of *Orange* were attacking the coast of *Flanders*. He had this neutrality so much at heart, that he ordered *d'Estrades* to offer the queen of *England* her own terms, if she could prevail with her husband to agree to it. The queen, though she hated *Richelieu*, mentioned the affair to *Charles*, but she found him inexorable, and resolved to check the progress of the *French* power, both by a fleet and army, not without making use of some contemptuous expressions

expressions as to the cardinal's person and abilities. *D'Estrades* informed *Richelieu* of this, and he vowed revenge against *Charles* and his court. "They shall know," said he, in one of his dispatches to *d'Estrades*, "that I am not despicable." He, at the same time, sent over his almoner; one *Chambers*, a *Scotchman*, with orders to foment the discontents in *Scotland*, in which he met with all the success he desired.

St. Omer, this year, was invested by the marshal *de Chatillon*; and it is said, that *Richelieu* was so weak as to order the siege to be formed upon the faith of a fanatic nun, who pretended that she saw, in a vision, the *French* beat the *Spanish* army near that city. *Chatillon* was obliged, by prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, and *Picolomini*, to raise the siege with great disgrace and loss; for which he was confined to his house, and his command given to the duke *de la Force*; but the *French* general, *Hallier*, recovered *la Catelet*. The queen-mother of *France* was now heartily tired of her long exile, and employed *Bellievre*, the *French* resident at *London*, to write in the most pathetic manner to assure the cardinal that her ideas were now entirely changed; that she was resolved to resign herself to his will, and willing to live obscurely and peaceably in any corner of *France* that he should appoint. This intercession made no impression upon the cardinal. He wrote, in his master's name, a haughty answer, importing, that she was not to set foot in *France* again, and was to expect no favour from that court, unless she would retire to her native country of *Florence*. The *French* beaten.

Those insults offered to the queen-mother were not so dangerous as those which the queen-consort was forced to undergo. She was now pregnant, after being married twenty-two years; and it was reasonable to suppose that that circumstance must make her dear to the *French* nation. This did not save her from the outrages of the cardinal, when he discovered that she entertained a private correspondence with her brother, the cardinal infant, governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*. *Richelieu's* intelligence was so good, that he discovered not only that this correspondence turned upon the subject of peace, but that the letters were lodged in a closet within the nunnery of *Val de Grace*. The cardinal obtained an order from *Lewis* to search this closet, and entrusted the chancellor with the execution of it; but the latter durst not venture upon so daring an attempt. He privately gave the queen notice of her danger, and she removed her papers; but without being able to prevail upon her husband to punish his minister. The truth is, *Lewis*, at this time, seems to have had no will but that of *Richelieu*, as appears in his conduct towards *la Fayette*. That lady had all of a sudden shut herself up in a convent, where the king found means to converse with her, The queen pregnant,

her, and discovered that she had come to that resolution from some harsh expressions the king had made use of towards her in an epistolary correspondence they had carried on. Upon farther enquiry, it was discovered that the king's page, who carried his letters, had always brought them to the cardinal instead of *la Fayette*, and that *Richelieu* had forged the king's hand, and employed many other indiscreet means to prevail with her to retire to the convent. All the resentment, however, that the king expressed, terminated in his dismissing the page.

and delivered of
Lewis
XIV.
Vol. IX.
p. 172.

On the fifth of *September*, the queen consort was safely delivered of a prince, who was afterwards the renowned *Lewis XIV.* surnamed *the Great*. In the midst of so many prosperities, and some disgraces, the cardinal could not, without uneasiness, behold the progress of the duke of *Weimar* in *Alsace*. He was now as formidable to the imperialists as the great *Gustavus* had been. He might soon become so to *France*, his troops being in excellent condition, well paid, and deemed next to invincible. He had opened the campaign of 1689 by the reduction of *Than*; but while he was in the career of success, he was cut off at *Neuburgh on the Rhine*, on the eighteenth of *July*, and in the thirty-sixth year of his age. His death was so critical, that no doubt was made of his being poisoned, and it is certain, that it was of infinite advantage to *France*; but to render it so, required the most consummate address. The dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lawenburg*, and *Lunenburg*, became candidates for the command, which he had left to major-general *d'Erlach*; and some other officers, whom *Richelieu* gained, though the imperial and *Swedish* courts offered them very high terms.

Treachery
of *Richelieu*.

A treaty was concluded, by which *Brisac*, and *Friburg*, were, in fact, given up to the *French*, though it was stipulated that half their garrisons should be *English*. It was natural for the elector palatine, who was then in *England*, and whose family had been sacrificed to the cause of protestantism, to aspire to the command of the *Weimarian* army; and all *Europe* was of opinion that he would be soon reinstated in his electoral dominions. *Richelieu* interposed, and the elector was arrested in *France*, when on the road to take possession of the command, which was purchased at an immense price from the officers for the duke of *Longueville*. This step, together with a subsidy, which *Richelieu* undertook to pay to the landgrave of *Hesse*, discovered *Richelieu's* real intention to shake off all dependency upon the *Swedes*, who, however, enlarged and maintained their footing in the empire by the amazing intrepidity and valour of their troops and generals.

Affairs of
Savoy.

The cardinal, and prince *Thomas*, uncles to the minor duke of *Savoy*, disputed the guardianship of that prince with the dutchess dowager, sister to *Lewis*; and, by the assistance

assistance of the *Spaniards*, they gained so many advantages over her, that she was obliged to receive *French* troops into *Carmagnola*, *Savillan*, and *Querasque*. Cardinal *la Valette* was then the *French* general in *Savoy*, but he died, after reducing *Chivas*, and was succeeded by the count *de Harcourt*, who likewise commanded the *French* fleet on that coast. Soon after, the dutchess had an interview with *Lewis* and the cardinal at *Grenoble*; but they could not persuade her to put *Montmelian* into their hands, or to send her son to be educated at *Paris*. In the mean while, the *Spanish* general, the marquis *de Leganez*, and prince *Thomas*, brought count *Harcourt*, and his army, into such a situation, that it was generally believed they must have surrendered prisoners of war, when the count, taking advantage of the *Spanish* slowness, disengaged himself by a most masterly retreat, to the amazement of all *Europe*.

It was about this time, that *Richelieu* came to a resolution to act offensively against the *Spaniards* both by sea and land; in hopes that their subjects in the *Low Countries*, oppressed by the government of *Olivarez*, would throw off their yoke. *Salces* was taken by the prince of *Conde*, and the court of *England* was so embroiled with the *Scots*, that *Charles* was unable to check the *French* fleet under the archbishop of *Bourdeaux*, which insulted the coasts belonging to *Spain*. The marquis *de Feuquieres*, a *French* general, besieged *Thionville*, and was on the point of taking it, when he was attacked in his lines by *Picolomini*, the *Spanish* general, who cut in pieces or took six thousand of the *French* troops; and *Feuquieres* himself, being made prisoner, died of his wounds and vexation, in *Thionville*. To remedy those misfortunes, the marquis *de Meilleray*, *Richelieu*'s relation, and military favourite, took *Hesdin*; and *Lewis* entering the breach of the wall, made his cane supply the place of baton of marshal, which was actually given him. The marquis *de Chatillon*, who had been unfortunate in the preceding campaign, regained his reputation in this, by collecting together the remains of *Feuquieres*'s army, delivering *Mauzon*, and by beating the *Spanish* army near the river *Aa*, and killing two thousand men, besides taking some pieces of cannon, and three hundred prisoners.

That *Lewis* was not warmly attached to his female favourites, appears from his dismissing them as often as *Richelieu* pleased. Some of them were too independent, others too intriguing, and others too much attached to the queen-mother, or the queen-consort. *Richelieu* discovered his mastery over the king's inclinations by displacing them all, and substituting in their stead, *Henry d'Effiat*, seigneur *de Cinque-Mars*, the second son of marshal *d'Effiat*, who owed his advancement entirely to *Richelieu*'s favour. *Lewis*, at first, had great repugnance at giving this young man a place

Conspiracy against
Richelieu.

place about his person, and at his being appointed master of the wardrobe; but he was no sooner fixed in that post, than he so entirely won his master's confidence, that the female friends of *Lewis* were displaced for daring to speak ill of him. He covered his natural disposition, at first, by a seeming attachment and affection for the cardinal; but he was in reality an intriguing ambitious domestic, and laid a plan not only for supplanting *Richelieu*, but for totally changing the system of the *French* government. At first, he faithfully repeated to the cardinal all the private conversation that passed during the easy hours of *Lewis*; and in this character he remained, till, upon the dismissal of the duke of *Bellegrade*, he obtained the post of grand ecuyer, or 'great master of the horse, and thereby he had the title of monsieur le grand.

An insur- We have already seen, how much *Richelieu* mortified the
rection in court of *Rome*, by sending the marshal *d'Estrees* thither;
Normandy and his quarrels with his holiness went so far, that it was generally thought that *France* would have emancipated herself from the papal power. The prodigious taxes which the cardinal, at this time, was obliged to impose for the maintenance of his foreign wars, created an insurrection in *Normandy*, which was called *les pieds nuds*, or Naked Feet, as the insurgents in general could not afford to wear either shoes or stockings. The chancellor *Seguier* was sent to quell it, with a commission, partly civil, and partly military; for he was attended by six thousand troops commanded by *Gassion*, who were the executioners of his will
suppressed as a magistrate. He interdicted the parliament of *Rouen*, cancelled the privileges of their city, massacred many of the insurgents, and hanged, or broke numbers of them upon the wheel. After committing those and many other acts of severity, he restored the parliament to its function, and returned to *Paris*.

Progress *Leganex* continued to be the *Spanish* governor in *Italy*,
of the war. and besieged *Casal*; but it was relieved by the count *de Harcourt*, who put five thousand of the *Spaniards* to the sword; and the secret treaty made between the dutchess of *Mantua* and the court of *Spain*, fell into his hands. *Harcourt* returned to *Turin*, where he besieged prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, who was besieging that citadel, and he himself was invested by a third besieging army under *Leganex*. By the assistance of the viscount *de Turenne*, who conducted the *French* convoys, he conquered all difficulties; for he forced prince *Thomas* to surrender, and enter into a negotiation with *Mazarine*, who was employed by *Richelieu* on the occasion. The marquis *Spinola* besieged *Salces*, which was defended by *Espinan*; but the prince of *Condé* arrived in sight of the *Spanish* camp with an army of near thirty thousand men, to relieve the place. He was joined by marshal *Schomberg*; and, notwithstanding all their efforts,
Spinola

Spinola retook *Salces*; but the duke *de Breze*, the French admiral, beat the *Spanish* fleet before *Cadiz*.

In the *Low Countries*, no fewer than three French marshals, *Chaunes*, *Chatillon*, and *Meilleray*, commanded. As the service there was, at that time, esteemed the great school of war for the young nobility of *Europe*, their army was crowded with *Frenchmen* of quality, and they besieged *Arras*. The cardinal infant, and the best *Spanish* generals, attempted to relieve it; but *Richelieu* sent a positive order to *Hallier*, who commanded a separate corps, to attempt to introduce a convoy into the camp of the besiegers. This was directly against the sentiments of the king, who was afraid, if *Hallier* should be defeated, the *Spaniards* might penetrate into *France*; but *Richelieu* was obeyed. *Meilleray* was dispatched with two thousand horse to facilitate the introduction of the convoy, and, in the mean while, the cardinal infant must have ruined the *French* army, had it not been saved by the return of *Meilleray*, and the approach of *Hallier*, which obliged the *Spaniards* to retire, and the place to surrender on the ninth of *August*.

The king was then dangerously ill at *Amiens*; but, on the Birth of twenty-first of *September* following, the queen was delivered of a duke of *Anjou*, her second son. This second birth of *Anjou*, endeared her more and more to the *French* nation; and *Richelieu* thought proper to procure a cardinal's hat for *Mazarine*, whom he intended to be his assistant and successor, in conducting the intricacies of foreign affairs, which became now perplexing. *Richelieu*, at the same time, made unusual advances to the queen-consort, but he was answered only by general compliments; and perceiving that the count *d'Agli* traversed some of his negotiations with the dutchess dowager of *Savoy*, he had the insolence to order him to be arrested in *Piedmont*, and carried prisoner into *France*. This year was distinguished by two interesting events, the revolt of *Catalonia*, and that of *Portugal*, from the crown of *Spain*; both of them occasioned by the indolence rather than the debility of the *Spanish* government, and both of them had great consequences with regard to *France*.

On the side of *Germany*, the *Swedes* being every where victorious, the duke of *Longueville*, who commanded the *Weimarian* army, was obliged to act in a subordinate capacity to their generals, who always knew how to make a separate peace with the emperor, if they were deserted by *France*. This seems to have been the foible or weak side of *Richelieu's* administration. He had a contempt for the genius of his northern allies, but they overmatched him both in the cabinet and the field; for *Oxenstiern* was a greater politician than himself, and, excepting the viscount *de Turenne*, who was as yet scarcely known, none of the *French* generals were comparable to *Bannier*, *Torsten*, and

and other great men who succeeded *Gustavus* in the command of the *Swedish* army. *Guebriant* relieved the duke of *Longueville*; and, in the end of *January*, 1640, the allied army bombarded *Ratisbon*, and beat the imperialists, while a negotiation at *Hamburgh* was going on between the two branches of the house of *Austria*, on the one side, and the *French* and *Swedes* on the other; but nothing decisive was settled at those conferences, which terminated in the famous peace of *Munster* or *Osnaburgh*.

and *Italy*. In *Italy*, the two princes of *Savoy*, negotiated sometimes with the *French*, and sometimes with the *Spaniards*, according as they could make the best bargain for themselves. The viscount *de Turenne*, who commanded the *French* army in the absence of the count *de Harcourt*, took *Monte Calvo*, and besieged *Jurea*. The *Spaniards*, after the count *de Harcourt* had resumed the command of the *French* army, marched to the relief of the place, under prince *Thomas*, and the count *de Servela*, who had succeeded *Leganez* in the government of the *Milanese*. After various operations, *Harcourt* was obliged to abandon the siege of *Jurea*; but, on the fifteenth of *September*, he took the far more important town of *Coni*, which was immediately put into the hands of the dutchess dowager of *Savoy*.

Revolt of *Catalonia*. *Richelieu* did not make all the advantages of the revolt of *Catalonia*, which might have been expected from his great hatred of the house of *Austria*. Instead of encouraging the natives in their design of erecting a republic independent of the crown of *Castile*, he suffered them to be persecuted, and branded as slaves by their own government. Despair, however, unmixed with any generous principle of liberty, obliged the *Catalonians* to put themselves under the protection of *France*; and the cardinal sent the count *de la Mothe-Houdincourt* to assist them. He besieged *Terragona*; but the *French* fleet, under the archbishop of *Bordeaux*, being beaten by the *Spanish*, commanded by *Ferrendina*, *la Mothe* raised the siege, and the archbishop, upon his return to *France*, was disgraced; but the cardinal sent the prince of *Conde* to reduce the county of *Roussillon*. In the mean while, *Lewis*, or rather *Richelieu*, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with *John IV.* king of *Portugal*, and restored the duke of *Lorraine*, upon his making proper submissions, to his dominions.

A new conspiracy conducted by *Richelieu*, gave fresh offence to his enemies, against and a more dangerous confederacy than ever he had encountered, was now formed against him. The count of *Soissons*, who resided still at *Sedan*, with the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Guise*, were the parties, and had a promise of support from the court of *Spain*, besides being joined by the numerous malecontents of the kingdom. A flaming manifesto, as usual, was published in the name of the count of *Soissons*,

Soissons; who represented *Richelieu* as the plague and scourge of his country. The cardinal answered it by sending the marshal *Chatillon* to besiege *Sedan*; but he was beaten by the count of *Soissons* in the battle of *Marfee*, where that count lost his life. The cardinal soon perceived that the confederacy was far more extended than he imagined. The duke of *Lorraine* had entered into it, and a plan had been laid for *Richelieu's* assassination at *Paris*. The rebel army was victorious, and there was nothing to obstruct their march to that capital. *Richelieu* knew where the strength of the conspiracy against him lay; and, under the pretext of a treaty for the exchange of prisoners, he sent *Puissegur*, who concluded a secret agreement with the duke of *Bouillon*, which entirely broke the confederacy; while that duke acted with such incomparable address, that he was received into high favour by *Lewis*. The dissipation of this conspiracy, which was the best concerted of any that had ever been formed against *Lewis*, threw a great damp upon the affairs of the *Spaniards*. The marshal *Meilleray* had besieged *Aire*, in *Artois*; and the *Spanish* troops being employed under general *Lamberg*, in supporting the *Sedan* confederacy, the cardinal infant found himself unable to relieve the place; which was surrendered on the twenty-sixth of *July*; but it was in so bad a condition, that the cardinal-infant attempted to retake it; and, during the siege, he died at *Brussels*. It was so late as the seventeenth of *December* when it was surrendered again to the *Spaniards*, under *Francisco de Mello*, the new governor of the *Netherlands*.

Whatever wars were carried on between *France* and *Spain*, by *Cinque-Mars* or whatever was their success, it is certain that the *Spaniards* *Mars* and had always a strong party, in the court of *France*, ever others watchful for *Richelieu's* destruction. He had obtained the duchy and peerage of *Aiguillon* for his niece, madam de *Combalet*, with full powers to dispose of it as she pleased; and, this year, another of his neices was married to the duke of *Anguien*, eldest son to the prince of *Conde*; but he was almost overset by the credit of *Cinque-Mars*, whom he had introduced to the king, and who was in love with the princess of *Nevers*, *Mary Gonzaga*. To please her ambition, *Cinque-Mars*, who, before that time, had only minded his amours and his pleasures, applied to *Richelieu* to be made a duke and peer of *France*; but having received a very rough, and indeed rude, denial, he conceived a secret, but implacable, hatred for his patron, who had likewise debarred him from a place in the council.

Cinque-Mars thought himself master of *Richelieu's* fate, its progress because of the confidence reposed in him by *Lewis*, whose complaints were so bitter of the usage he received from his minister, that *Cinque-Mars* did not scruple proposing his being assassinated. The boldness of this proposition had startled *Lewis* so much as to give a shock to the favourite's private

private interest with him; and *Cinque-Mars*, to support himself, had made several propositions to the count of *Soissons*, the duke of *Bouillon*, the duke of *Orleans*, and other malecontents. He was not discouraged by the duke of *Bouillon*, and he entered into a correspondence with the duke of *Orleans*. He called to his assistance *Fontrailles*, and *de Thou*, son of the celebrated historian; and matters went so far, that it was privately agreed between the dukes of *Orleans* and *Bouillon*, to send *Fontrailles* to *Madrid*, to solicit support from the court of *Spain*. The duke of *Bouillon* was then on the point of taking upon himself the command of the *French* army in *Italy*; and *Richelieu* had a declared enemy in the person of *Cinque-Mars*.

Richelieu ever since his entering upon the administration, had, as the reader may observe, displaced all favourites whom he could not govern; but he found the interest of *Cinque-Mars* too stubborn to be ruined, and he persuaded the king to repair to the army in *Roussillon*, which had been formed under the marshals *Meillaray* and *Schomberg*, for the siege of *Perpignan*. The king consented with reluctance; and it was with difficulty that the queen-consort obtained leave to remain at *St. Germain's*, with her two sons, instead of being put under the custody of *Richelieu's* creature, *Chauvigni*, at *Bois de Vincennes*. *Lewis* was, at this time, in a weak state of health; but the ascendancy which the cardinal had over him, left neither him, nor his physicians, any will of their own. *Richelieu* found it dangerous, to trust *Lewis* out of his sight even for a moment; and, contrary to his usual custom, he made the royal quarters his own, during the march to *Roussillon*; which *Cinque-Mars* took so ill, that he intended to have killed him with his own hand, if he could have been supported by the duke of *Orleans*, who was absent. *Lewis*, at this time, as well the cardinal, was attacked by a dangerous distemper, but that did not hinder his majesty, after his troops had gained several advantages over the *Spaniards*, from besieging *Perpignan*, in *May* 1642. *Richelieu* was then confined to his bed at *Narbonne*, and *Lewis* being reduced to the same condition before *Perpignan*, *Cinque-Mars* put himself at the head of a party in favour of the queen-mother, and was seconded by his friend *de Thou*, who intended by her assistance to garble the army. It is hard to say what the consequence might have been, as they were opposed by the marshals *Meillary*, and *Schomberg*, and not countenanced by the queen-consort, if the king had not recovered.

The conspirators negotiate with *Spain*

By that time, *Fontrailles* had concluded his negotiation in *Spain*, from whence he and his party were promised to be supported; and, returning to *France*, he had an interview with *de Thou*, who pretended he knew nothing of his commission; but was now fully informed of its success. *Richelieu* had perfect intelligence of all the negotiation, and sent an

an earnest request to see *Lewis* at *Narbonne*, where he was still confined. Even the misfortunes of *France* operated for *Richelieu*. *Don Francisco de Mello*, had obtained in the *Low Countries* some advantages over the *French* armies, which were commanded by the count *de Harcourt* and the marshal *de Grammont*. The latter lost almost all his army, money, and baggage; and the account of the disaster made such an impression upon the weak spirit, and constitution, of *Lewis*, that he once more sought refuge in the counsels of *Richelieu*, as nothing now opposed the *Spaniards* marching directly to *Paris*.

The cardinal knew perfectly well how to profit himself of his master's situation, which, some writers think, was effected by his own contrivance. It is even said, that he prevailed with the marshal *de Grammont* to suffer himself to be beaten, that he might render himself the more necessary to *Lewis*. Upon the king's arrival at *Tarascon*, where the cardinal then lay, he was informed of every circumstance of *Fontrailles*' negotiation, and furnished even with a copy of the treaty he had made. It was not long before *Fontrailles* knew that all was discovered to *Lewis*; and after several fruitless efforts to shelter himself in *Sedan*, the duke of *Bouillon* being absent upon his command in *Italy*, he retired to *England*. *Cinque-Mars*, and *de Thou* were arrested, as was the duke of *Bouillon*. The certainty of this conspiracy confirmed *Richelieu*, more than ever, in his master's favour; and it was resolved between them at *Tarascon*, that *Lewis* should proceed to *Paris*, and leave the punishment of the conspirators to *Richelieu*. Of them, the duke of *Orleans* was the highest in rank; but he was too great to be punished, and he obtained his pardon by making the most humiliating submissions. *Richelieu* removed to *Lyons*, *Cinque-Mars* and *de Thou* were tried, condemned, *Mars* and *de Thou* are beheaded, and executed on the thirteenth of *September*; about which time, *Perpignan* was surrendered to the *French* arms. *Richelieu* laid hold of that opportunity to write the following laconic letter to his master, "Your troops are in possession of *Perpignan*, and your enemies in their graves."

Soon after this, *Richelieu* set out from *Lyons* for *Paris*, with a pomp that could not be exceeded by an eastern monarch. A sedan, within which were all the accommodations of a bed-chamber, was constructed for him, upon a stage, which was carried by poles, on the shoulders of a score of men. As this machine was too bulky to enter at the gates of the towns and citadels through which it passed, breaches were made in the walls for its more commodious passage. The duke of *Bouillon*, who was, perhaps, the most criminal party in the late confederacy, obtained his pardon by surrendering his principality of *Sedan* to the crown; and *Lewis* was struck by a message from the prince of *Orange*, informing him, that if *Richelieu* should lose his

credit at the *French* court, he and his friends would listen to overtures from *Spain*.

Death of
Richelieu,

It happened, fortunately, at this time, for *Richelieu*, that his politics corresponded with justice; and he made a most unmerciful use of that circumstance over the king's weakness. Being arrived at *Paris*, he proscribed all whom he had the least suspicion of favouring the conspiracy of *Cinque-Mars*; and he obliged *Lewis*, even against his will, to dismiss some officers of his guards whom he disliked. His disease, which originally was the hemorrhoids, had discharged itself upon his arm, and then into his lungs; where, notwithstanding the advice of the best physicians, it proved mortal, and he died on the fourth of *December*.

We have already given a sketch of *Richelieu's* character when he entered upon the administration; but he was a signal instance, that the same man, who, in his personal capacity, may make a despicable figure, may be great as a minister and a politician. *Richelieu* understood how to make his master despotic; and he did it by a series of actions that shewed he was equally void of religion as of virtue. He must have been well conversant in the history of *France*, as he reduced its parliaments to mere money and judiciary courts; and imitated the example of *Lewis XI.* by bringing the great lords to the block.

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Lewis was so far from discovering any deep concern at his minister's death, that he immediately released all the prisoners and exiles that had suffered by his order, or upon his account; and declared, that, from thenceforth, he would be his own master. In the beginning of the ensuing year, the count *de Guebriant* beat the imperialists at *Kimpen*; but *Hallier* was obliged to raise the siege of *la Motte*, in *Lorraine*; and prince *Thomas*, of *Savoy*, having compromised matters with the *French* court, reduced *Nice*, *Verue*, and *Tortona*. On the side of *Spain*, the marshal *de la Mothe-Houdincourt* defeated the *Spanish* general *Leganex*.

Though *Lewis* was now emancipated, to his great joy, from the tutelage of *Richelieu*, yet he continued to govern by his maxims with a very small relaxation. His brother, the duke of *Orleans*, lay under severe incapacities, on account of the share he had had in the conspiracy of *Cinque-Mars*; and it was even with difficulty that he obtained leave to return to court, where he was despised and disregarded, though *Lewis*, at that very time, was sensible that he had but a few weeks to live. The day after *Richelieu* died, his friend, cardinal *Mazarine*, took his seat at the council-board; and, though he concealed it, he became *Richelieu's* successor in the administration.

The marshal *de la Mothe-Houdincourt* continued to be successful in *Roussillon* against the *Spaniards*; and *Hallier*, who, notwithstanding his great merits, during *Richelieu's* administration, never could obtain himself a baton, be-
cause

cause he had once hesitated to obey his will, was made marshal of *France*.

By this time, *Lewis* found his health to be past recovery ; but he faced death with the greatest intrepidity and composure. Full of *Richelieu's* maxims, he had employed *Chauvigni*, whom he disliked during that cardinal's life-time ; and *Mazarine* introduced *le Tellier* to be secretary of state, because he was acquainted with the affairs of *Italy*. In proportion as the health of *Lewis* decreased, the difficulties of the government grew ; for, tho' he thought his queen was much more tolerable than his brother, yet he was puzzled how to settle the regency. His confessor, father *Sirmond*, advised him to associate both ; for which he was discharged the court. *Chauvigni* now possessed such a share of the king's confidence, that he determined him to leave the queen sole regent and tutorefs of his children ; but he declared the duke of *Orleans* head of the council and lieutenant-general of the kingdom. The prince of *Conde* was to supply his place, if absent ; and, when neither was present, cardinal *Mazarine*. Those, and many other particulars of the king's will being duly engrossed, were confirmed by the parliament ; and *Lewis*, before his death, authorized the validity of his brother's marriage with *Margaret* of *Lorraine*. By the same will, cardinal *Mazarine* was left, in a manner, superintendant of all ecclesiastical affairs ; but the queen could nominate to every office of power and trust, excepting that of secretary of state, which was to be filled up by advice of the council. The duke of *Anguien*, the eldest son of the prince of *Conde*, though not above twenty-one years of age, discovered so surprizing a genius for military affairs, that *Lewis* placed him at the head of the army ; but *Hallier*, now called the marshal *l' Hopital*, was to act under him.

Nothing now remained for *Lewis* but to die ; which he and of did, with most amazing firmness, on the fourteenth of *May*, *Lewis*. 1643, in the forty-second year of his age and thirty-third year of his reign ; a reign that may rather be called that of *Richelieu* than *Lewis*. When we say he possessed courage, we can add little to his character, unless we admit his docility under *Richelieu* to be a virtue. He obtained the surname of *the Just* by the suffrage of his people ; which is a strong presumption that he was, by nature, equitable ; but no prince ever reigned more uncomfortably than he did, for his inclinations and politics were ever at variance.